

The Genealogy of Jeconiah (1 Chronicles 3:17–24) in Light of the Tablets from Āl-Yāhūdū

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ABSTRACT

The genealogy of Jeconiah (1 Chr 3:17–24), as documented in the Book of Chronicles, stands as the last historical passage within the book. This genealogical record encapsulates approximately 11 successive generations, from the destruction and exile to the subsequent Persian period. In this discourse, I undertake a comparative analysis of the Midrashic interpretations of the names delineated in Jeconiah's genealogical list and those articulated in the tables from Āl-Yāhūdū. The discernible correlations between these two textual sources significantly contribute to a nuanced comprehension of the challenges and aspirations experienced by those enduring the exile and those who resettled in the State of Judah. Accordingly, I posit that these intertextual connections introduce an additional dimension to the cultural milieu in which the Book of Chronicles was composed and, above all, to the question, which must have occupied the exiles: will the House of David return to its pre-destruction glory?

KEYWORDS: Āl-Yāhūdū, Genealogy list, Jeconiah, Chronicles, Metaphorical sig-names

A THE PROBLEM

Traditionally, scholarship has prioritised the national significance of the Babylonian exile, exploring its profound impact on the Judean community. This focus has marginalised efforts to understand the experiences of the exiles, including their hardships, sorrows and daily struggles in a foreign land.¹ However, in recent years, there has been a shift in this perspective.² While

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¹ For an example of this (almost) total disregard, see Rainer Albertz, *Israel in Exile: The History and Literature of the Sixth Century B.C.E.* (translated by David Green; Atlanta: SBL, 2003).

² Recently, there has been an attempt to closely examine the exilic communities, whether they reside in the major cities of Babylon or in the rural villages. See Carly L. Crouch, *Israel and Judah Redefined: Migration, Trauma and Empire in the Sixth Century BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

scholars continue to examine the national implications of the Exile, they are also exploring the experiences of the displaced. This scholarly pivot is reinforced by insights from psychology and sociology, which help biblical scholars gain a comprehensive understanding of the psychological and communal dimensions of these immigrants' mindsets.³ Indeed, examining the Judean diaspora community through the lens of their experiences may seem to yield limited conclusions, but these should not be underestimated. This perspective provides an additional insight into the experience of exile, thereby enriching our understanding without diminishing the significance of its national dimensions.

The question that arises is: what tools are at our disposal when we examine the mindset of the expatriates? Biblical historiography offers only brief glimpses into the experiences and the mindset of the expatriates especially those sent to the Babylonian rural cities (2 Kgs 25:27–30; Jer 52:31–34). Without such references in historiography, some scholars turn to prophetic literature, particularly those written during exile, such as the book of Ezekiel.⁴ However, even in these prophetic texts, there is limited direct reference to the current situation of the exiles.⁵ Ezekiel focuses more on the past and future than the exiles' present conditions.⁶ In Jeremiah's prophecies, there is no explicit reference

³ Strine, for instance, challenges conceptual uniformity in all aspects related to exile and emphasises the necessary differentiation in addressing this phenomenon. This differentiation extends beyond chronological or geographical perspectives to encompass conceptual-ideological considerations. See Casey A. Strine, "Is 'Exile' Enough? Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Need for a Taxonomy of Involuntary Migration," *HeBAI* 7 (2018): 289–315. For a comprehensive review of conceptual shifts regarding the developments that have occurred in the last thirty years, see Volker Glissmann, *Out of Exile, not out of Babylon: The Diaspora Theology of the Golah* (Mzuzu: Mzuni Press, 2019), 20–54.

⁴ I am not addressing the question of whether the Book of Ezekiel was written by the prophet himself or by his disciples. Regardless of the authorship, it is evident that each book reflects, in one way or another, not only the characters it describes (i.e., the expatriates) but also the perspectives of the writer(s). In this sense, there are numerous hints throughout the book regarding the profound shock that Hezekiah experienced due to the exile, a shock that contemporary scholars often interpret as PTSD. See Refael Furman, "Trauma and Post-Trauma in the Book of Ezekiel," *OTE* 33 (2020): 32–59.

⁵ Carr seeks to elucidate this silence, especially that of prophecy, due to the trauma of exile. This trauma has led to a significant awakening of pre-exilic events as part of an effort to preserve and shape the collective memory alongside hopeful aspirations for the restoration of the ruins. In this process, the present is consequently marginalised. See David M. Carr, "Reading into the Gap: Refractions of Trauma in Israelite Prophecy," in *Interpreting Exile: Displacement and Deportation in Biblical and Modern Contexts* (ed. Brad E. Kelle, Frank Ritzel Ames, and Jacob L. Wright; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 295–308.

⁶ Ezekiel 33:10 provides an intriguing source for discussion in this context. Ezekiel cites the people expressing despair over their sins, with their resignation reflecting a deterministic outlook that suggests an inability to break free from the sins within their

to the condition of the exiles, who remained in Judah after the exile, except for one instance (Jer 29:4–7).⁷

I would like to address this issue by examining the genealogical list of King Jeconiah in the Book of Chronicles (1 Chr 3:17–24).⁸ According to scholars, this list originates from the period of the exile and extends to the fifth century BC.⁹ In this extensive list of names, which likely numbers around 41, there are both direct and indirect references to the difficulties and hardships experienced by the exiles. The references provide insights from the perspectives of those enduring exile and those who returned to Yehud.

B JECONIAH'S GENEALOGY LIST

The strength of Jeconiah's list lies in its simplicity—it consists solely of names. Its position within a lengthy series of genealogical lists makes it one among many. However, I believe that its very simplicity transforms the list into an authentic document. With the 'dry' style inherent to all genealogies, it unveils thematic meanings that shed light on the experiences of the exiles.¹⁰

grasp: "For our transgressions and our sins are upon us, and in them, we waste away. How then can we live?" While Ezekiel's words acknowledge the emotions of the people, it seems that these feelings remain confined to the realm between humans and God, exerting minimal influence on the everyday lives of the exiles in other aspects, particularly sociological ones.

⁷ Some argue that Jeremiah's letter to the elders of the exile reflects anti-Babylonian sentiments. However, recently, Strine has shown that the letter represents a unique stance linked to the direct connection with the exiles' location to whom the message is directed, namely the cities of Babylon and not the periphery where Ezekiel operated. The distinctive identity is shaped around the major cities due to the desire to maintain pragmatism in the exiles' struggle, at least as long as the exile persists. See Casey A. Strine, "Embracing Asylum Seekers and Refugees: Jeremiah 29 as Foundation for a Christian Theology of Migration and Integration," *Political Theology* 19 (2018): 478–496.

⁸ Alstola's book, which examines the circumstances of the Judeans in Babylon during the exile, does touch upon the biblical perspective. However, there is no mention of this list from Chronicles throughout his entire review. See Tero Alstola, *Judeans in Babylonia: A Study of Deportees in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 34–37.

⁹ See Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, Fortress, 2006), 14–15.

¹⁰ The genealogies in Chronicles (1 Chr 1–9) have been perceived, since the early 19th century until the 1970s, as secondary to the entire book, not to mention their questionable reliability. See, for example, Adam C. Welch, *Post-Exilic Judaism* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1935), 185–186; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT; Tübingen: Paul Siebeck, 1955), 1–5. Noth sees only 1 Chr 1; 2:1-5, 9-15; 4:24; 5:3; 6:1-4; 7:1, 12-13, 20; 8:1 - as a primary source. See Martin Noth, *The Chronicler's History* (Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 1987), 34–38. A new approach

This list can be categorised into three distinct types of names:

1. Theophoric Names: These names incorporate divine elements or refer to God (usually יה or אל). Names like יְכֻנְיָהּ or שְׁאֵל־תְּיָאֵל exemplify this pattern.¹¹
2. Names without Theophoric Elements: These names lack direct references to the divine and may hold more secular or personal significance. These names could still carry meaning about the present, future or past, such as אֶסֶר (prisoner) or מְשֻׁלָּם (recompensed).
3. Babylonian Names: Some names in the list are distinctly Babylonian, reflecting the influence of the Babylonian culture on the exiles, such as שְׁנֹאֲצָר or זְרַבְבָּדָל.

In immigrant societies, particularly those which experienced forced migration, names can serve two purposes. They can connect the individual to their old identity group, follow traditions from their country of origin or facilitate the adoption of a new identity in the present country. As many sociologists emphasised, migration brings about a personal and continuous upheaval and immigrants often seek stability by using familiar tools from their previous lives. Naming, particularly traditional names, allows them to maintain a connection to their old world, offering a sense of stability wrapped in nostalgia. It denotes that the former world persists, albeit in a modified shape, even in a novel and unfamiliar environment.¹²

has been accepted in research since Sara Japhet's Dissertation in 1977 and particularly her commentary on Chronicles in 1993. Japhet's approach sees these genealogies as an integral part of the Chronicler's writing. See Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster, 1993), 7. Another attempt to address these genealogies was made later by Sparks, who, unlike his predecessors, sought to analyse these genealogies from a literary perspective, focusing mainly on literary structures within the genealogies, such as chiasmic structures, without extensively engaging with the names themselves. See James Sparks, *The Chronicler's Genealogies: Towards an Understanding of 1 Chronicles 1–9* (Atlanta: SBL, 2008). See also Louis C. Jonker, *Defining All Israel in Chronicles* (FAT 106; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 194–197. Recently, Neria Klein wrote a doctoral thesis that aims to analyse the genealogies of the sons of Judah (1 Chr 2:3–4:23) from a literary perspective, focusing on the literary structure and design elements present in each of these genealogies. See Neria Klein, *The Genealogies of the Sons of Judah in Chronicles (1 Chr. 2:3–4:23): A Literary Analysis* (Ph.D. Thesis; Bar-Ilan University, 2018 [Hebrew]). However, even in these later studies as well as in those that preceded them, very little attention has been given to the study of the names themselves.

¹¹ In the list, there are 22 theophoric names.

¹² See Edward W. Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (ed. Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trinh T. Minh-Ha, Cornel West; Cambridge, Cambridge Press, 1990). 180-192.

C THE TABLETS FROM ĀL-YĀHŪDU

To illustrate the significance of names as identity markers in an ancient immigrant society, we turn our attention to the cuneiform's tablets from Āl-Yāhūdu, a rural city in Babylon, probably between the cities of Nippur and Uruk, where Judean communities settled following the destruction of Judah in 586 BC. The research of these tablets was initiated as early as 1999, shedding light on diverse facets of life in the ancient Judean community.¹³

The significance of these tablets is evident in various aspects:

1. Filling historical gaps: These tablets bridge historical gaps between the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.
2. Post-Exile Judean life: The tablets offer glimpses into the lives of Judean communities that emerged in the aftermath of the Babylonian exile. They provide evidence of how these Judeans established themselves in the Babylonian rural areas, showcasing their efforts to rebuild and adapt to their new environment.¹⁴
3. Integration and interaction: The tablets reveal how these Judean communities integrated (or assimilated) into local Babylonian society.¹⁵ They offer insights into the customs, social norms and interactions

¹³ See Francis Joannès and André Lemaire, "Trois tablettes cuneiformes à onomastique ouest-sémitique," *Transeu* 17 (1999): 17–34; Kathleen Abraham, "West Semitic and Judean Brides in Cuneiform Sources from the Sixth Century BCE: New Evidence from a Marriage Contract from Āl-Yahūdu," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 51 (2005–2006): 198–219; Laurie E. Pearce and Cornelia Wunsch, *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer* (CUSAS 28; Eisenbrauns: Bethesda, 2014); Cornelia Wunsch, *Judeans by the Waters of Babylon: New Historical Evidence in Cuneiform Sources from Rural Babylonia Primarily from the Schøyen Collection* (Babylonische Archive Vol. 6; Dresden: ISLET, 2022).

¹⁴ A tablet containing a specific expression about the Judean elite that settled in the city of Babylon, including a mention of the sustenance of Jeconiah and his sons, was published by Weidner in 1939. Ernst Weidner, "Jojachin, König von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," in *Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud: secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, par ses amis et ses élèves. Tome II* (Paris: Geuthner, 1939), 923–935. See also Olof Pedersen, *Archive und Bibliotheken in Babylon: die Tontafeln der Grabung Robert Koldeweys 1899–1917* (ADOG 25; Berlin: SDV, 2005), 112.

¹⁵ The tablets indicate a certain connection between the Judeans and the residents. However, it is challenging to assess accurately their cultural assimilation and integration into the societal fabric, such as shared educational frameworks in Babylon and these interactions were likely limited. See Caroline Waerzeggers, "Locating Contact in the Babylonian Exile: Some Reflections on Tracing Judean-Babylonian Encounters in Cuneiform Texts," in *Encounters by the Rivers of Babylon: Scholarly Conversations between Jews, Iranians and Babylonians in Antiquity* (ed. Uri Gabbay and Shai Secunda; Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2014), 131–146.

between the Judean expatriates and their Babylonian neighbours. This sheds light on cultural exchange and co-existence dynamics in ancient Babylon.

4. Preservation of Judean identity: One striking aspect highlighted by these tablets is the preservation of Judean identity. This is partly achieved through Judean names, often theophoric, or names closely tied to the religious and cultural aspects.¹⁶

Here are some of the names and their meanings:¹⁷

A. God exiled:

Galā-Yāma¹⁸

B. God (will) redeem/save us:

1. Šalti-il¹⁹

¹⁶ In Pearce and Wunsch, 33–93, there is an entire chapter that analyses the names of these tablets. According to Ran Zadok, one of these three conditions is required to identify a Judean name: 1. A name with a prefix or a theophoric suffix; 2. A name that has some connection to tradition or Jewish holidays, such as Hagai or Shabbtai; 3. A name that appears in a genealogical list containing Jewish names; see Ran Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods* (Vol. 3; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 1979), 7–34. There is extensive discussion in earlier research about the significance of the names in these tablets; see, for example, Jean-Philippe Delorme, "A New Window into the Life of the Judean Exilic Community of Babylonia," in *Next Year in Jerusalem: Exile and Return in Jewish History* (ed. Leonard Greenspoon; West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2019), 80–90. In this context, it is interesting to note the findings of Paul-Alain Beaulieu that 25% of the names given during the exile were either Judean or theophoric. This is an exceptionally noteworthy finding that sheds light on how the exiles sought to preserve their origins; see Paul-Alain Beaulieu, "Yahwistic Names in Light of Late Babylonian Onomastics," in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period* (ed. Obed Lipschits, Gary N. Knoppers, and Manfred Oeming; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 245–266. The use of the term "identity awareness" raises the question of whether the exiles were conscious of their identity or if there is an anachronistic dimension to attributing such awareness to them, see James C. Miller, "Ethnicity and the Hebrew Bible: Problems and Prospects," *CBR* 6 (2008): 170–213.

¹⁷ Some of the names in the tablets end with the suffix "ya-ma." Although researchers generally agree that this suffix is theophoric, carrying the meaning of Yāhû, as evidenced, for instance, in the inscription in CUCAS 28: tablet 10 where Šalam-yama is written in ancient Hebrew as Šalam-Yāhû.

¹⁸ Pearce and Wunsch, 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 61.

2. Yāhûšû²⁰
3. Palat-Yāma²¹
4. Padā-Yāma²²

C. God (will) heal us:

Rapā-Yāma²³

D. God (will) comfort us:

1. Naḥum²⁴
2. Naḥim-Yāma²⁵
3. Mannuḥim²⁶

E. God have mercy on us:

1. Ḥanūnu²⁷
2. Ḥannania²⁸
3. Ḥanūn-Yāma²⁹

F. A wish to go to Zion:

1. Yāli-amma³⁰
2. Yašub-šidiqu³¹
3. Yašub-ṭil(ī)³²

G. God will raise us:

Iqim-Yāma³³

H. God (will) remember/hear/listen/help us:

1. Zakar-Yāma³⁴
2. Šama-Yāma³⁵

²⁰ Ibid., 45.

²¹ Ibid., 3.

²² Ibid., 39.

²³ Ibid., 6.

²⁴ Ibid., 6.

²⁵ Ibid., 21.

²⁶ Ibid., 8.

²⁷ Ibid., 23.

²⁸ Ibid., 24.

²⁹ Ibid., 23.

³⁰ Ibid., 15.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid., 42.

³⁴ Ibid., 51.

³⁵ Ibid., 23.

3. Išme-il³⁶
4. Izin-Yāma³⁷
5. Azar-Yāma³⁸

I. Preservation of cultural identity such as holidays/Sabbath:

1. Šabbatāia³⁹
2. Ḥaggā⁴⁰

Some of these names are familiar to us from the pre-exilic era. However, it is crucial to consider the context in which the names were given, specifically within a community of immigrants. What is intriguing is that theophoric names do appear in the tablets dating back to the Neo-Assyrian period. However, their prevalence increases notably in the tablets dated to the Neo-Babylonian and, particularly, the Persian period. This suggests that as exile evolved into a lasting reality, exiles had a growing need to grant their descendants names rooted in Judean legacy.

These names, whether familiar or unfamiliar, provide a distilled reflection of the consciousness of the exiles, both those who were forced into exile and those who chose to remain voluntarily. They convey a complex range of sentiments, encompassing a sense of abandonment by God and, concurrently, predominantly comprising prayers and appeals for salvation, forgiveness, deliverance, healing, resurrection and peace. God remains the ultimate recipient of these hopes and supplications.

Determining whether these names and their associated meanings represented a widespread practice within the diaspora or were embraced by only a select few is challenging.⁴¹ It is plausible that the exiles sought to preserve their Judean identity by bestowing theophoric names and upholding their religious and cultural traditions in the Babylonian context. This group may have been larger than the one seeking to reaffirm their Judean identity by returning to Yehud. The naming practices thus offer insights into the multifaceted ways the exiles grappled with their identity and faith amid the backdrop of displacement and uncertainty.

I will consider now the Jeconiah’s genealogy list (1 Chr 3:17–24). The approach employed in studying the tablets from Āl-Yāhūdu can offer additional insights when interpreting this list. In this comparative analysis, I aim to illustrate

³⁶ Ibid., 28.

³⁷ Ibid., 51.

³⁸ Ibid., 31.

³⁹ Ibid., 42.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 37.

⁴¹ See Manfred Weippert, *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 460.

how this list also features theophoric names and names (both Judean and non-Judean) that carry connotations inseparable from the context and, more importantly, the consciousness of the exiles.

D ANALYSIS OF JECONIAH'S GENEALOGY LIST

The prevailing assumption among scholars is that the composition of the Book of Chronicles occurred sometime between the mid-fourth century and the early third century BC.⁴² Similar to the historiographical sources, the book does not appear to provide insights into the experiences of the exiles. The concluding chapter of the book concisely addresses the Babylonian exile of 586 BCE, culminating in the final scene depicting the proclamation of King Cyrus.⁴³ The Chronicler's focus is directed more at establishing a new life in Yehud after the exile than exploring the exile itself (see 1 Chr 9).

Nonetheless, 1 Chr 3:17–24 presents the last piece of information in the book—the genealogy list of Jeconiah and his descendants, which extends into the Persian period. Although this information does not conform to conventional narratives or historiography, being a genealogy list, I contend that it is possible to construct from the sequence of names within it, particularly when considering the *midrash* of each name and the broader context, a kind of narrative about the exile, its tribulations and the hopes it embodies.

⁴² For an extensive discussion, see Kai Peltonen "A Jigsaw without a Model? The Dating of Chronicles," in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (ed. Lester L. Grabbe; Sheffield: Sheffield Press, 2001) 225–271.

⁴³ The Chronicler's description of these four kings amounts to only 23 verses compared to 57 verses in the Book of Kings. This abbreviation greatly preoccupied various scholars. Rudolph sees this as contradicting the general tendency of the Chronicler. See Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 366. Japhet, for her part, sees it as a clear tendency of the Chronicler to shorten the description of destruction and exile because, in his eyes, the importance of destruction is significantly decreased. See Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 284. Other scholars view the abbreviation as an attempt to conceal the last four kings of Judah, who, in the eyes of the Chronicler, do not deserve to be called kings of Israel; see Itzhak Amar, "Saul and Josiah's Deaths in Chronicles (1 Chr 10; 2 Chr 35:20–27)," *Beit Mikra* 62 (2017): 80–108 (Hebrew). However, the Chronicler's description is not only an abbreviation, since in other aspects, it also contains additions, as shown by David Gilad, "The Last of the Kingdom of Judah according to the Book of Chronicles: A Methodological Investigation," in *Studies in Bible and Exegesis Presented to Moshe Garsiel* (ed. Samuel Vargon et al.; Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 2009), 251–266 (Hebrew).

The exact order of the names and the number of generations in this list have been subjects of debate.⁴⁴ The order of names presented below reflects my reading, based on the principle that each generation begins with the word ובני or ובן.

אָסֵר שְׂאֵלְתֵי־אֵל בְּנֵוּ וּמְלִכֵּרִם וּפְדִיָּה וְשִׁנְאֲצָר יִקְמִיָּה הוֹשָׁמֶע וְנִדְבָּיָה.	וּבְנֵי יִכְנִיָּה
זְרַבְבָּל וְשִׁמְעִי	וּבְנֵי פְדִיָּה
מְשָׁלִם וְחַנְנִיָּה וְשְׁלֹמִית אַחֲזֹתָם וְחַשְׁבָּה וְאַהֵל וּבְרָכְיָה וְחַסְדִּיָּה יוֹשֵׁב חֶסֶד	וּבֶן זְרַבְבָּל
	חֲמֹשׁ
פְּלִטְיָה וְיִשְׁעָיָה בְּנֵי רַפְּיָה בְּנֵי אֲרָנָן בְּנֵי עֲבֵדְיָה בְּנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה	וּבֶן חַנְנִיָּה
שְׁמַעְיָה	וּבְנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה
חֲטוּשׁ וְיִגְאָל וּבְרִיחַ וְנַעֲרִיָּה וְשַׁפְּטֵ שֵׁשׁה	וּבְנֵי שְׁמַעְיָה
אֶלְיוּעִינִי וְחִזְקִיָּה וְעִזְרִיקָם שְׁלֹשָׁה.	וּבֶן נַעֲרִיָּה
הוֹדְוִיָּהוּ וְאַלְיָשִׁיב וּפְלִיָּה וְעַקוּב וְיֹחָנָן וְדִלְיָה וְעַנְנִי שְׁבַעָה	וּבְנֵי אֶלְיוּעִינִי

This list distinguishes itself from the other lists in the book. The list displays an uncommon structure. Generally, the lists in Chronicles are categorised into two types. The first is a ‘vertical list,’ where each name in the list corresponds to only one successor, as exemplified by the first list in the book: אָדָם שֵׁשׁ אָנוּשׁ קִינָן מִהֶלְלָאֵל יָרַד חֲנוּךְ מִתּוֹשְׁלַח לְמֶדֶן נָח (1 Chr 1:1–3). The second is a ‘horizontal list,’ which includes all the sons of one father, like: וְאִישֵׁי הוֹלִיד אֶת בְּכָרוֹ אֶת אֶלְיָאָב וְאֶבְיָנָדָב הַשְּׁנַי וְשִׁמְעָא הַשְּׁלִישִׁי נְתַנְאֵל הָרְבִיעִי רְדִי הַחֲמִישִׁי אֶצֶם הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּכָרוֹ אֶת אֶלְיָאָב וְאֶבְיָנָדָב הַשְּׁנַי וְשִׁמְעָא הַשְּׁלִישִׁי נְתַנְאֵל הָרְבִיעִי רְדִי הַחֲמִישִׁי אֶצֶם הַשְּׁשִׁי דְוִיד הַשְּׁבַעִי (1 Chr 2:13). The list of Jeconiah combines these two types; on one hand, it presents a list where each generational transition is represented by one continuing son, akin to a vertical list. On the other hand, in each generational jump, there is a horizontal breakdown detailing the continuing son's children. It's worth noting that this list focuses on the narrative of Jeconiah rather than Zedekiah. In making this choice, the Chronicler aligns with the Book of Kings, which concludes with Jeconiah's departure from the Babylonian prison. Although the Chronicler does not explore the account of Jeconiah's release from prison, the list effectively expands upon that narrative by illustrating how the Jeconiah family grew within the Persian Empire following his freedom.

As mentioned, my primary focus will be on the *Midrash* of most of the names featured in the list. Before exploring the meanings of these names, I would like to compare the names found in Jeconiah's list and those from the Āl-

⁴⁴ See Thomas Willi, *Chronik*: 1–11 (BKAT 24; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 118–119.

Yāhūdu's tablets. This comparative analysis seeks to unite the names in these two texts under a common framework, enabling us to draw similar conclusions.

Āl-Yāhūdu Tablets	Jeconiah's list
Yāma-kīn	יכניה
----	אסר
Šalti-il	שאלתיאל
(Abī-rām; Yarim-Yāma)	מלכירם
Padā-Yāma	פדיה
Sîn-šar-ušur	שנאצר
Iqim-Yāma	יקמיה
Il-šamê	הושמע
Nadab-Yāma	נדביה
Zēr-bābili	זרבבל
(Šāmeḥ)	שמעי
(Mušallam)	משלם
Ḥannania	חנניה
----	שלמית
(Ḥašbi-Yāma)	חשבה
----	אהל
Barak-Yāma; Barīk-Yāma	ברכיה
Ḥašdā	חסדיה
(Yašub - šidiqu)	יושב חסד
Palat-Yāma	פלטיה
Išši-Yāma	ישעיה
Rapā-Yāma; Rupā-Yāma	רפיה
---	ארנו
Abdi-Yāhū	עבדיה
Šikin-Yāma	שכניה
Šama-Yāma	שמעיה
---	חטוש
(Galā-Yāma)	יגאל
---	בריה
---	נעריה
---	שפט

(Uhil-Yāma)	אֶלְיוּעִינִי
---	חֲזַקְיָה
Izrīqam	עֲזַרְיָקָם
---	הוֹדְיָהוּ
---	אֶלְיָשִׁיב
Pili-Yāma	פְּלִיָּה
Aqqubu	עֲקוּב
---	יוֹחָנָן
Dalā-Yāma	דְּלָיָה
(Anāni-il)	עַנְנִי

As evident, most of the names found in the genealogy list of Jeconiah and his descendants are also present in the *Āl-Yāhūdu* tablets (29/41). This comparison is particularly intriguing because certain names are identical solely in these two literary sources, without any biblical equivalents. For instance, the names *שְׁאֵלְתִיאל*, *הוֹשֶׁמַע*, *נְדַבְיָה*, *שְׁנַאצָר*, *יוֹשֶׁב (חסד)*, *פְּלִיָּה*, *חֲזַקְיָה*.

We now move to the second stage of analysing Jeconiah's genealogy list. In this phase, we will examine both the sequence in which the names are presented and the significance associated with each name. The merger of these meanings can form a narrative with a chronological plot derived from the *midrashic* and thematic meanings associated with each name.

1 The sons of Jeconiah

וּבְנֵי יְכֹנְיָה אֲסִיר שְׁאֵלְתִיאל בְּנוֹ וּמְלָכִירָם וּפְדָיָה וְשְׁנַאצָר יְקַמְיָה הוֹשֶׁמַע וְנְדַבְיָה

The presence of the possessive pronoun *בְּנוֹ* (his son) following Shealtiel's name offers us four possible interpretations:⁴⁵

1. Asir and Shealtiel were both Jeconiah's sons.
2. Shealtiel was the son of Asir and Pedaiah (continuing the dynasty) was the grandson of Jeconiah.⁴⁶
3. Asir is a nickname for Jeconiah due to his imprisonment in Babylon, making Shealtiel the first son of Jeconiah.⁴⁷
4. Asir and Shealtiel are two names of one son.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ See Klein, *The Genealogies*, 195–197.

⁴⁶ See Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 99.

⁴⁷ Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 28; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 119.

⁴⁸ See *Peshitta*.

I assume that Asir and Shealtiel are two sons of Jeconiah and this assumption guides my exploration of how the sequence of names and their meanings can craft a narrative providing insights into Jeconiah's life story:

- a. אָסִיר - The first name Jeconiah gave to his son reflects his current situation as a prisoner (אָסִיר) in the Babylonian prison.
- b. שְׁאַלְתִּי אֱלֹהִים - The meaning of the name, "I asked God," reflects Jeconiah's mental state while he is still in prison. Jeconiah prays to God, possibly seeking his release, as in Ps 27:4: "One thing I asked (שְׁאַלְתִּי) of the Lord."
- c. מֶלֶךְ בָּבֶל - This name may reflect Jeconiah's favourable disposition toward the Babylonian king, perhaps with the intent of securing his release. The name signifies, "My (Babylonian) king is lofty."
- d. פָּדָהּ - This name signifies "God redeemed me." The context could be Jeconiah expressing gratitude to God upon his release from prison.
- e. שְׁנֵאֲצֵר - After his release from prison and as a gesture of appreciation to the Babylonian king who facilitated it, Jeconiah gives his son a Babylonian name that expresses praise for the king.⁴⁹ Some believe שְׁנֵאֲצֵר is שְׁשַׁבְצָר, which appears in the Book of Ezra as one of the early immigrants to Yehud (Ezra 1:8). Both names originate from Neo-Babylonian names like *Šin-ab(a)-uṣur*, meaning, Sin will save the father or *Šamaš-pala-uṣur*, meaning, the sun god will save the son. In both forms, the name conveys a blessing for the Babylonian king.
- f. יִקְמֶיָהּ - After leaving prison and paying tribute to the Babylonian king, Jeconiah turns his attention to his situation. The name יִקְמֶיָהּ can be interpreted in the past, meaning God has raised me or in the future, as a plea for God to raise him (after being downcast).
- g. הוֹשַׁעְתָּ - The name reflects Jeconiah's gratitude to God after hearing his prayers and granting his requests.
- h. נִדְבָהּ - The final name in the list of Jeconiah's sons can be understood in both the present and future contexts. In the present, Jeconiah continues expressing gratitude to God for his generosity in getting him out of prison.

⁴⁹ See Baruch Halpern, "A Historiographic Commentary on Ezra 1–6: A Chronological Narrative and Dual Chronology in Israelite Historiography," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. William H. C. Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 91–92.

Alternatively, it could express a future wish, with Jeconiah asking God to continue being generous to him in the coming days.

It is worth noting that most of the names of Jeconiah's sons are theophoric, incorporating names of God. The only two non-theophoric names are אסיר and שנאצר, both of which, as explained, reflect Jeconiah's circumstances at the time—a prisoner and a name given in tribute to the Babylonian king after Jeconiah's release.

2 The sons of Pedaiah

וּבְנֵי פְדִיָּה זְרֻבָּבֶל וְשִׁמְעִי

- a. זְרֻבָּבֶל - The etymology of the name Zerubbabel can be interpreted as *Zer-Bâbili*, which implies 'Babylonian seed' (זרע בבל)⁵⁰ or *Zurub-Bâbili*, signifying Babylonian sorrow or pain (צער בבל). Zerubbabel represents a third generation in exile. When naming him, this reality might lead his father, Pedaiah, to two different states of mind. In the first, Pedaiah acknowledges that this child is truly a product of Babylon, fully immersed in its culture and heritage. In the second, Pedaiah may reflect that this child, as a third-generation exile, signifies that exile has become a deeply ingrained part of their existence, suggesting that exile is a permanent condition.
- b. שִׁמְעִי - The reality of being a third-generation exile leads Pedaiah to offer a prayer to God akin to the prayer of his father. It underscores the enduring impact of exile on his family's identity and faith.

3 The sons of Zerubbabel

וּבְנֵי זְרֻבָּבֶל מְשֻׁלֵּם וְחַנְנִיָּה וְשִׁלְמִית אַחֲזָתָם וְחִשְׁבָּה וְאֵהֶל וּבְרַכְיָה וְחַסְדִּיָּה יוֹשֵׁב חֶסֶד חֲמֵשׁ

Many scholars have observed that the final count of 'five' children does not align with the total of eight children on the list. Hence, they have divided this list into two groups—the initial three children of Zerubbabel were born in exile, while the remaining five were born in Yehud.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See HALOT, 279.

⁵¹ See Edward L. Curtis and Albert A. Madsen, *The Book of Chronicles* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910), 102; Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 29; Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 101; Willi, *Chronik*, 117.

Ernst Bertheau, in his 1854 commentary on Chronicles, established the groundwork for interpreting Zerubbabel's sons as a *Midrash* in the context of the days of the returnees to Zion:⁵²

- a. חַנּוּנְיָהּ – Yahweh is gracious.
- b. בְּרַכְיָהּ – Yahweh blesses.
- c. חַסְדִּיָּהּ – Yahweh is kind.
- d. יוֹשֵׁב חֶסֶד – Kindness returns.

Curtis and Madsen added further significance thus:⁵³

- a. מְשַׁלֵּם – Recompensed⁵⁴
- b. שְׁלָמִית – Peace
- c. חֲשָׁבָה – Consideration
- d. אֹהֶל – The dwelling place of Yahweh⁵⁵

4 The sons of Hananiah

וּבֶן חַנְּנְיָהּ פְּלִטְיָהּ וַיִּשְׁעָיָהּ בְּנֵי רַפְיָהּ בְּנֵי אֲרָנָן בְּנֵי עִבְדִּיָּהּ בְּנֵי שְׁכַנְיָהּ

It should be noted that Hananiah, who represents the continuation of the dynasty, was selected from Zerubbabel's three children born in Babylon. Consequently, as Sara Japhet contends, it is plausible that the entire list from that point onward pertains to the descendants who remained in Babylon.⁵⁶ The names given by Hananiah to his sons, especially the first three, follow the pattern of names that mirror a reality necessitating a resolution. As previously noted, some of these names can also be found in the Āl-Yāhūdu tablets, emphasising their thematic significance.

- a. פְּלִטְיָהּ – Yahweh (will) save us.
- b. יִשְׁעָיָהּ – Yahweh (will) save us.
- c. רַפְיָהּ – Yahweh (will) heal us.

⁵² Ernst Bertheau, *Die Bücher der Chronik* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1854), 32.

⁵³ Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 101–102.

⁵⁴ The name closely related in the Āl-Yāhūdu tablets to this name is “Mušallam,” which likely means “to restore” or “to construct anew.” See Pearce and Wunsch, 67.

⁵⁵ The term אֹהֶל is closely associated with priestly literature but also finds significance in Deuteronomistic literature as a symbol of the dwelling place of the divine.

⁵⁶ Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 102) indeed believes that the list represents the dynasty of the House of David that remained in Babylon, suggesting that it is likely registered there as well.

The following name on the list is אַרְנָן. He is the only one among Hananiah's sons who does not bear a theophoric name. The exact meaning of this name remains unclear.

d. עֲבֹדָיָה / שְׁכַנְיָה - The last two names once more adhere to the pattern of theophoric names. It is plausible that these two names can also be linked to the experience of exile. Hananiah expresses his commitment to be God's servant (עֲבֹדָיָה) and, in turn, beseeches God to restore His divine presence (שְׁכַנְיָה) among the exiles.

5 The son of Shecaniah

וּבְנֵי שְׁכַנְיָה שְׁמַעְיָה

Shecaniah had only one son, making this list somewhat unusual.⁵⁷ It is conceivable that his son's name, Shemaiah, represents another recurring motif among the Babylonian exiles—a plea to God. We have seen this pattern with Jeconiah (Shealtiel and Hoshama), with Pedaiah (Shimei) and now with Shemaiah.

6 The Sons of Shemaiah

וּבְנֵי שְׁמַעְיָה חֲטוּשׁ וַיְגָאֵל וּבְרִיָּה וְנַעֲרִיָּה וְשַׁפְּטָה שָׁהָה

Setting aside the challenge presented by the ending of the list with the number 'six,' which is puzzling given the presence of only five children, the names seem quite distinct from those we have encountered thus far. Notably, the name Neariah is the only theophoric name in this list.

- a. חֲטוּשׁ - This name is quite prevalent in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah and there is a strong likelihood that he is the same individual mentioned in the Book of Ezra as one who came up from Babylon (Ezra 8:2) and associated with the "sons of David."⁵⁸ This further proves that the Hananiah list focuses on children born in Babylon.⁵⁹ The meaning of the name Hattush has not been elucidated. Nonetheless, its presence in Neo-Babylonian documents like *khantâshu* or *kantûshu* suggests that the name is of non-Semitic or non-Judean origin.⁶⁰ Naming the first son with a

⁵⁷ The total at the end of Shemaiah's list is six, although only five names are included. Some scholars argue that the words בני שמעיה are a gloss and should be omitted, thus resulting in six sons of Shecaniah. See Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 102.

⁵⁸ See Klein, *I Chronicles*, 122.

⁵⁹ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 102.

⁶⁰ See Martin Noth, *Die Israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928), 243.

Babylonian name, akin to what Pedaiah did, may reflect a despair stemming from the exile or from accepting it.

- b. יִגָּל - Among all the names in the list, Yigal is the only name that features the root גָּל (redeem). This holds particular significance in the context of the diaspora in which Shemaiah is situated. The stark contrast between a Babylonian first name and a second name that brims with hope of redemption is remarkable. It is difficult not to contemplate a shift in consciousness that may have occurred within Shemaiah in this period.
- c. בְּרִיחַ - The name is somewhat enigmatic and its precise meaning remains elusive. It is possible that it could be connected to the root ברח, which signifies someone who is fleeing from an enemy (as in Isa 15:5). Alternatively, it might be related to the phrase חומה ובריח (1 Kgs 4:13), which implies a sense of strength and protection.⁶¹ The exact connection here is difficult to ascertain.

The meanings of the two remaining names נְעָרְיָה וְשָׁפָט in the diasporic context are not evident. In the case of these two names, Shemaiah might be expressing his commitment to serve God and, in return, he demands that God administer justice for him.

7 The sons of Neariah

וּבְנֵי נְעָרְיָה אֶלְיוּעִינִי וְחִזְקִיָּה וְעִזְרִיקָם שְׁלֹשָׁה

The three names of Neariah's sons revolve around his relationship with God. These names, once again, convey a sense of distress and a plea for God's assistance and strength.

- a. אֶלְיוּעִינִי – The name conveys Neariah's desperate situation, as he lifts his eyes to seek assistance from God.
- b. חִזְקִיָּה – While the name typically means “Yahweh is strong,” in this context, it may carry the connotation of a plea: “Please Yahweh, strengthen me.”
- c. עִזְרִיקָם - Continuing the motif of lifting the eyes toward God and asking for strength, the final name conveys the hope that God will assist Neariah's ascent or rise from his difficulty.

8 The sons of Elioenai

⁶¹ See Yehuda Kill, *1 Chronicle* (Da'at Mikra; Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1986), 79.

וּבְנֵי אֱלִיֹּעִינִי הַיְדוּדִיָּהוּ וְאֶלְיָשִׁיב וּפְלִיָּה וְעֶקֶב וְיֹחָזֵן וְדָלְיָהּ וְעֲנָנִי

The list of Elioeni's sons serves as the conclusion of Jeconiah's descendants. In terms of its content, it can be divided into three parts:

1. The first two names (הַיְדוּדִיָּהוּ וְאֶלְיָשִׁיב) convey a sense of hope.
2. The next name following them (פְּלִיָּה) expresses a sort of desperation.
3. The four names that conclude this list (וְעֶקֶב וְיֹחָזֵן וְדָלְיָהּ וְעֲנָנִי) as well as the genealogy list of Jeconiah, once again, express hope, culminating in the name עֲנָנִי, meaning “God answered me.”
 - a. הַיְדוּדִיָּהוּ – The first name commences with an expression of gratitude towards God, although the specific cause for this thankfulness remains undisclosed. This could relate to a personal event in Elioenai's life or it could be connected to a national matter concerning the destiny of the exiled and the prospect of returning to Zion, as suggested by the successive name on the list.
 - b. אֶלְיָשִׁיב – The name means “God will return (the people?)” and takes on significance in the context of its infrequent appearance only in post-exilic books like Chronicles (1 Chr 24:3–6), Ezra (10:24) and Nehemiah (13:28). It conveys a message of prayer or a fervent request for either God to bring His people back to Zion or for God Himself to return to Zion, as suggested by the *Vulgate* (*Eliasub*).

Following the optimism conveyed by the first two names, the next name introduces a sense of pessimism.

- c. פְּלִיָּה – The name appears to mean “to differentiate” or “to distinguish.” Therefore, it could be interpreted as “Yahweh has set me apart (from others).”
- d. The last four names circle back to the theme of hope—עֶקֶב, derived from עִקַּב, is likely a shortened form of עִקְבֵיָהּ, signifying “God's protection;” יֹחָזֵן carries the sense of “God's mercy upon me;” דָּלְיָהּ signifies that “Yahweh aided me” and lastly, עֲנָנִי, which concludes the list, translates to “[God] responded to me.”

The inclusion of seven names in this list is not a random occurrence; it reflects a deliberate connection to the typological significance of the number seven, a recurring motif in the Chronicler's narrative when addressing the descendants of Judah as a whole and the lineage of Jesse, in particular:

1. Seven sons of Judah (2:3–5)

2. Seven descendants tracing back to Zerah (2:6–8)
3. Seven generations spanning from Ram to Jesse (2:10–12)
4. Seven sons of Jesse (2:13–15)
5. David's seven wives, with the last one being Bat-Shua (=Bat Sheba) (3:1–5)
6. The seven sons of Elioenai (3:24)

The placement of Anani as the final name in this list holds particular significance due to his position as the seventh in the sequence, bearing a resemblance to David, who was also the seventh son of Jesse (2:15). This numeric pattern underscores the Chronicler's intention to draw attention to the symbolic importance of the number seven throughout the genealogical accounts.

E DISCUSSION

Scholars often analyse the genealogical list of Jeconiah's descendants, focusing on the possibility of the House of David dynasty being restored after the exile.⁶² This lineage, spanning from exile to the Persian period, suggests that a monarchy from the house of David could arise. The lineage anticipates an opportune moment to claim power and re-establish the Davidic dynasty. Notably, Zerubbabel's son, Hananiah, remained in Babylon, indicating that the list contains primarily individuals born in exile. Thus, the list conveys a twofold message—it expresses the aspiration for a Davidic dynasty resurgence, while also emphasising the preservation of Judean identity and, in some cases, the desire for a return to their homeland.⁶³

Among the 41 names listed, the names of Elioenai's sons, particularly עֲנָנִי, stand out. The comparison between Anani, the seventh son of Elioenai and David, the seventh son of Jesse, might hold a significant message—a call for a return to Yehud and the restoration of the Davidic dynasty.⁶⁴

Assuming that the list primarily pertains to individuals who remained in Babylon provides a valuable lens into the mindset of the exiles. The names given to Jeconiah's descendants, from the first (Asir) to the last (Anani), offer insights into the state of mind of the expatriates. This list stands as a unique source, perhaps the only one in the Bible, that illuminates the perspectives of the exiles. By examining the names, scholars can learn about the hopes, fears and aspirations of those who remained in Babylon. As observed in the review of the names above,

⁶² See the discussion in Knoppers, *1 Chronicles: 1–9*, 331–335; Klein, *1 Chronicles*, 123.

⁶³ See Willi, *Chronik*, 43.

⁶⁴ In the Targum, an additional sentence is included at this point: הוּא מְלִכָּא מְשִׁיחָא הוּא מְלִכָּא מְשִׁיחָא דְעָתִיד לְאַתְגְּלָאָה, meaning, He is the Messiah King who is soon to be revealed. This addition is not coincidental, given that Anani is the last recorded descendant of the House of David known to us.

some reflect a longing to return to Yehud and restore what was lost in its destruction.

The genealogy list of Jeconiah is, as mentioned, the final piece of information in the Book of Chronicles. It is possible that there is much more to it than merely a genealogy list; it serves as the author's last will concerning the House of David (Davidic dynasty) in general and its revival in particular. Many scholars have already observed that the book's conclusion with the ascension of King Cyrus of Persia symbolises a significant shift in Israel's monarchy. The Israelite king has become irrelevant and has been replaced by Cyrus, the Persian king.⁶⁵ However, it is possible that Jeconiah's genealogy list counters this conclusion. While it is true that the Persian king now reigns, the final data in the book (i.e., the genealogy list of Jeconiah) suggests that the dream of Israel's monarchy was not entirely extinguished, neither by the destruction nor by the rise of Cyrus, the Persian king.

This perspective is unique in the biblical context, where explicit expressions of the exiles' experiences are scarce. Despite shortening the account of the exile, the Chronicler indirectly sheds light on the exiles' state of mind. This portrayal, though enigmatic, enriches our understanding of the exilic experience, which encompasses not only the physical displacement but also a complex tapestry of emotions, including disappointment, despair, hope and joy. Through this list, the Chronicler offers a glimpse into the resilience and spirit of the exiles. It serves as a reminder that the exile was not merely a historical event, but a human experience filled with both suffering and hope. The list invites us to reflect on the enduring power of identity and the human capacity for resilience in the face of adversity.

The Chronicler's approach, focusing on what transpired indirectly in Babylon between the exile and the return to Yehud, resonates with the call in research to adopt a more comprehensive perspective towards the history of Israel after the exile.⁶⁶ Traditional biblical narratives often adopt a binary viewpoint—of the people residing in Yehud and those journeying to Yehud. This perspective overlooks other facets of the broader Israelite community, including those who willingly or forcibly lived in exile. Jerusalem-based writers typically downplayed the exilic period, considering it detrimental to the Israelite ethos. Their narrative typically presented two options—inhabit the land or pilgrimage toward it. Any other circumstance was viewed as unnatural or even illegitimate.

⁶⁵ See Jonker, *Defining All-Israel*, 146–148. See also Snyman's conclusion in Gerrie Snyman, "The Ethics of Reading and the Quest for the Audience in the Book of Chronicles," *OTE* 23 (2010): 819.

⁶⁶ See Gard Granerød, "Canon and Archive: Yahwism in Elephantine and Āl-Yāhūdu as a Challenge to the Canonical History of Judean Religion in the Persian Period," *JBL* 138 (2019): 362–364.

The Chronicler seemingly adhered to a similar approach, offering a condensed account of the exile (2 Chr 36) and his last historical piece concludes with those who returned to Jerusalem (1 Chr 9). However, he also alluded to the exiles' situation within this broader framework (1 Chr 3:17–24) and to those who continually inhabit the land (1 Chr 7:20–23). This inclusive approach means that the book is not directed only at those who came to Yehud, as seen in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.⁶⁷ The book of Chronicles is intended for a diverse audience—those who remained in Israel, those who went into exile, those who stayed in exile and those who returned from it. Its message to all these groups is one—God serves as a source of supplication for everyone, regardless of their origin or status.⁶⁸

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⁶⁷ See Sara Japhet, "The Concept of the Remnant in the Restoration Period: On the Vocabulary of Self-Definition," in *Das Manna fällt auch Heute noch: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments: Festschrift für Erich Zenger* (ed. F.L. Hossfeld and L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger; Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 340–361.

⁶⁸ For the Chronicles' intended audience, see Yigal Levin, "Who was the Chronicler's Audience? A Hint from His Genealogies," *JBL* 122 (2003): 243–245. However, see Jonker, *Defining All-Israel*, 68–71.

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