

## Appendix 3A, V

### Repatriation and Reformation Source-Quoted Narratives<sup>1</sup>

#### Books of:

- A. *Esdras*
- B. *Esther*
- C. *Ezra*
- D. *Haggai*
- E. *Josephus*
- F. *Nehemiah*
- G. *Zechariah*

#### A. I ESDRAS

Mithridates, *Cyrus'* treasurer, "delivered [the vessels] to Sanabassar, the governor of Judea ...[and they] were brought back by Sanabassar, together with them of the captivity, from Babylon to Jerusalem." 2:11-12, 15.

"[W]hen *Darius* reigned...three young men, that were of the guard that kept the king's body [of whom one was Zorobabel/Zerubbabel]," agreed to each place a written statement where it would be found by king Darius, beneath his pillow. They anticipated that the wisest would bring to its writer royal gifts, and the "victory" of being called "cousin" by Darius. Upon reading the statements, Darius had the three men summoned to give an oration concerning their respective propositions, at a dominion feast attended by all the Median and Persian princes and the governors, captains and lieutenants from 127 provinces from India to Ethiopia.

Zorobabel's reasoning of the proposition, "What is strongest?--wine, the king, or woman?," in which he subtly transformed Woman into Truth, was found to be the wisest. Darius arose, kissed Zorobabel, and said, "Thou shalt sit next me, and shalt be called my cousin," and granted Zorobabel's request that Darius make good on an earlier vow to rebuild Jerusalem once he had become king, and return "all the vessels...*which Cyrus set apart, when he vowed to destroy Babylon...to send them again thither.*" Zorobabel reminded Darius, "Thou also hast vowed to build up the temple, *which the Edomites burned when Judea was made desolate by the Chaldees.*"

Darius wrote letters of conveyance and instruction to his "lieutenants that were in Celosyria and Phenice, etc.," ordering further that the Edomites should give over the villages" they had taken. "He sent away also all the vessels from Babylon, that Cyrus had set apart; and all that Cyrus had given in commandment, the same charged he also to be done, and sent unto Jerusalem." 3-4; 4:42-50, 57.

"After this were the principal men of the families chosen...to go...: Jesus, the son of Josedec..., *Joacim the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel of the house of David, out of the kindred of Phares of the tribe of Judah, who spake wise sentences before Darius...*in the second year of his reign, in the month of Nisan, which is the first month." With Zorobabel came "Jesus, Nehemias and Zacharias, and Reesaias, Eneuius, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, Aspharasus, Reelius, Roimus, and Baana." (Accompanying individuals and their groups are

<sup>1</sup> Italicized portions of quotations are supplied, unless noted otherwise. The narrative summaries are given in the same sequence as in the texts (e.g. *Esdras'* mention of Esdra/Ezra and *Nehemiah* at fn. 2)—although, as explored elsewhere in this volume, the true chronology is elusive. (The *Ezra* report appears to shift forward in time with chapter eight, while *Nehemiah's* appears to shift backward at its end. Per *Cambridge* VII.vii.1, "The Jewish Canonical History ended with...reforms...aimed at Samaritans and other non-Jews [meaning, non-Hebrews, or non-Judahites?]. *But at a much later time the series of documents, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, was artificially divided and the halves transposed...*[and] *Chronicles now stands after its sequel in Ezra-Nehemiah.*")

enumerated. Certain men assuming the office of priesthood could not show by their families or stock how they were of Israel; and “unto them *said Nehemias and Atharias*, that they should not be partakers of the holy things, till there arose up an high priest clothed with doctrine and truth.”<sup>2</sup>)

5:1-7ff; 28-40.

“When the seventh month was at hand...then stood up Jesus the son of Josedec and his brethren the priests, and Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, and his brethren, and made ready the altar.... .. And they laid the foundation of the house...in the first day of the second month, in the second year after they were come to...Jerusalem,” after which they held a celebration.

5:47-57.

“[W]hen the enemies of the tribe of Judah and Benjamin heard it...they went to Zorobabel and Jesus...and said unto them, ‘We will build together with you;’” but they were turned aside. Then the spurned persons “of the land...hindered the finishing of the building all the time that king Cyrus lived: so *they were hindered from building for the space of two years, until the reign of Darius.*”

5:68, 72-73.

In the second year of Darius, with Aggeus/[Haggai] and Zacharias spurring them on, Zorobabel and Jesus proceeded with the building. They then were confronted by “Sisennes, the governor of Syria and Phenice, with Sathrabuzanes and his companions.” Zorobabel, et al maintained that the authority to rebuild originally had been granted by Cyrus. Sisennes, et al sent written inquiry to Darius, who made a search. The referenced scroll was found in the Ecbatana palace, and Darius redecreed that the work proceed.

6:1-3, 7ff., 23, 34.

“[T]he holy house finished in the three and twentieth day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius king of the Persians.”

7:5.

“But in the time of *Artaxerxes* king of the Persians...Belemus, and Mithridates, and Tabellius and Rathumus, and Beeltethmus, and Samellius the secretary, with others that were in commission with them, dwelling in Samaria and other places,” wrote to Artaxerxes, warning that building taking in place in Jerusalem signified future danger to Persia’s control of and access through the region. King Artaxerxes commanded his officials to “hinder those men from building the city, and...no more [be] done in it.”

2:16ff.

“After these things, when *Artaxerxes* the king of the Persians reigned, came Esdras [who] went up from Babylon, as a scribe.” (Chief sons and their accompanying men are enumerated.<sup>3</sup>) On the third day of the congregation’s arrival at Jerusalem, the gold and silver<sup>4</sup> was weighed and delivered at the temple “unto Marmoth the priest the son of Iri. And with him was Eleazar, the son of Phinees, and with them were Josabad the son of Jesu and Moeth the son of Sabban....”

8:1ff, 62-63.

[Some] ruling priests complained to Esdras about the *mixed marriages of some of “the princes, the priests and Levites.”* A proposition was advanced by one “Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of Israel,” that all who had “taken of the heathen” put away their wives and children. After Ezra meditated in the chamber of Joanan the son of Eliashib, a proclamation was issued for a compulsory gathering at Jerusalem; “And in three days were all they of the Tribe of Judah and Benjamin gathered together.” Esdras declared the transgression, and a time was set for review--“[L]et them of our habitations that have strange wives come at the time appointed.” “Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechihus the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them; and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbathus helped them.” “And Esdras the priest chose unto him the principal men of their families, all by name; and in the first day of the tenth month they sat...to examine the matter.”

<sup>2</sup> (a) For the listed groups, names and numbers of the Returns, refer to Appendix 3B, II, “Chief/ High Priesthood.”

<sup>3</sup> Refer to preceding footnote.

<sup>4</sup> *Josephus* describes less than does *1 Esdras* in these verses, as 650 talents in silver, 100 talents in silver vessels, 100 talents of gold, 20 golden vessels, and 12 vessels of brass.

Priests, priest-sons and individuals found guilty of the transgression are enumerated.<sup>5</sup>  
8:68-9:37.

“And the priests and Levites, and they that were of Israel, dwelt in Jerusalem, and in the country, in the first day of the seventh month; so the children of Israel were in their habitations;” and Esdras brought the law unto the whole multitude “in the first day of the seventh month.” “[H]e read it in the broad court...from morning unto midday...upon a pulpit of wood which was made for that purpose.” Those who stood at his right hand were Mattathias, Sammu, Ananias, Azarias, Urias, Ezeccias, Balasamu.<sup>6</sup> Those at his left hand were Phaldaius, Misael, Melchias, Lothasubus and Nabarias.<sup>6</sup>  
1 Esdras 9:40ff.

## B. ESTHER

*Efforts to sequence the two sources, Esther and The Rest (of the Chapters) of Esther, ultimately insists acceptance that, originally, one familiar and unconfusing account must have related the ascendancy at the Persian imperial court of Mardocheus/Mordecai, the Hebrew, over Aman/Haman, the Macedonian, and the accession of Esther, in place of “Vashti,” as Persia’s queen. Certain issues go begging due to insufficient data concerning successions and identifications in Persia’s monarchy (e.g. was the same Persian monarch involved throughout?—Esther events resemble the factioning and palace conspiracies typically surrounding dynastic changes, with statements in its chapter 10 adding fodder to much wider speculation .*

(Benjamin-Cisai-Semei-Jairus-/Benjamin-Kish-Shimei-Jairus-) Mardocheus/Mordecai (a Jew/[Judaean/('Judahaeon')]) was transplanted in the Nebuchadnezzar captivity of queen Nehushta and young king Jechonias/[Jehoiachin?]. Mardocheus/Mordecai is reported as being a “great” man, in the Persian capital of Susa where lived he and his considerably younger cousin, Esther, his father’s brother’s daughter, orphaned when she was a child. Esther and her foster father, Mardocheus/Mordecai, became involved with the Persian royal court in the reign of *Ahasuerus*.<sup>7</sup>  
*The Rest of Esther*, 11:2, 3, 4; *Esther* 2:5, 6.

King Ahasuerus in his third year had a feast at Shushan Palace, over which his queen Vashti’s willful refusal to participate is reported the cause for her subsequent deposal.<sup>8</sup> Esther was one of the young virgins recruited by the king’s servants to provide a new harem for the king, from which some of the king’s unnamed servants suggested the king could select a new queen. Mordecai commanded that Esther’s ethnicity be kept secret. *Esther* 2:10.

The rules of consort provided that, once the king had been with a virgin (having before been granted by him a gift of that which she wished), she was taken to the house of concubines, from which she again would join the king only if he deemed it. In year seven of Ahasuerus, Esther, the daughter of Abihail, the uncle of Mordecai, gained complete favor with the king; and she was made queen.  
*Esther* 2:13; 2:17.

Mardocheus at an undesignated time reported to king *Artaxerxes* that certain of the king’s servants were plotting his murder, having learned it while he “took his rest in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king, and keepers of the palace“. In those days, while Mordecai was sitting at gate the king,” two angry eunuchs, Bigthan and Teresh, “sought to stretch forth a hand against king *Ahasuerus*. And was known the matter to Mordecai. And he told to Esther the queen and declared [it] Esther to the king in the name of Mordecai.” The matter was investigated, the two eunuchs were strangled/hanged, and “it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king.” “So the king commanded Mardocheus to serve in the court, and for this he rewarded him.” The act also gained for Mordecai/Mardocheus the animosity of (Amadathus-) Aman (a Macedonian), highest servant of the king.  
*The Rest*, 12; *Esther* 2:21-23.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 3B, II, sub-part IV (Excommunications).

<sup>6</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, IV, Explorative Timeline.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Tobit*’s use of “Assuerus”—Appendix 2C, V at fn. 9.

<sup>8</sup> At this time, the “seven the eunuchs ministering in the presence of King *Ahasuerus*” were Mehuman, Biztha, Harbana, Bigtha, Abagtha, Zethar and Carcas. *Esther* 1:10.

(Hammedatha the Agagite/Amadathus-) Haman/Aman seemingly served as prime minister, above all the royal princes and servants; everyone was to bow before him. When Mordecai/Mardocheus continued to refuse to pay Haman homage, other of the king's servants asked Haman whether "matters Mordecai" were to stand; Mordecai had told them that he was a "Jew."<sup>9</sup> Haman is reported as wanting to rid the entire kingdom of the "Jews"/[Hebrews].

*Esther 3:1-6.*

During King Ahasuerus' twelfth year, "they cast Pur,<sup>10</sup> that [being] the lot, before Haman from day to day, and from month to month, to the twelfth...." Haman counseled that "a certain people" scattered throughout the empire kept their own laws instead of its, and that to tolerate them was not to the empire's advantage. Haman counseled King Ahasuerus that they should be eradicated, and that "10,000 talents of silver I/[Haman] will weigh out to the hands of those doing the work to bring to treasuries the king's." The King agreed and gave Haman his ring to use for sealing an edict.<sup>11</sup>

*Esther 3:7ff.*

Aman/Haman's edict ordained his full authority over all satrapies in pursuing extermination from the empire of all of "certain malicious people" who persisted in following their own laws contrary to the union of the empire. Mordecai secretly sent all his information on Aman/Haman and a copy of the edict to Esther, via her trusted harem eunuch, Hatach, with an order to make a supplication to the king. Esther replied that it had been a month since the king had asked for her company and reminded Mordecai that, under Persian law, if a person entered the king's presence without his summons it was on pain of death. Mordecai responded that she had a duty--perhaps a 'divine' one--to attempt to intercede.

*The Rest 13; Esther 4:4ff.*

Esther agreed. On the following "third day," Esther, after preparing herself, appeared in her royal garb in the inner court of the king's house and gained the King's attention. According to the parallel report, Esther after preparing herself "passed through all the doors" unsummoned to the king on his throne; and, when her fright and anxiety caused her to be faint, the King reassured her: "You shalt not die, though our order be general!"<sup>12</sup> He asked what wish she would be granted, "even to half of the kingdom." Esther requested the King's and Haman's presences at banquet with her in her chambers.

*Esther 5:1-4; The Rest 15:10.*

At home, Haman, exultant over the invitation, took it as confirming his superior status. Fueled by his wife and supporters, it was decided a gallows would be built on which they hoped to see Mordecai hanged.

*Esther 5:11-14.*

On "that night" the troubled, sleepless king had the royal chronicles brought to him and found the record of Mordecai. He asked his servants what honor and dignity Mordecai had received and was told "Not has been done for him a thing."<sup>13</sup>

*Esther 6.1-2.*

Haman, unaware, went "to speak to the king to hang Mordecai." Following a somewhat taunting prologue, the king commanded Haman to have Mordecai royally dressed and that Haman, himself, lead Mordecai's horse as he rode through the public streets, proclaiming before him, "In this way shall be done to the man whom the king delights in honoring him." Afterward when at home Haman told of the turn of events, "his wise men and Zeresh, his wife," said, "If of the seed of the Jews, Mordecai, whom you have begun to

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<sup>9</sup> "Jew" anciently at its least must denote one of the Hebrew race, but not necessarily a native of Judah (even if inclusion of Mordecai in Nebuchadnezzar's captivity suggests he was taken there).

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix 3B, I, *Pur*.

<sup>11</sup> From verse 11 it would seem *vice-versa* that Haman received silver from the king for the undertaking. The latter may have been to subsidize the former, *i.e.*, the intended "sum of money which said Haman to weigh to treasuries...for the Jews...." being slave market profits.

<sup>12</sup> More in keeping with Esther's message to Mordecai concerning unsummoned approaches.;

<sup>13</sup> This is not in keeping with *the king, himself, rewarding Mordecai* per *Esther 2:21-23*, above.

fall before, not you against him shall prevail but surely shall fall before him.”<sup>14</sup> At that point the “King’s eunuchs arrived and hastened to bring Haman to the [Esther’s] banquet.”

*To Esther 6:4-14.*

At Esther’s “banquet of wine,” the king asked Esther what was her “petition.” She asked for her life and that of “her people” and revealed Haman’s treachery. The king went into the garden to first cool his wrath. When he re-entered he saw Haman “falling on the couch which Esther was upon.” The king exclaimed--would Haman “also ravish the queen with me in the house?” At that point Harbonah, a eunuch, told the king of Haman’s plan to hang Mordecai on the gallows. “[S]aid the king, ‘Hang *him* on it!,” and they hanged Haman.”

*Esther 7:2-10.*

“[T]hat day gave king Ahasuerus to Esther the Queen the house of Haman,” and Esther set Mordecai over it. Whether before or after conferral of Haman’s estate, Esther pleaded with the king concerning Haman’s Jew-killing edict; and Ahasuerus gave to Mordecai and to queen Esther authority to “write to the Jews” in the name of the king, for what good they desired, and gave to Mordecai the signet ring that had been retrieved from Haman. Accordingly, the king’s scribes wrote “all that commanded Mordecai to the Jews, and to the satraps, and governors, and the princes of the provinces, which from India to Ethiopia,” Mordecai sealed it “in the name of king Ahasuerus;” and the order went out from Shushan palace.

*Esther 8:1-10.*

The retracting proclamation, sealed in the name of *Artaxerxes*, (a) reversed the prior edict; (b) informed the empire that Aman the Macedonian was found to be a betrayer and been hanged at Susa’s gate (“having by manifold and cunning deceits sought of us our destruction, as well of Mardocheus, [and by such] means he thought, finding us destitute of friends, to have translated the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians;”) (c) that the “Jews” were to freely live after their own laws; and (d) they were entitled to receive aid to avenge, “on them...who shall set upon them.”

*Rest, 16.*

The retracting proclamation granted the Jews “in every single city to be assembled, and to stand for their life, to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish all the power of the people and province, ones opposing them...and to plunder them for a prize, on day one in all the provinces of King Ahasuerus, on the 13th of the month twelfth, the month of Adar.” A copy of the writing was “to be given a law in every individual province was announced to all the peoples; and to being the Jews ready for day this to avenge themselves on their enemies. ... [A]nd the law was given at Shushan palace.” “And Mordecai went out from before the king in clothing royal of violet and white, and with a crown gold great, with a garment of fine linen and purple.” Joy was in Shushan and every province. “[A]nd many of the people of the land became Jews, for fell the fear of the Jews on them.”

*Esther 8.*

On the said 13th day of Adar, “when drew near the word of the king and his law to be done, on the day that hoped the enemies of the Jews to have power over them,” “all the princes of the provinces and the satraps and the governors, and those doing the business which was to the king, were helping the Jews; for fell the fear of Mordecai upon them. For great Mordecai in the house of the king.... And struck the Jews against all their enemies....” Five hundred men were destroyed in Shushan the palace; the 10 sons of Haman were slain; 300 other men of Shushan were killed; and in the provinces, 75,000.

*Esther 9.*

“And set King *Ahasuerus* a tax on the land and isles of the sea. And all the acts of his authority and his might, and the declaration of the greatness of Mordecai, whom made him great the king, are not they written in the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia? For Mordecai the Jew was second to King Ahasuerus....”

*Esther 10.*

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<sup>14</sup> This statement appears inexplicably to imply that confirmation of Mordecai’s heritage would be to his advantage(?).

### C. EZRA

In the year first of Cyrus [II] the king of Persia,...he made a proclamation that the temple in Jerusalem be rebuilt and exhorted any exiles who desired to return. 1:1-3.

Cyrus had his treasurer, Mithredath, bring forth the precious vessels that had been confiscated and taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, and Cyrus “counted them out to Sheshbazzar, the leader of Judah. ...[A]ll brought up Sheshbazzar when were led up the exiled from Babylon to Jerusalem”--Sheshbazzar, “whom *governor* he [Cyrus] made.” 5:14; 1:7-8:11-11.

“And they [the exiles] returned to Jerusalem and Judah...with Zerubbabel.” With Zerubbabel came “Jeshua, Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah.”<sup>15</sup> 2:1-2.

“[W]hen come the month the seventh...Jeshua the son of Jozadak and his brothers the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and his brothers...built the altar” and feasted and celebrated. “But temple...not was founded.” 3:1-6ff.

“[I]n year second of their coming” Zerubbabel and Jeshua oversaw the laying of the foundation of the temple, after which they celebrated. 3:8-13.

Adversaries of Judah and Benjamin asked, “Let us build with you, for like you...we have sacrificed not since the days of Esar-hadden king of Assyria who brought up us here.” But Zerubbabel and Jeshua and the rest of chiefs” declined their assistance, saying they would build as “has commanded us King Cyrus, the king of Persia. Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah...and hired against them counselors to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus...even until the reign of Darius king of Persia.” 4:1-5.

“[I]n the reign of *Ahasuerus*, in the beginning of his reign, they wrote a charge against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem. And in the days of *Artaxerxes* wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his associates to Artaxerxes...in Aramaic and translated Aramaic Rehum, governor in charge, and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their associates the judges, and the emissaries, the consuls, the officials, the Erechites, the Babylonians, the man of Susa, that is the Elamites, and the rest of the nations whom exiled Osnapper...and settled them in the cities of Samaria, and the rest of Beyond the River.” The letter warned that if the city was rebuilt and the walls completed, the king would lose revenues and “a portion Beyond the River not will be to you.” The king place a ban on the work, which “stopped until the year second of the reign of Darius.” 4:6-24.

Prophets Haggai and Zechariah (son of Iddo) spurred Zerubbabel and Jeshua, who then “began to build the house.” “At that time came to them Tatnai, the governor of Beyond the River, and Shethar-boznai, and their associates,” and asked under what authority they were working. Tatnai, et al. wrote to “Darius the king,” asking for confirmation of the answer they had received, that Cyrus had authorized the building, and that Sheshbazzar had been commissioned to return the treasures and laid the foundation. Darius found the scroll in “Echatana/Achmetha, in the palace that is in the province of the Medes,” and redecreed to Tatnai, et al, to both let the work proceed and provide expenses from the king’s taxes from the satrapy of Beyond the River.” 5:1-7ff.; 17; 6:15f.

“And was finished house this on day the third of the month of Adar, which in year the sixth of the reign of Darius.” 6:15.

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<sup>15</sup> Accompanied by a congregation of “42,360” individuals, together with 7,337 of “their male servants and their female servants” *Ezra* 2:64; refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (Returns).

“Now after things these, in the reign of *Artaxerxes* king of Persia, Ezra <sup>16</sup>...went up from Babylon.” Ezra was “a scribe skilled in the law.” 7:1-6ff.

“And went up of the sons of Israel, and of the priests, and the Levites, and the singers, and the gatekeepers, and the temple-slaves to Jerusalem in the year seventh of Artaxerxes. And he [Ezra] came to Jerusalem in the month fifth which in the year the seventh of the king,” having begun to go up on the first day of the first month. [Artaxerxes’ letter of decree commanded cooperation of Persia’s rulers and provisions of funds by its treasurers of the Beyond the River province, and gave Ezra authority to appoint judges and magistrates in the province.] 7:7-9.

[Here appear lists of chiefs and sons who went up from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes, the stop at the Ahava River rest camp-rest (from where Ezra sent out a commission to collect ministers).<sup>17</sup> There, Ezra separated out 12 chiefs of the priests, and weighed out the gold and silver. 8:1-28.

Ezra and his assembly “departed from the river of Ahava on the 12th of the month first to go to Jerusalem and...came to Jerusalem and...on the day fourth [after their arrival] were weighed the silver and the gold and the articles in the house...by the hand of Meremoth the son of Uriah the priest, and with him Eleazar the son of Phinehas, and with them Jozabad the son of Jeshua and Noadiah the son of Binnui the Levites.” “And they delivered edicts the king’s to the satraps the king’s and to the governors of Beyond the River.” 8:31-33; 36.

“[A]t the end of these things,” leaders came to Ezra alleging improper mixed marriages and that the hand of “the leaders and the chief’s has been, in treachery this, foremost.” 9:1ff.

Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, of the sons of Elam, proposed cutting “a covenant...to eject all the [foreign] wives, and those born from them.”<sup>18</sup> After Ezra meditated in the room of (Eliashib-) Jehohanan a call went out for all men of Judah and Benjamin to gather to Jerusalem in three days time. 10:2-7.

On a heavily rainy day of “the month ninth, on the twentieth,” with “all the people in the square of the house,” it was declared that “all who in our cities have married wives foreign, let come at an time appointed, and with them the elders of every city and its judges.” “Only Jonathan the son of Asahel, and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah, stood against this, and Meshullam and Shab-bethai the Levite supported them.” 10:9, 14-15.

“And were set apart Ezra the priest, men heads of the fathers for the house of their fathers, and all of them by name, and they sat down in the day first of the month tenth to examine the matter. And they finished with all men who had married wives foreign by day first of the month first. ...<sup>19</sup> And they gave their hand to expel their wives, etc.” 10:16-17, 19.

#### **D. HAGGAI**

In the second year of *Darius*...word came from Haggai to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the governor of Judah, and to Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, saying it was time to build the house. The spirit was stirred in Zerubbabel, Joshua and “all

<sup>16</sup> Uncertainty persists as to when precisely Ezra was commissioned, and by which monarch. Refer to Appendix 3A, IV (Explorative Timeline, High Priests Jeshua to Jaddua).

<sup>17</sup> Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (Returns); see also Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Although Shechaniah said, ‘We’ have sinned...and have married foreign wives from the peoples of the land,’ his name does not appear in the list that follows of those men/priests/Levites determined to be transgressors.

<sup>19</sup> Refer to Appendix 3B, II (“Chief/High Priesthood”), sub-part IV (Excommunications from Priesthood).

the remnant of the people [who] came, and they did work on the house...in the day 24th of month the sixth in the year second of Darius.” 1:1; 14.

In the seventh month on the 21st of the month, word again came from Haggai for Zerubbabel, Joshua and the remnant of the people, saying, be strong and work. 2:1-4.

In the ninth month on the 24th of the month in the second year of Darius, the word came from Haggai to the priests [of] the law to “set your heart from day this and onward.” (And a second word went from Haggai to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, on the 24th of the month, ordaining that Zerubbabel would be “like a signet,” because it was Zerubbabel that [Tet.] had chosen.”) 2:10; 23.

## E. JOSEPHUS<sup>20</sup> ANTIQUITIES

When Cyrus reigned, he “called for the most eminent Jews that were in Babylon, and...gave them leave to go back...to rebuild their city, and the temple.... ... “[T]he rulers of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin, with the Levites and priests, went in haste...; yet did many of them stay at Babylon, as not willing to leave their possessions....” ... “Cyrus also sent back...the vessels...which Nebuchadnezzar had pillaged.... [He] committed these things to Mithridates, the treasurer...with an order to give them to Sanabassar, that he might keep them till the temple was built.... Cyrus also sent an epistle to the governors that were in Syria,” which said, in part, “I have also sent my treasurer Mithridates, and Zorobabel, the governor of the Jews, that they may lay the foundations of the temple....’ ... Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem were 42,462.”<sup>21</sup> XI.I.

“When the foundations of the temple were laying...the neighbouring nations, and especially the Cutheans [*i.e.* ‘Samaritans’]...besought the governors, and those that had the care of such affairs, that they would interrupt the Jews, both in the rebuilding of their city, and in the building of their temple. Now as these men were corrupted by them with money, they sold the Cutheans their interest for rendering this building a slow and careless work, for Cyrus, who was busy about other wars, knew nothing of all this; and it so happened, that when he had led his army against the Massagetæ, he ended his life. But when *Cambyses* [II], the son of Cyrus, had taken the kingdom [of Persia], the governors<sup>22</sup> in Syria, and Phoenicia, and in the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria,” wrote a warning to Cambyses that the “Jews [were] building their city, and its market-places, and setting up its walls and raising up the temple,” and eventually would rebel from paying tribute and hinder Persian passage to adjacent regions. Cambyses [II] returned his order that “the Jews shall not be permitted to build that city. ... Accordingly, these works were hindered from going on till the second year of the reign of Darius, for nine years more; for Cambyses reigned six years and within that time overthrew Egypt....” XI.II.

“After the slaughter of the Magi [who after Cambyses seized Persia’s government for a year], the Persians appointed *Darius*, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king. ... [I]t so fell out, that about this time Zorobabel, who had been made governor of the Jews that had been in captivity, came to Darius from Jerusalem, for there had been an old friendship between him and the king.” Darius decided to listen to orations of the three “guards of his body”—one of whom was Zorobabel; and he who was best would be promoted, receive certain riches and thenceforth be called Darius’ “cousin.” Zorobabel won, and he used his new position of eminence to request Darius to restore Jerusalem. Darius sent letters of safe conduct, for “Zorobabel and those that were going with him to build the temple,” to Persia’s “toparchs and governors” together with various orders, to “those rulers that were in Syria and Phoenicia” to supply cedar and prohibiting “his deputies and governors to lay any king’s taxes upon the

<sup>20</sup> See Detail A to this Appendix 3A, V, for Josephus’ lineage and personal details.

<sup>21</sup> Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (Returns), regarding paralleledly and subsequently enumerated groups.

<sup>22</sup> Rathumus the historiographer, and Semellius the scribe, and the rest” that were Cyrus’ “judges in Syria and Palestine;” *loc. cit.*; (a “Beeltethmus” also was among those to whom Cambyses replied; XI.II.2).



Jews;...that they should have all that land which they could possess themselves of without tributes, [and] enjoined the Idumaeans and Samaritans, and the inhabitants of Celesyria, to restore those villages which they had taken from the Jews....”

“[W]hen Zorobabel had obtained these grants...he came to Babylon and brought the good news to his countrymen...: they chose themselves rulers, who should go up to Jerusalem, out of the tribes of their forefathers, with their wives, and children, and cattle...who travelled to Jerusalem...under the conduct of those whom Darius sent along with them.... ... And thus did these men go, a certain and determinate number out of every family, though I do not think it proper to recite particularly the names of those families....”<sup>23</sup> “[T]he governors of all this multitude thus numbered were Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, of the posterity of David, and of the tribe of Judah; and Jeshua, the son of Josedek the high priest; and besides these there were Mordecai and Serebeus, who were distinguished from the multitude, and were rulers.”

XI.III.

In “the seventh month” after departure from Babylon, “Jeshua the high priest, and Zorobabel the governor, sent messengers...and gathered those that were in the country,” to Jerusalem.... He then built the altar,” which “did not please the neighboring nations, who all of them bare ill-will to them. ... They also began to build the temple, and gave a great deal of money to the masons and carpenters.... The Sidonians also were very willing and ready to bring the cedar trees from Libanus....”

XI.IV.1.

“In the second year...the building of the temple went on apace; and...they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that year.” Among the Levite overseers were “Codmiel the brother of Judas, the son of Aminadab, with his sons; and the temple...was finished sooner than any one would have expected.” “But when the Samaritans...perceived [the] rebuilding of the temple, they came to Zorobabel and Jeshua, and to the heads of the families, and desired that they would give them leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them....” but were told “that it was impossible....”

XI.IV.2-3.

“When the Cutheans<sup>24</sup> heard this, for the Samaritans have that appellation, they... persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, *in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards*, to put a stop to the building....” Sisinnus, the governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others,” asked by what authority the temple was being built “in this manner, since it was more like to a citadel than a temple.” Zorobabel and Jeshua replied that it had been Cyrus who initially committed the gifts and vessels to Zorobabel, and Mithridates the treasurer; “and gave order to have them carried to Jerusalem, and to have them restored to their own temple, when it was built; ...and commanded Sanabassar to go up to Jerusalem, and to take care of the building of the temple; who, upon receiving that epistle from Cyrus, came, and immediately laid its foundations, [but] *although it hath been in building from that time to this, it hath not yet been finished, by reason of the malignity of our enemies.*” Zorobabel and Jeshua concluded by advising Sisinnus, et al to write to Darius, if they needed confirmation and they immediately did write to Darius to search out the “records of the kings.” Although Zorobabel and company feared the king might change his resolutions, they were encouraged by prophets Haggai and Zechariah; and they “applied themselves earnestly to building, and did not intermit one day.”

XI.IV.4-5.

Sisinnus, et al, In their application to Darius, also “*showed the epistle of Cambyses, wherein he forbade*” the rebuilding. Darius nonetheless made search and “a book was found at Ecbatana, in the tower that was in Media.” It contained Cyrus II’s edict, in which he had entrusted the care of the vessels to “*Sanabassar, the governor and president of Syria and Phoenicia*, and his associates,” who also were commanded not to interfere with the building of the temple but to assist with the work.

<sup>23</sup> Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III, A provides *Josephus’* generalized enumeration.

<sup>24</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A.VI, Attachment 3, *Cutheans*.

Darius issued a confirming decree, and “Sisinnes, and those that were with him, understood the intention of the king, [and] resolved to follow his directions entirely for the time to come. *So they forwarded the sacred works, and assisted the elders of the Jews, and the princes of the sanhedrin;*<sup>25</sup> *and the structure of the temple was...brought to a conclusion.... Now the temple was built in seven years’ time. And in the ninth year of the reign of Darius...*” sacrifices were offered and porters were set at every gate. “*The Jews also built the cloisters of the inner temple that were round about the temple itself.*”

The Samaritans, however, continued to wreak mischief and would not pay for sacrifices out of their tribute in accordance with the royal order. “They had also the governors favourable to them....” So an embassy was sent from Jerusalem to king Darius “in order to accuse the Samaritans. The ambassadors were Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers.” Darius gave them an epistle “to be carried to the governors and council of Samaria...to Tanganas and Sanbabas, the governors of the Samaritans, to Sadraes and Bobelo, and the rest of their fellow servants...in Samaria.” It stated that the king had received complaint from “Zorobabel, Ananias, and Mordecai, the ambassadors of the Jews” of the obstruction of the building of the temple and lack of payment of expenses, and re-commanded that they comply with payment “out of the royal treasury, of the tributes of Samaria, as the priest shall desire,” toward the offering of daily sacrifices at the temple. XI.IV.6-9.

“Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom.... Now about this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest. Moreover, there was now in Babylon a righteous man, and one that enjoyed a great reputation among the multitude. He was the principal priest of the people, and his name was Esdras/[Ezra]. ... He had determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews that were in Babylon.” “[T]he king wrote an epistle to the governors of Syria,” advising that as many “as hath a mind to go” had leave to do so; that they take with them “those presents which I and my friends have vowed, with all that silver and gold that is found in the country of the Babylonians;” forgiving payment of any tribute; and authorizing Esdras to “appoint judges” according to his wisdom, “*that they may judge in all Syria and Phoenicia;*” and that transgressors would be punished by death. XI.V.1.

Esdras kept the original epistle but “sent a copy of it to all those of his own nation that were in Media,” of whom many “took their effects with them, and came to Babylon, as very desirous of going down to Jerusalem.” Esdras gathered them together “beyond Euphrates, and staid there three days,” from where they left on the 12th day of the first month of the seventh year of the reign of Xerxes, and they came to Jerusalem on the fifth month of the same year.” Esdras delivered the king’s epistle “to the king’s officers, and to the governors of Celesyria and Phoenicia,” and delivered the money and vessels<sup>26</sup> to the temple treasurers, “who were of the family of the priests.” XI.V.2.

“But some time afterward there came *some persons* to him and *brought an accusation against certain* of the multitude, and of the *priests and Levites, who had transgressed* their settlement, and dissolved the laws of their country, *by marrying strange wives...*, [which] *brought the family of priests into confusion.* ... [O]ne whose name was Jechonias, a principal man in Jerusalem...said that they had sinned...and he persuaded [Esdras] to adjure them all to cast those wives out, and the children born of them. So Esdras...made the heads of the priests, and of the Levites, and of the Israelites, swear that they would put away those wives and children, according to the advice of Jechonias. And when he had received their oaths, he went in haste out of the temple into the chamber of Johanan, the son of Eliashib....”

A time was set for those men with foreign wives to make themselves present on a

<sup>25</sup> Rare early use of this term.

<sup>26</sup> Consisting of gifts “made by the king and his counsellors, and by all the Israelites that staid at Babylon,” including 650 talents in silver, 100 talents in silver vessels, 12 talents in brass vessels.

certain day, and that “the elders of every place...estimate the number of those that have thus married” and also be present. “[T]hey began the inquiry...on the first day of the tenth month, and continued the inquiry to the first day of the next month, *and found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites...who had a greater regard to the observation of the law than to their natural affection, and immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them....* [B]ut it does not seem to me [Josephus] to be necessary to set down the names of these men.”

A feast of tabernacles was held in the “seventh month,” at which Esdras read “the laws of Moses” from morning to noon at the “gate which looked eastward.” There was much weeping; Esdras exhorted the people not to weep but proceed immediately to feasting.

“[I]t came to pass, that after he [Esdras/Ezra] had obtained this reputation among the people, he died an old man, and was buried...at Jerusalem. About the same time it happened also that Joacim, the high priest, died; and his son Eliashib succeeded in the high priesthood.”  
XI.V.3-5.

“Now there was one of those Jews that had been carried captive who was cup-bearer to king Xerxes; his name was Nehemiah.” Nehemiah, “walking before Susa, the metropolis of the Persians,” received information from men speaking the Hebrew tongue, who had come from Judaea, that Jerusalem and its people were “in a bad state, for that their walls were thrown down to the ground, and that the neighbouring nations did a great deal of mischief...in the day time they overran the country, and pillaged it, and in the night did them mischief, insomuch that no a few were led away captive out of the country, and out of Jerusalem itself, and that the roads were in the day time found full of dead men.”

Encouraged by the king, who noticed his sadness, Nehemiah asked that he be allowed to go to Jerusalem “and build its wall, and to finish the building of the temple.” “[T]he king...gave him an epistle to be carried to Adeus, the governor of Syria, and Phoenicia, and Samaria...to supply him with what he wanted for his building.” When Nehemiah “was come to Babylon, and had taken with him many of his countrymen, who voluntarily followed him, he came to Jerusalem in the twenty and fifth year of the reign of Xerxes.” There he exhorted a gathered assembly “to raise up our wall, and finish what is wanting of the temple,” acknowledging that they should expect their ill-willed neighbouring nations to come upon them and “contrive many ways of obstructing” the work. He then ordered the rulers to measure the wall and “part the work of it among the people, according to their villages and cities, as every one’s ability should require.”

“[W]hen the Ammonites, and Moabites, and Samaritans, and all that inhabited Celesyria, heard that the building went on apace...they proceeded to lay snares for them, and to hinder their intentions. They also slew many of the Jews, and sought how they might destroy Nehemiah himself, by hiring some of the foreigners to kill him. ... But none of these things could deter Nehemiah,” who “took care of his own safety” and “also gave orders that the builders should keep their ranks...that their shields should lie very near them...that they might fight in their armour,” with trumpeters at every 500 feet to sound alarms, if necessary. He, himself, patrolled the city at night. “And this trouble he underwent for two years and four months; for in so long a time was the wall built, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes, in the ninth month.”

When the walls were finished, and sacrifices had been offered and feasting done, “Nehemiah saw that the city thin of people, [and] he exhorted the priests and Levites that they would leave the country and remove themselves to the city, and there continue; and he built them houses at his own expenses; and he commanded that part of the people which were employed in cultivating the land to bring the tithes...by which means the city of Jerusalem came to be fuller of people than it was before. “So when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things...he came to a great age, and then died. ... Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.”  
XI.V.6-8.

“After the death of Xerxes, the kingdom came to be transferred to his son *Cyrus*, whom the Greeks called *Artaxerxes*.” “In the third year” of Artaxerxes’ reign he arranged a first costly feast for his friends and the governors of his satrapies, and a second feast “for other nations, and for their ambassadors, at Shushan. ... In like manner did Vashti the queen gather *her* guests together and made them a feast in the palace.” Vashti refused Artaxerxes’ command that she come to his feast, wherefor he accused his wife, to the “seven who had the interpretation of the laws,” and asked their advice. One of them, Memucan, counseled that Vashti’s affront had been not to the king alone, but to all the Persians, and that she should be punished severely and notice of it be published “to the nations.” “So the resolution was to put Vashti away, and to give her dignity to another woman. But the king having been fond of her, did not well bear a separation, and yet by the law he could not admit of a reconciliation; so he was under trouble, as not having it in his power to do what he desired to do.”

Artaxerxes “friends” consoled him to cast Vashti from his memory and “to send abroad over all the habitable earth, and to search out for comely virgins, and to take her whom he should best like for a wife,” in order that he might transfer “the kindness he had for Vashti...on her that was with him.” “[W]hen a great number of these virgins were gathered together, there was found a damsel in Babylon”--Esther--niece of one Mordecai, of the tribe of Benjamin, who was a principal person among the Jews. After a six-month purification of all the collected virgins, the eunuch in charge “sent one to be with the king every day...and when Esther had come to him, he was pleased with her, and fell in love with the damsel, and married her, and made her his lawful wife...on the 12th month of the seventh year of his reign.” “Her uncle also removed from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there.” XI.VI.1-2.

“Some time after this, Bigthan and Teresh plotted against the king.” “Barnabazus, the servant of one of the eunuchs, being by birth a Jew, was acquainted with their conspiracy, and discovered it to ...Mordecai [who] by the means of Esther, made the conspirators known to the king.” At that time the king gave no reward to Mordecai but had his name inscribed in the royal records and kept him at the palace as an intimate friend.

One Haman, son of Amedatha, by birth an Amalekite,<sup>27</sup> was a close associate of king Artaxerxes, who commanded that Haman be honored by both “the foreigners and Persians.” Mordecai, however, refused to “worship” Haman, who bore animosity for Mordecai and all his nation for their ancient destruction of the Amalekites. Haman made dire accusations against the Jews to Artaxerxes and lobbied for their utter destruction, pledging to pay any resulting loss of tribute from his own funds into the king’s coffers. The king refused any payments by Haman but nonetheless granted him “to do what he would.” Haman “immediately issued a decree, as from the king, to all nations,...to the rulers of the 127 provinces from India to Ethiopia...that all these men, of whom Haman our second father hath informed us, be destroyed, with their wives and children.” The execution was to take place on the “14th day of the 12th month of this present year,” and the decree “was brought to the cities, and to the country; all were ready for the destruction...and they were very hasty about it in Shushan, in particular. [T]he king and Haman spent their time in feasting together with good cheer and wine, but the city was in disorder.” XI.VI.3-6.

Mordecai arranged for a copy of the decree to be carried to Esther and “charged her to petition the king about this matter.” Esther first replied to Mordecai of her inability to approach the king independently, for a royal law forbade anyone, on pain of death, to come to the king unless summoned by him. Mordecai returned a message that, while “she should provide for her own preservation...if she now neglected this opportunity...she and her father’s house would be destroyed by those whom she now despised.” Esther sent a message back to Mordecai “to go to Shushan” and gather their people to a fast, and promised “that she would go to the king, though it were against the law, and that if she must die for it, she would not refuse it.”

<sup>27</sup> (Elon the Hittite - Adah + Esau - Eliphaz + Timna -) Amalek or (Elon - Adah + Esau - Eliphaz - Timna + ? -) Amalek; refer to Appendix 1A, Attachment 2 (Descendants, Esau Wives) at 342 Timna, fn. 6.

Esther adorned herself most regally and approached the king, who, at first observing her “somewhat severely, and with a countenance on fire with anger,” responded with kindness when her legs gave out from under her in dread. When she was recovered by his good wishes, Esther asked that he and his friend Haman attend a banquet she wished to give for them. Haman was flattered by the invitation to sup with the king and Esther; but the presence at court of his opponent, Mordecai, had become intolerable. Goaded by his wife, Haman had a gallows built, intending to ask the king the next morning for permission to hang Mordecai.

That night the king suffered insomnia. His [unnamed] scribe helped him pass the time in reviewing royal chronicles; and there emerged the facts of Mordecai’s earlier, loyal revelation of a conspiracy, and that Mordecai at that time had received no reward. The next morning, Haman --believing himself the man most beloved by the king--arrived early and gave a prologue to Artaxerxes about the riches and honors that the king might bestow on one of his truly honored servants and friends. Artaxerxes was pleased with the advice, but he did not have Haman in mind. Artaxerxes instead commanded Haman to do for Mordecai all that Haman had suggested--lead Mordecai, dressed in a kingly garment with a gold chain about the neck, around the city on horseback, and proclaiming his honor for having preserved the king’s life. Haman bitterly complied. XI.VI.7-10.

That night Esther’s eunuchs collected Haman to come to her supper. One of them, Sabuchadas, saw the gallows and on inquiry of Haman’s servants learned what Haman’s real intentions had been. Over supper, the king encouraged Esther to ask of him what she would. She then gingerly referred to Haman’s edict, as if it had been the king’s, lamenting the danger her people were in--that “she and her nation were given up to be destroyed”--and that she would not trouble him, “if he had only given order that they should be sold into bitter servitude, for such a misfortune would not have been intolerable; but she desired that they might be delivered from such destruction.”

Upon the king’s inquiry as to who was the perpetrator of her misery, she openly accused Haman. The king, in great distress, went out into the garden. Meanwhile “Haman began to intercede with Esther, and to beseech her to forgive him.... And as he had fallen upon the queen’s bed, and was making supplication to her, the king came in,” and seeing it, became more provoked. At that moment Sabuchadas, the eunuch, entered and informed the king of the gallows Haman had prepared for Mordecai. The king immediately ordered that Haman be hung upon it himself. “Wherefore, Haman...was destroyed after this manner, and the king granted his estate to the queen. He also called for Mordecai (for Esther informed him that she was akin to him) and gave that ring to Mordecai which he had before given to Haman. The queen also gave Haman’s estate to Mordecai.” The king also bid Esther to compose whatever order she desired, to be circulated throughout the kingdom under his seal. The king’s resulting epistle declared Haman’s deceit and conspiracy to “take away Mordecai, my benefactor, and my saviour, and by basely and treacherously requiring to have Esther...brought to destruction. ... Accordingly, I have hanged up the man...with his family, before the gates of Shushan.” The epistle also charged that the Jews throughout the kingdom be permitted to live peaceably under their own laws, and that Persia’s governors assist them, “the very same day...the 13th day of the 12th month” from unjust violence,” and to “let all the Jews, by all means, be ready against the day before mentioned, that they may revenge themselves upon their enemies.”

“[A]s for Mordecai...he assumed the royal garment, and the crown of gold, and...the chain about his neck,” and “went forth in a public procession...at Shushan;” and “the rulers of the provinces, and the tyrants, and the kings, and the scribes, had the Jews in esteem; for the fear they were in of Mordecai....” “[M]any even of other nations circumcised their foreskin for fear of the Jews, that they might procure safety to themselves thereby....” “Now when the royal decree was come to all the country that was subject to the king, it fell out that the Jews at Shushan slew five hundred of their enemies” on the 13th day of the 12th month. The king asked Esther what more she desired. She asked that the Jews “might be permitted to treat

their remaining enemies in the same manner the next day; as also that they might hang the 10 sons of Haman upon the gallows. So the king permitted the Jews to do so, as desirous not to contradict Esther. So they gathered themselves together again on the 14th day of the month...and slew about three hundred of their enemies.... Now there were slain by the Jews that were in the country, and in the other cities, seventy-five thousand of their enemies, and these were slain on the 13th day of the month, and the next day they kept as a festival.”

“And Mordecai became a great and illustrious person with the king, and assisted him in the government of the people. He also lived with the queen; so that the affairs of the Jews were, by their means, better than they could ever have hoped for. And this was the state of the Jews under the reign of Artaxerxes.”

XI.VI.11-13.

Continued in Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (AJ XI.VII and VIII).

## **F. NEHEMIAH**

Nehemiah was the son of Hacaliah.<sup>28</sup> Hanai, one of Nehemiah’s “brothers,” came to Nehemiah at Shushan palace, “in the month Chisleu in the twentieth year,” and informed him that the remnant “who had escaped, who were left of the captivity there in the province, [were] in affliction great...; also the wall of Jerusalem broken down, and its gates burned with fire.” Nehemiah was the Persian king’s cupbearer.

1:1-3, 11; 10:1.

In the month of Nisan of the 20th year, Nehemiah supplicated king *Artaxerxes*, with “the queen sitting beside him,” to send Nehemiah to Judah to rebuild the city. The king gave Nehemiah permission and letters of access to the governors Beyond the River, and to Asaph, keeper of the king’s forest, for timber to make beams for “the gates of the palace which for the house, and for the wall of the city, and for the house.” The king also sent captains of the army and horsemen with Nehemiah.

2:6-9.

Nehemiah’s arrival “was evil...very much” to Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah...the Ammonite.”

2:10.

Nehemiah spent three low-profile days in Jerusalem, examining the condition of the city by night, before revealing his presence and purpose to the “rulers.” He then revealed his commission from king Artaxerxes, “And they said, ‘Let us rise up to build!’”

2:11-18.

Sanballat and Tobiah, together with “Geshem, the Arabian,” scoffed, thinking Nehemiah, et al. were rebelling against the Persian king. Nehemiah essentially ignored them, maintaining they had no portion or right in Jerusalem.

2:19.

Eliashib the high priest and his priest brothers built the Sheep Gate, sanctified it and set up its doors and to the Tower of Meah...and to the Tower of Hananeel.

Next to them built the men of Jericho.

Next to them Zaccur the son of Imri.

The sons of Hassenaah built the Fish Gate, laid its beam and set up its doors, locks and bars.

Next to them Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz repaired.

Next to him Meshullam the son of Berechiah the son of Meshezabeel repaired.

Next to him Zadok the son of Baana.

Next to him the Tekoites, but their nobles not did bring their necks to the work.

The old gate was repaired by Jehoiada the son of Paseah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah--they laid its beams and set up its doors, locks and bars.

Next to them, Melatiah of Gibeon and Jadon of Meron, the men of Gibeon and of Mizpah, repaired to the throne of the governor Beyond the River.

Next, Uzziel the son of Harhaiah of the goldsmiths, repaired.

Next to him, Hananiah the son of the perfumers; and “they left Jerusalem to the Wall

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<sup>28</sup> Only use of *Hacaliah*.

Broad.”

Next to [him?] repaired Rephaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem.

Next to their hand repaired Jedaiah the son of Harumaph even beside his house;

Next to him repaired Hattush the son of Hashabniah; “piece a second repaired Malchijah the son of Harim and Hashub the son of Pahath-moab and the Tower of the Furnaces.

And next to him, repaired Shallum the son of Halohesh the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem, he and his daughters.

The Valley Gate repaired Hanun and the people of Zanoah; they built it and set up its doors, locks and bars, and a thousand cubits in the wall to the Dung Gate.

The Dung Gate was repaired by Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of a part Beth-haccerem; he built it and set up its doors, locks and bars.

The Fountain Gate was repaired by Shallum the son of Colhozeh the ruler of a part of Mizpah; he built it and covered it and set up its doors, locks and bars, and the wall of the Pool of Shelah by the King’s Garden and to the stairs that go down from the city of David.

After him repaired Nehemiah the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, in front of the tombs of David and to the pool that was made, and to the house of the mighty men.

After him repaired the Levites, Rehum the son of Bani.

On his hand repaired Hashabiah, the ruler of half part of Keilah in his part.

After him repaired their brothers, Bavai the son of Henadad the ruler of the half part of Keilah.

And repaired on his hand Ezer the son of Jeshua the ruler of Mizpah, piece a second before the ascent to the armory at the corner.

After him was repaired Baruch the son of Zabbai piece a second from the corner to the door of the house of Eliashib the high priest.

After him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz a piece second from the door of the house of Eliashib even the end of the house of Eliashib.

And after him repaired the priests, the men of the plain.

And after them repaired Benjamin and Hashub across from their house.

After them repaired Azariah the son of Maaseiah the son of Ananiah by his house.

After him repaired Binnui the son of Henadad piece a second from the house of Azariah to the corner even to the tower.

Palal the son of Uzai across from the corner and the tower which goes out from house the king’s high that was by the court of the prison.

After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh.

And the temple-slaves were dwelling in Ophel across from the Water Gate toward the east, and the tower that goes out.

After him repaired the Tehoites a piece second opposite the tower great that goes out even to the wall of Ophel.

From above the Horse Gate repaired the priests each before his house.

After them repaired Zadok the son of Immer across from his house.

And repaired after him Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah the keeper of the East Gate.

After him repaired Hananiah the son of Shelemiah, and Hanun the son of Zalaph sixth piece another.

After him repaired Meshullam, the son of Berechiah, across from his room.

After him repaired Malchiah the son of the goldsmith to the place of Nethinim, and at the merchants, before Gate the Miphkad and to the ascent of the corner.

And between the ascent of the corner to the Sheep Gate repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants.

3.

As work progressed, an angry Sanballat, Tobiah, “and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites...conspired” to fight against Jerusalem. Nehemiah, alerted by informants, set watches and stationed “the people according to their families with their swords, their spears, and their bows.” When an attack did not come, Nehemiah had half of the people work and the other half in battle array stand at the ready.

4:7-13, 16.

“And there was a cry of the people and their wives great against their brothers the Jews,” from those who suffered from famine, their sons and daughters being forced into bondage, their houses and lands taken from them due to mortgages and interest exacted by “the nobles and the magistrates.” The latter were taken to task by Nehemiah, at a “great assembly;” he admonished them: “We have redeemed our brothers, the Jews, who were sold to the nations, according to our ability; and yet you will sell your brothers? And they shall be sold to us?” Then he “called the priests and took an oath of them that they should do according to” an agreement of restoration. Nehemiah stressedly relates that, “from the day that one [sic] appointed me to be their governor...from year the twentieth even to year the thirty-second of *Artaxerxes* the king--years twelve,” he did not take advantage of his position; whereas, the “governors former ...were too heavy on the people, and had taken from them bread and wine...silver shekels.... Also their servants ruled over the people, but I not did do thus.... I worked hard and a field not did we buy. ... And the Jews and judges a hundred and fifty men, and those who came to us from the nations which around us at my table.”

5.

At some point when the wall was finished but the doors not set yet on the gates, Sanballat, Tobiah, Geshem, etc. sent four requests to Nehemiah to “meet together in the villages on the plain of Ono,” which invitation Nehemiah rebuffed. Sanballat then sent a fifth message stating that he had word that behind the rebuilding was the intent of rebellion and that Nehemiah planned to set himself up as king. Nehemiah avoided what he believed was a Tobiah and Sanballat plot, when one Shemaiah the son of Delaiah the son of Mehetabeel suggested he meet him in the temple (Nehemiah mentions a “prophetess Noadiah” among prophets who would have him be afraid).

6.

So Nehemiah remained circumspect in all matters, and “was finished the wall in the 25th of Elul, on the 52nd day.”

6:15.

Nonetheless, “were increasing the nobles of Judah their letters going to Tobiah, and which of Tobiah were coming to them. For many in Judah were sworn to him because the son-in-law he was of Shechaniah the son of Arah, and Jehohanan his son had taken the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berechiah. Also his good deeds were being spoken before me, and my words were going out to him; letters sent Tobiah to make me afraid.”

6:17.

Nehemiah “set Hanani [his] brother and Hananiah the ruler of the palace over Jerusalem,” with instructions not to open the city gates until the sun was up and set guards. “Now the city wide on both hands and great, but the people few and in its midst were no houses being built.” He then determined to gather the nobles, judges and people together to enroll them by family, and he found a register of the genealogy of those *who went up at first*.<sup>29</sup> “The whole assembly together was 42,360.”

7:1-66.

“And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the word: the governor gave to the treasury gold darics a thousand; basins, fifty; garments of the priests, thirty and five hundred. And the chiefs of the fathers gave to the treasury the work gold darics, twenty thousand; and silver pieces, two thousand two hundred. And what gave the rest of the people gold pieces two ten thousands; and silver pieces, two thousand; and garments of the priests, sixty-seven. And lived the priests and the Levites and the gatekeepers, and the singers and from the people, and the temple-slaves and all Israel in their cities. And arrived the month seventh and the sons of Israel in their cities.”

7:70-73.

“And gathered all the people as...one into the plaza that was before Gate the Water;” and Ezra brought and read to them the Book of the Law “on the day first of the month seventh. ... And stood beside him Mattithiah and Shema, and Anaiah, and Urijah, and Hilkiyah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and Mishael, and Malchiah, and Hashum, and Hashbadana, Zechariah, and Meshullam. ... And Jeshua, and Bani, and Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah,

<sup>29</sup> Refer to Appendix 3B, II, sub-part III (lists of “sons”).



Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and the Levites made to discern the people of the Law.... And said Nehemiah, who the governor, and Ezra the priest the scribe... 'Today holy....' And the people who were weeping were exhorted not to weep, "and he said to them, 'Go, eat of the fat, and drink of the sweet,' etc. "And on the day second" was found in the Law the commandment for the tabernacle feast of the seventh month, which "they should publish and cause to pass the call in all their cities, and in Jerusalem...." And booths were made on roofs, in courts, in the temple courts, in the plaza of the Water Gate, and in the plaza of the Ephraim Gate, to celebrate the feast of the tabernacles. <sup>30</sup> 8.

"And on the day twenty-fourth of month this," a gathering was held, in which the long history of the people, which had brought them to that moment, was repentally reviewed, concluding with the words that the people, "in the land large and rich which [Tet.] gave... 'Behold, we today slaves. And it yields much increase to the kings... set over us... and over our bodies. They are ruling and over our livestock at their pleasure, and in distress great we. And in all this we cutting a covenant and writing, and upon the sealing our rulers Levites, priests. And the ones being sealed: Nehemiah the governor, the son of Hachaliah, and Zidkijah, Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah, Pashur, Amariah, Malchijah, Hattush, Shebaniah, Malluch, Harim, Meremoth, Obadiah, Daniel, Ginnethon, Baruch, Meshullam, Abijah, <sup>31</sup> Mijamin, Maaziah, Bilgai, Shemaiah: these were the priests." [followed by list of the Levites]

All entered "into a curse and into an oath" (among other things: to keep the Law; not permit intermarriage of their children with "the people of the land;" cast lots among the priests, Levites and people for the wood offering; to bring to the priests ministering at temple their "firstfruits [of all types]," "the firstborn of our sons , and of our livestock," to tithe; etc. 10.

"And lived the rulers of the people at Jerusalem, the rest of the people cast lots to bring one of the tenth to live in Jerusalem, the holy city and nine parts in [other] cities. ... And these the heads of the province, who lived in Jerusalem--but in the cities of Judah lived a man in his possession in their cities--Israel [sic.], the priests, and the Levites, and the temple-slaves, and the sons of servants of Solomon." 11.

"And Ezra the scribe was before them" (12:37); "and I after them" (:38); and "even I and half of the rulers with me" (:40). 12.

"On that [?sic.] they read aloud in the book of Moses...it was found written in it that not should come the Ammonite and the Moabite into the assembly.... And it was, when they had heard the Law, that they separated all the mixed races from Israel. And before this, Eliashib the priest, who was set over the rooms of the house...who was related to Tobiah...had made himself a room large and there they were formerly giving the food offering, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of grain, the new wine, and the oil.... But in all this not I was in Jerusalem; for in the year thirty-second of Artaxerxes king of Babylon, I came to the king. And at the end of days I asked leave from the king.

"And I came to Jerusalem and understood [that] which did Eliashib for Tobiah in preparing for him a room in the courts of the house.... And was evil to me...and I threw all the stuff of household Tobiah's outside from the room. ... And I was aware that the portions of the Levites had not been given and had fled a man to his field, the Levites and the singers, doing the work. And I contended with the judges and said, 'Why is forsaken the house....' And I gathered them and stood them on their place. And all Judah brought the tithe, the grain, and the new wine and the oil into the treasuries. And I made treasurers over the treasuries, Shelemiah the priest, and Zadok the scribe, and Pedaiah of the Levites; and on their hand Hanan the son of Zaccur, the son of Mattaniah for faithful they were counted and

<sup>30</sup> Part of this parallel in *Esdras* appears as following the excommunication proceedings.

<sup>31</sup> Verse 9:38 seems actually to be a verse one of chapter 10 of *Nehemiah*. (*Cambridge* [vol. VI, VII.], discusses the chronological difficulties, *vis-a-vis* text divisions and possible transpositions, of "the series of documents, *Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah*," and refers to "the incomplete First *Esdras* of the Apocrypha--which breaks off in the middle of a sentence...."

on them to distribute to their brothers.” And “I” saw work on the Sabbath, and the purchasing of wares from men of Tyre who “also lived in it. ... And I contended with the nobles of Judah” as to the “defiling day the Sabbath,” and “ordered that should be shut the gates...until after the Sabbath...” “Also in days those I saw the Jews who had married wives Ashdod, Ammon, Moab. And their children half speaking of Ashdod.... And I contended with them, and cursed them, and struck of them men and I plucked their hair, and I made them swear,” reminding them that even Solomon had been caused to sin by women of foreign lands.

“And of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib, the priest high, [was] son-in-law to Sanballat the Horonite; and I chased him from me.” 13.

## G. ZECHARIAH<sup>32</sup>

“Zechariah, son of Berechiah, son of Iddo the prophet,<sup>33</sup> prophesied in the eighth month of the second year of Darius, and again on the 24th day of the 11th month (Shebat) of the second year of Darius. “Do not be as your fathers,” he admonished; among his visions was a Jerusalem of open country, “for the multitude of men and cattle in her midst, and high priest Joshua, wearing a fresh turban, inviting “man to his neighbor to under the vine and under the fig tree.” 1:1, 4, 7; 3:5, 10.

Following a description of a vision (four groups of different-colored horses--“the four spirits of the heavens who go forth”), is the remark, “those who go forth to country the north have set at rest my Spirit in country the north. And was the word.., ‘Take from the exiles, from Heldai, from Tobijah, and from Jedaiah, and go you in day that and enter the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah who have come from Babylon; and take silver and gold and make crown; and set on the head of Joshua the son of Jehosadak the priest high....” 6.

In the fourth year of Darius in the fourth of month the ninth, in Chislev, the word from Zechariah was, “Now had sent Bethel Sherezer and Regem-melech and his men to seek favor...to speak to the priests who to the house of [Tet.]....” 7:1-3.

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<sup>32</sup> Zechariah's historical reviews and in-depth prophecies are not summarized; items given relate directly to chronology or living individuals.

<sup>33</sup> Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Berechiah and Iddo.