

APPENDIX 3A, IV

EXPLORATIVE TIMELINE HIGH PRIESTS JESHUA TO JADDUA, Including Ezra/Esdras/[Azariah/Azarias] and Nehemiah Involvements

Insufficient data makes impossible a concrete relation of events over the period from Cyrus II's repatriation to high priest Jaddua's submission to Alexander III at Jerusalem: (a) Persian monarch tenures obtain on sparse archeological tablets; (b) generic 'throne titles' may have been used on inscriptions; and (c) ancient written histories, including the Scriptures, contain contradictory and/or incomplete identifications.¹

Part A explores the two main chronologies that have been offered. Parts B and C explore related issues further.

A. Explorative Timeline.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
	598/597		King Jehoiachin deposed by Nebuchadnezzar. (The captivity included Mordecai; <i>Esther</i> 2:5-6.) ²
SERIAIH	c. 586		Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's captain, demolished Jerusalem, and high priest Seraiah was executed. Seraiah's son, Jehozadek/Jozadak/Josedec was carried captive to Babylon (his age at the time is not known).
[JEHOZADEK] Cyrus II	538		Began his reign at Babylon.
[JESHUA?]	538		?Return of some exiles under "Sheshbazzar"--"whom governor [Cyrus] made." <i>Ezra</i> 1:8, 11; 5:14.
			(a) Zerubbabel is included in the Cyrus edict quoted by <i>Josephus</i> but not mentioned in the canon's Sheshbazaar-related verses. ("Sheshbazzar" is found suggested as a Persian name of Zerubbabel.) (b) Per <i>Josephus</i> (<i>AJ</i> XI.IV.6), Cyrus' edict addressed "Sanabassar, the governor and president" of Syria and Phoenicia. "1 <i>Esdras</i> 11-12, 15 states that Cyrus' treasurer delivered the vessels to "Sanabassar, the governor of Judea." Reference could be to the then-governor of Persia's "Beyond-the-River" province.
Cambyses II --?" <i>Ahasuerus</i> " --?" <i>Artaxerxes</i> "	529/528 ³	c. 528/527	Cambyses II succeeded Cyrus II as Persia's monarch. A written warning from "the [then] governors of Syria and Phoenicia, etc.," caused Cambyses II to stop the rebuilding; "the works were hindered 'till the second year of the reign of Darius [I], for nine years more, for Cambyses reigned six years and within that time overthrew Egypt." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.II.2.
			<i>Ezra</i> has, first, "Ahasuerus in the beginning of his reign," immediately followed by "in the days of Artaxerxes, to whom Mithredath, et al wrote a charge;" and rebuilding "stopped until the year second of the reign of Darius [I]." 4:6-24. 1 <i>Esdras</i> has, "in the time of Artaxerxes," Mithridates, et al wrote the warning to

¹ E.g., the word 'Jew' first appears in *Kings*, initially designating one of the tribe of Judah and/or of the southern kingdom. "[A]fter, it was applied to any Israelites/[Hebrews] returning and, finally, to all Hebrews;" [e.g., "Where is the one born king of the Jews?" *Matthew* 2:1.] *Aid*, p. 933.

² Daniel was taken at the same time?--refer to Appendix 2D, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," at and including fns. 28 and 28; also Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians," part C(2)(b), for speculative Daniel calculations based on an estimated age for him at captivity.

³ Cambyses' term could be off three or four years, to 525 b.c., if certain inscriptions count from his Egyptian conquest rather than his succession.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
[JESHUA?] Darius I	522		<p>Artaxerxes, who commanded that rebuilding stop. 2:16ff.⁴ After Cambyses' death and Darius' coup, "[T]he Persians appointed Darius, the son of Hystaspes, to be their king." <i>Josephus AJ</i>, XI.III.1.</p> <p>The "people of the land weakened the [builder's] hands...and hired against them counselors to frustrate their purpose <i>all the days of Cyrus.even until the reign of Darius, king of Persia [i.e. after Cambyses II].</i>" <i>Ezra</i> 4:1-5, paralleled at 1 <i>Esdras</i> 5:68, 72-73.</p> <p>(a) <i>Darius the Mede</i> (b) <i>Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes</i> (c) <i>Darius, "son of Astyages"</i></p> <p>"Took the kingdom when a son of sixty and two." <i>Daniel</i> 5:31. "In the first year of Darius, <i>the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed the Medes,</i>" Daniel "understood by the books...the number of the years...for the desolations of Jerusalem--70 years."⁵ <i>Daniel</i> 9:1.</p> <p><i>Josephus AJ</i>, X.XI.4.</p> <p>(a) <i>Daniel's</i> stated accession age 62 of Darius does not agree with the age derivable from <i>Herodotus</i>; i.e. that, just prior to Cyrus II's death c. 529, Darius was them "scarcely 20 years old" (<i>Herodotus</i> 3::70-71 and 84-88; <i>Xenophon</i> 1:209-210.) If true, ,when Darius gained the throne he would have been about age 30.⁶ (b) <i>Daniel's Ahasuerus</i> could refer to Cambyses II, if "of the seed of the Medes" refers to Cambyses II's paternal grandmother, Mandane. daughter of Median king Astyages. Or, married statements of <i>Josephus</i> and <i>Herodotus</i> could imply that Darius was son of an Astyages daughter and one <i>Hystaspes</i>.⁷</p>
Darius I		522/521	<p>"Zorobabel...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," [he came]...with two others, thought worthy to be guard of the king's body; and obtained that honor which he hoped for." <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.III.</p> <p>Darius held an oratory contest which Zorobabel won (thenceforth Darius I would call Zorobabel "cousin"). Darius authorized Zorobabel to restore Jerusalem. <i>Ibid.</i> and 1 <i>Esdras</i> 3 and 4.</p>
JESHUA		520/519	<p>Second year of Darius, Zerubbabel led a large return. In the returning company (besides [Jehozadak/Josedec-] Jeshua) was "Joacim, <i>the son of Zorobabel, the son of Salathiel, who spake wise sentences before Darius.in the second year of his reign.</i>" 1 <i>Esdras</i> 5:1-7.</p> <p><i>Ezra</i> 2's enumeration of "sons who went up from the captivity...with Zerubbabel," which does not state in whose reign it occurred, textwise immediately follows the "Sheshbazaar" report (above at 538 b.c./b.c.e.). If Jeshua did return initially with the first-mentioned "Sheshbazaar"/Zerubbabel return, he may have remained in Jerusalem in the interim.</p>

⁴ Cambyses (per *Josephus*) being *Ahasuerus* (of *Ezra* and 1 *Esdras*) works in this instance, while his reign as it presently is fixed would be too short to meet the "12th year" of *Ahasuerus* of *Esther* (*Alternatives One and Two*, below).

⁵ Daniel would have been 89 years old. "70 years" is reconcilable only if *Daniel* marked the "desolation" as commencing with a Daniel capture c. 592 (earlier in Jehoiakim's ascribed reign), for a full 70 years to Darius I's year one of 522--contrasted with a period from the fall of Jerusalem to the Zerubbabel+Jeshua return in Darius year two--(586 - 520/519 =) 66/65 years (or 67/66 if counted to sacking of the city by Nebuzaradan). Daniel's projected age negates theorizing that his involvement was with the later Darius II.

⁶ Further, based on Darius' established reign of 36 years, if 62 on accession he would have had to be 98 when succeeded by Xerxes I. Conversely, if per *Herodotus* calculations Darius I was about 30 in 522, he would have been 66 when he reportedly died c. 486 b.c.

⁷ Astyages and Hystaspes could not be the same person as some have theorized, in that Herodotus speaks individually of each man, by his respective name.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
	520(to 516)		Zerubbabel and Jeshua led the temple rebuilding. (<i>Cambridge v.III, T.</i>)
JESHUA, continued <u>Darius I, continued</u>		c. 520	Prophets Zechariah and Haggai spoke and wrote during year two of Darius. ⁸ <i>Zechariah</i> 1:1ff./7ff.; <i>Haggai en passim</i> . "In the second year of the reign of Darius, Aggeus and Zacharias the son of Addo[<i>Iddo?</i>]...prophesied." <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:1.
		518/517	"In the second year of his coming," Zerubbabel and Jeshua oversaw the laying of the temple foundation. "In the second year of their coming to Jerusalem" "they had laid its foundations on the first day of the second month of that year." <i>Josephus AJ, XI.IV.2</i> . "Then stood up Zorobabel...and Jesus...and began to build the house. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:2. "Aggeus and Zacharias" spurred the work. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:1-3.
			<i>Ezra</i> 3:2 refers to building of an altar and, at 3:8 and 10, the laying of the foundation "in the second year of their coming" <i>but does not specify in which monarch's</i> (Cyrus or Darius) <i>reign</i> . "[W]hen the Samaritans...perceived [the] rebuilding of the temple, they came to Zorobabel...[et al]...and desired...leave to build the temple with them, and to be partners with them..." but were told "that it was impossible.... When [they] heard this...they...persuaded the nations of Syria to desire of the governors, <i>in the same manner as they had done formerly in the days of Cyrus, and again in the days of Cambyses afterwards</i> , to put a stop to the building." <i>Josephus AJ XI.IV.4</i> . Sisnnes, Sathrabuzanes, et al then wrote to Darius, and <i>they showed the epistle of Cambyses</i> , wherein he forbade them to build the temple." <i>Josephus AJ XI.IV.3-6</i> .
			(a) "Sisnnes, the [then] governor of Syria and Phoenicia, and Sathrabuzanes, with certain others," questioned the authority of Zorobabel and Jeshua. <i>Josephus AJ XI.IV.3</i> . (b) "Sisnnes, the governor of Syria and Phenice, Sathrabuzanes, and companions, confronted Zorobabel and Jesus/Jeshua. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:1-3. (c) "Sisnnes," et al wrote to Darius questioning the matter. <i>Esdra</i> 6:7. (d) "Tatnai, the governor of Beyond the River, and Shetharboznai, and their associates" questioned the authority. <i>Ezra</i> 5:1-4. (e) "Tatnai, governor of Beyond the River and Shetharboznai," et al, wrote to Darius, <i>Ezra</i> 5:7-6:12.
	518		"In the fourth year of King Darius," Zechariah spoke/wrote. <i>Zechariah</i> 7:1ff. Although the people were afraid the king might change the resolution, they were encouraged by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah and "applied themselves earnestly to building, did not intermit one day." <i>Josephus AJ, XI.IV.5</i> . [The "Samaritans," who had "governors favourable to them," continued their "mischiefs," specifically, refusing to make payments to the temple out of their tribute according to royal order. So "Zorobabel, and four others of the rulers (including Ananias and Mordecai) went as an 'embassage' to Darius. Darius gave them an epistle to "Tanganas and Sanbabas, the governors of the Samaritans...and the rest," commanding compliance. <i>Josephus AJ, XI.IV.9</i> .]

⁸ A difference between the two prophets may have existed as to preferred type of leadership, despite mutual encouragement toward continuation of the work. Haggai in his "revelation" of [Tef's] ordination says that Zerubbabel would be made "like a signet; for [him] I have chosen" (2:23); Zechariah (ch. 3) envisions Joshua/Jeshua with a new turban and directs that there be taken "from the exiles, from Heldai, from Tobijah, and from Jedaiah... silver and gold, and make a crown; and set on the head of Joshua."

⁹ This has a hint of parallel with the reported earlier journey of Zerubbabel to see Darius at the time of Darius' accession (when the

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
JESHUA, continued <u>Darius I</u> , continued		518/517	Cyrus II's authorizing scroll was found, and Darius issued a reconfirming decree. <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.7. The confirming scroll was found at Ecbatana palace, and Darius I redecreed its intent and cooperation of regional authorities. <i>1 Esdras</i> 6:23ff. The scroll was found, etc. <i>Ezra</i> 5:7-6:12.
	516		The temple was "finished...in the sixth year of Darius." <i>1 Esdras</i> 7:5. Temple construction was completed and it was dedicated in Darius year six. <i>Ezra</i> 6:15.
		515	"[T]he temple was built in <i>seven years' time</i> ." <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.IV.7.
The possibility has been raised that the temple walls, if also not reconstituted somewhat at this time, later suffered additional damage in a later local conflict—see (2)(b) of notes below at year 509.			
		513	"Ninth year of the reign of Darius," sacrifices were offered. <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.IV.7.
		509	(1) Estimated date for the statement of <i>2 Esdras</i> 3:1: "In the thirtieth year after <i>the ruin of the city</i> I was in Babylon, and lay troubled upon my bed." (a) If "the ruin of the city" does refer to the destruction by the Babylonians, the "thirtieth year" would reconcile timewise with <i>2 Esdras</i> 5:16's appearance of "[Jehoiachin/Neri-] Salathiel/[Shealtiel—one of the two "fathers" named for Zerubbabel ¹⁰], captain of the people;" i.e. it would be possible for a Zerubbabel father still to be alive in 509 b.c./b.c.e. (2) <i>Nehemiah</i> 1's abbreviated prayer in "the twentieth year" has similarity with <i>2 Esdras</i> 3:1ff. (a) Equating (1) and (2) would require a vast reordering of the period chronology. (b) It has been theorized, however, that <i>Nehemiah</i> 1:3's reference to the broken Jerusalem wall and burned gates may not be to the Babylonian destruction, but the result of local conflict, as noted below following year 474 in <i>Alternative One</i> .
<u>Xerxes I</u>	486		Xerxes I succeeded Darius I. ¹¹ "Upon the death of Darius, Xerxes his son took the kingdom." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.V.1.
JOACIM		486	"About this time a son of Jeshua, whose name was Joacim, was the high priest;" and, "Esdras...principal priest of the people in Babylon...determined to go up to Jerusalem, and to take with him some of those Jews ¹² that were in Babylon." <i>Ibid</i> .

Alternative One

Josephus AJ XI.V, places the Ezra and Nehemiah involvements all "in the days of Xerxes" after which XI.VI relates the *Esther* story in the reign of "Xerxes' son, Cyrus, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes." If the biblical reference, *Artaxerxes* of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, was to be taken as Xerxes I and such Xerxes/Artaxerxes in turn was equated with the biblical *Ahasuerus*, then:

483	"Year third," Persian queen Vashti was dismissed by the Persian king. <i>Esther</i> 1:19.
479	"Seventh year," Esther made Persian queen. <i>Josephus AJ</i> XI.VI.2; <i>Esther</i> 2:16-17. "Seventh year," Ezra, "a scribe," was commissioned and arrived at Jerusalem. <i>Ezra</i> 7:1-9. "[W]hen Artaxerxes...reigned...Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe." <i>1 Esdras</i> 8:1ff.
474	"Twelfth year," Esther foiled the Haman plot. ¹³ <i>Esther</i> 3:1ff.

"oratory contest" is described).

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, "Names/Relations/Places," Zerubbabel.

¹¹ Darius died c. age 66 or 98?—refer to fn. 6.

¹² Refer to fn. 1 concerning this term.

¹³ Esther's "uncle," Mordecai, removed "from Babylon to Shushan, and dwelt there" (*Josephus, AJ*, XI.VI). This year, a projected age of Esther's kin, Mordecai, would already be [598/597 - 474 =] 124/123 years plus his age at captivity.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
			Was there an intervening "disaster" involving Judahites and Edomites due to "a distinctive semi-Edomitic phase...after the [Babylonian] disasters to Judah (597 and 586 b.c.) and <i>before</i> the separative policy of those exiles who returned to Babylonia?" ¹⁴ [Judah/Edom conflict resulted in additional damage to the walls and gates?] ¹⁵ [Xerxes I's reign currently is fixed at only 21 years: ¹⁵
	462		However, according to Josephus: "Twenty- <i>fifth</i> year of the reign of Xerxes," Nehemiah went to Jerusalem "to raise up the wall, and finish what was wanting of the temple." ¹⁶ AJ XI.V.7.
ELIASHIB	?		Eliashib helped rebuild the walls. It is impossible to reconcile (a) high priest Eliashib's reported help rebuilding the wall, and an Ezra present at the finish to read The Law, with (b) <i>Josephus'</i> report of Ezra's death prior to Eliashib's accession: "At about the same time that Ezra as an old man died, so did Joachim the high priest, and his son, Eliashib, succeeded." AJ, XI.V.5.
		458	The wall was completed "in the twenty- <i>eighth</i> year of the reign of Xerxes" [<i>refer to footnote 15</i>]. AJ XI.V.8. Ezra and Nehemiah are related as present together when Ezra read The Law; <i>Nehemiah</i> 8:2; 9.
		?	"[W]hen Nehemiah had done [all his] excellent things, he came to a great age, and then died. ... <i>Now this was done in the days of Xerxes.</i> " AJ, <i>Op. cit.</i>
<u>Artaxerxes I</u>	465/464		Artaxerxes I succeeded to the Persian throne.

Alternative Two

Biblically, the Persian monarch under which the Ezra and Nehemiah involvements occurred is referred to as *Artaxerxes*. If the biblical reference is taken to be Artaxerxes I and he in turn is equated with both *Josephus'* "Xerxes" and biblical *Ahasuerus*, then:

	462		"Year third," Persian queen Vashti was dismissed by the Persian king. <i>Esther</i> 1:19.
	458		"Seventh year," Esther made Persian queen. AJ XI.VI.2; <i>Esther</i> 2:16-17. "Seventh year," Ezra, "a scribe," was commissioned and arrived at Jerusalem. <i>Ezra</i> 7:1-9. "[W]hen Artaxerxes...reigned...Esdras went up from Babylon, as a scribe." (<i>1 Esdras</i> 8:1ff.)
	453		"Twelfth year," Esther foiled the Haman plot. <i>Esther</i> 3:1ff. ¹⁷
<i>See note following year 474 in Alternative One:</i>			[Judah/Edom conflict resulted in additional damage to the walls and gates?]
	445/444 ¹⁸		"Year 20 th , <i>Artaxerxes</i> " commissioned Nehemiah, his cupbearer at Shushan/Susa, to rebuild Jerusalem's walls. <i>Nehemiah</i> 1:1. 2:1ff.
	440		Nehemiah went to Jerusalem in the "twenty- <i>fifth</i> year of the reign of <i>Xerxes</i> [<i>Artaxerxes?</i>]" ¹⁹

¹⁴ --per "historical criticism of the books of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*...inaugurated by the Dutch scholar, Kusters (1894), [in] most definitive form in Torrey's *Ezra Studies* (1910)" (and as may be indicated in the *Book of Obadiah*), *Cambridge*, vol. VI, page 199; also as detailed in that Chapter VII, "The Inauguration of Judaism."

¹⁵ *Cambridge* notes the indecision relative to this and connected issues; vol. III p. 413.

¹⁶ *Nehemiah's* biblical "32nd year" of "*Artaxerxes*" (13:6) would not fit a Xerxes 21-year reign.

¹⁷ This year, the projected age of Esther's kin, Mordecai, would have been [598/597 - 453 =] 145/144 years plus age at captivity.

¹⁸ *Cambridge*, vol. III, p. 413.

¹⁹ See above at fn. 16.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
ELIASHIB		?	High Priest Eliashib helped rebuild the walls--"[R]ose up Eliashib the high priest, and they built the Sheep Gate." <i>Nehemiah</i> 3:1.
			It is impossible to reconcile high priest Eliashib's reported help rebuilding the wall and an Ezra present at the finish, reading The Law, with <i>Josephus'</i> report of Ezra's death prior to Eliashib's accession: "At about the same time that Ezra as an old man died, so did Joacim the high priest, and his son, Eliashib, succeeded." ²⁰ AJ XI.V.5.
		437	The wall was completed "in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes [<i>Artaxerxes?</i>]." <i>Josephus AJ</i> , XI.V.8.
[Death of Eliashib unknown.]		437	Ezra was present to read The Law.
		c. 436	Nehemiah placed Hanani, his brother, over the city, before leaving Jerusalem.
JOIADA/JUDAS <u>Artaxerxes I, continued</u>		433	Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem, the "32nd year of <i>Artaxerxes</i> ." His arrival was unwelcomed by Sanballat and Tobiah. Unhappy with what Eliashib "had done," ²² Nehemiah ejected Tobiah and "chased away" Yehohanan. "[W]hen Nehemiah had done [all his] excellent things, he came to a great age, and then died." <i>Ibid</i> .
	424	?	"[W]hen Nehemiah had done [all his] excellent things, he came to a great age, and then died." <i>Ibid</i> .
[Death of Joiada unknown]			<i>Artaxerxes I</i> died after a 40-year reign. (<i>Lempriere</i> p. 82 gives 425 b.c.)
<u>Darius II</u>	423 ²³		Darius II, son of <i>Artaxerxes I</i> , commenced to reign.
YEHOHANAN/JOHANAN		409	"14th year" of Darius II's reign, "Yehohanan, the high priest," and "Ostanes, the brother of Anani," were addressed in the first <i>Elephantine Papyri</i> ²⁴ appeal, with a copy to "Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria." Yehohanan failed to reply. ("Ostanes" was the name of one of Darius II's sons.)
		406	"17th year," second <i>Elephantine</i> appeal, in which "Lord Bagothi, the governor of Judah," was addressed.
			If Anani = Hanani, Nehemiah's brother, and he was at least 35 at the time Nehemiah left him over Jerusalem, Anani/Hanani at the time of this second Elephantine appeal would have been (436 - 409 = 27 + 35 =) 62 years old.
			[Here occurs a potential <i>Alternative Three</i> . ²⁵]
<u>Artaxerxes II/Arsaces</u>		404	<i>Artaxerxes II/Arsaces</i> succeeded Darius II.
<u>Artaxerxes III.</u>	358 ²⁶ c. 343		Succeeded <i>Artaxerxes II</i> . After one failed invasion he successfully conquered Egypt. General (Commander/Chiliarch) Bagothi/Bagoas had status of "Grand Vizier" of Persia after <i>Artaxerxes III</i> took over Egypt. ²⁷
<u>Artaxerxes IV/Arses</u>	338 to 336 ²⁸		<i>Artaxerxes IV/Arses</i> became Persia's monarch when

²⁰ See Appendix 3B, II, sub-part II, C.

²¹ On further premises as also have been suggested, (1) that all of Ezra's involvement preceded Nehemiah's--i.e. that Ezra may have been commissioned by Xerxes I (*Alternative One*), and Nehemiah, by the successor *Artaxerxes*, and (2) that Ezra had been about age 30 when first commissioned and was in Jerusalem the entire interim, he would have been about (479 - 437 = 42 + 30) 72 years old when, under this *Alternative Two*, the walls were finished.

²² It not being stated whether at that time Eliashib was alive still.

²³ *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 3.

²⁴ See Appendix 3B, I, "Names/Relations/Places," *Elephantine*.

²⁵ Refer to sub-part C(5).

²⁶ *Cambridge*, vol. VI, p. 3; *Lempriere*, page 82.

²⁷ "Bagothes, the general of *Artaxerxes'* army, knew that John, the high priest,...had slain his own brother Jesus, in the temple"--refer to Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua) and see also Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, *Bagoas/et al*.

<u>HIGH PRIEST and /or Sovereign Referenced</u>	<u>Standard Assigned Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Suggested or Derived Year, b.c.</u>	<u>Event</u>
	336		Bagohi/Bagoas ²⁹ murdered Artaxerxes III. Philip II of Macedonia was assassinated. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III the Great.
Darius III/ Codomanus	336 (to 331/330)	c. 336	Darius III/Codomanus became Persia's monarch when Bagoas murdered Artaxerxes IV. Darius III murdered Bagoas.
JADDUA	334/333		Alexander the Great commenced an Asian expedition.
Alexander III	332		Alexander the Great, advancing on Egypt, received an honorable welcome from high priest Jaddua at Jerusalem.
	331		Alexander founded Alexandria.
	331		At some point in this timespan, rebellion in the Samaria region caused Alexander to make it a Macedonian colony.
	331		In the third and last Macedonian/Persian battle, Alexander occupied Babylon, Susa and Persepolis.
	330		Darius III, at the end of his battles with Alexander, was killed by his last two remaining officers.
	323		Alexander became "King of the Lands." Alexander spent the next several years conquering eastward Persian stretches. Then, abandoning a quest into India, he returned to Babylon. Alexander died. (He "reigned 12 years, and then he he died." 1 Maccabees 1:7.)

B. Exploration of Year Reconciliations.

The (520 – 332 b.c. =) 188 years beginning with Jeshua and ending with Alexander's arrival at Jerusalem, if it is assumed Jaddua by then had been in office some eight years, accommodates an average 36 years of tenure for the preceding five high priests (188 – 8 = 180 divided by 5 = 36). That average is used at the outset of the exploration below, which employs *Alternate Two* of the Timeline.

High Priest	[Alternate Two] Estimated or Assignable Year	Calculations
Jeshua	520 - 36 = <i>end of avg. estimated Jeshua term:</i>	484 b.c.
Joacim	489 - 36 = <i>end of avg. estimated Joacim term:</i>	453 b.c.
Eliashib	<i>Estimated beginning of Eliashib's term:</i>	453
Eliashib	Nehemiah's first commission: Sanballat was allied with Tobiah: <i>When Nehemiah left, Anani was over the city:</i>	440 b.c.
	<i>Nehemiah second return:</i>	440
Joiada	<i>No data.</i> [Nehemiah "chased away" 'Jehohanan/Jonathan?']	
Yehohanan	The first Elephantine appeal ³⁰ was sent to high priest Yehohanan and Ostanes ("brother of Anani"), et al. Yehohanan did not reply. <i>Elapsed time, Eliashib to Yehohanan:</i>	409 b.c.
	The second Elephantine appeal was addressed to Bagohi, "governor of Judah." <i>A similar letter also had been written to "Delaiah and Shelemaiah, the sons of Sanballat the governor of Samaria:"</i>	<u>409</u> 44 yrs.
	<i>Elapsed time allowed for Sanballat to have had sons:</i>	34 yrs.
	Bagohi/Bagoas was alive <i>at the time of installation of Darius III:</i> <i>Elapsed time for one Bagohi/Bagoas:</i>	<u>406</u> <u>-336</u> 70 yrs.
Jaddua	Greeted Alexander the Great: <i>Elapsed time between the first Elephantine appeal and Jaddua greeting Alexander III:</i>	<u>-332 b.c.</u> 77 yrs.

²⁸ Cambridge, vol. VI, p 23.

²⁹ See fn. 27.

³⁰ Refer to Appendix 3B, I, Elephantine.

C. Notes.

(1) One Bagohi/Bagoas would have had to live an exceptionally long life, against the current standard dating of Persian monarch reigns.

(2) Equating *Josephus'* "Xerxes" with Artaxerxes I for the timespan of Ezra and Nehemiah, *vis-a-vis* connected events, does meet better with data on high priest progressions. It also would negate an otherwise contradiction—that the tenure of the actual Xerxes I seemingly was not long enough to accommodate the biblical "32nd" monarch year of Nehemiah's second mission.

(3) Conversely, *Josephus'* references to a "twenty-fifth" and "twenty-eighth" year of "Xerxes" [I] may indicate Persian monarch tenures have been fixed incorrectly—particularly in that the *Josephus'* account of Esther and "Artaxerxes" begins, "After the death of Xerxes."

(3) However, only under a third alternative (D below) would Nehemiah's eviction of Jehohanan/Jonathan[Yehohanan?] coincide timewise with the standard dating applied to the *Elephantine* appeal.

(4) A suggestion³¹ for settling Ezra's arrival year has been to consider the number of generations separating one "Hattush" from his apparent ancestor, Zerubbabel, by equating "Hashabniah, father of Hattush" with a Zerubbabel descendant named "Hashubah." The referenced lineage string to Hattush (*1 Chronicles* 3:19ff.) is not clear-cut, however. Zerubbabel's son, Meshullam, appears to lapse (his line may have been perpetuated via a daughter); descendants of a second son, Hananiah, are listed, while descendants of a sister, Shelomith, are not; "Hashubah" appears as one of five names following Shelomith. "Hattush" also appears as a son of Shemaiah, conflated with Shechaniah, and connecting antecedents are not given between them and Zerubbabel.³²

(5) A third calendaring theory suggests a timeframe of Darius II through Artaxerxes II, for Zerubbabel, Ezra, etc. "Van Hoonacker is inclined to identify the *Artaxerxes* of chapter VI with the second of that name, and so would place the return of Ezra to Jerusalem under Artaxerxes II in 404, contrary to the view of most commentators...[while] Nehemiah...returned under Artaxerxes I in 444."³³ That theory would accelerate all related circumstances some 61 years and would require a different reconciliation of the high priest tenures and the *Elephantine* appeal. Nehemiah's second return, "32nd year of Artaxerxes"—if Artaxerxes II—would be placed c. 372 b.c. On first analysis, the reference in the *Elephantine* appeal to its composition in the "17th year of Darius" would not correlate with Darius III.

³¹ *Asimov*, p. 451.

³² Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 3.

³³ *Catholic Encyclopedia, Biblical Chronology*; On-line.