

APPENDIX 3B, II

CHIEF/HIGH/LEVITE PRIESTHOODS History, Occupants, Descendancy Eligibility and Temple Sites

I. The Chief Priesthood In General.¹

"[H]istory informs us that Aaron...officiated as high priest, and that, after his death, his sons [(Amminadab + ? - Elisheba + Aaron -) Eleazar and Ithamar,] succeeded him immediately; and that this dignity hath been continued down from them all to their posterity. Whence it is a custom of our country, that no one should take the high priesthood of God but he who is of the blood of [Levi + ? -] Aaron, while every one that is of another stock, though he were a king, can never obtain that high priesthood."

Josephus AJ XX.X.1.

Biblical texts, however, supply detail for only a handful of chief/high priests. Contradictions exist in the lineage transmission from Aaron to Jaddua, that line being presented paternally at disparate sites.² No biblical data is found on progression of the office after Jaddua; available information for the ensuing period is provided by *Josephus* and *Maccabees*.

The governing tenet above, as stated by Josephus, does not address bloodline conveyance via daughter-mothers of chief priesthood stock, or priesthood legitimization acquired via marriage to a female of lineage.

II. Chief Priests As Derivably Specified.

A. The Office From Inception Under Moses to King David's Reign.

(1) "[T]hirteen [chief priests] officiated...from...Moses...until the building of that temple which king Solomon erected."

"[T]hese 13, who were descendants of two of the sons of Aaron [Eleazar and Ithamar], received this dignity by succession, one after another.... [T]he number of years during the rule of these 13...were 612."³

Josephus AJ V.XI.5.

(2) "[T]he family of Eleazar officiated as high priest at first, the son still receiving that honour from the father which Eleazar bequeathed to his son Phineas; after who Abiezer/[Abishua]⁴ his son took the honour and delivered it to his son, whose name was Bukki, from whom his son Ozi received it; after whom [Ithamar...] Eli...had the priesthood, and so he and his posterity, until the time of Solomon's reign...."

Loc. cit.

Upon Moses' establishment of a chief priesthood in the line of (Amminadab + ? -) Elisheba + Aaron, Elisheba's and Aaron's sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, served as co-chief

¹ Refer to 3B, II, Attachment 1 for comparative lineage listings, Aaron to Ezra. (Regarding alternating uses of "chief"/"high" priest, see Appendix 4D, "Some Terms of Interest," "chief" v. "high" priest.)

² See Attachment 1 to this Appendix 3B, II.

³ This figure would yield an average tenure for each of 47 years.

⁴ (a) *Josephus* gives "Abishua" in Book VIII—see its quotation below; the only other use of *Abishua* is (Benjamin...Bela-) *Abishua*—see Appendix 1C, sub-part VI, D, "Manasseh-Benjamin 'Shuppim and Muppim' Puzzle." For all uses of *Abiezer* (including [a] a son of Manasseh's granddaughter, Hammolecheth; and [b] a grandfather of Judge Gideon), see Appendix 3B, II, *Abi-ezer*.

priests.⁵ Eleazar, solely, then comes mentioned as chief priest after the Moab encampment. During that time, Joshua also certified perpetuity of the chief priesthood in Eleazar's bloodline via Eleazar's son, Phineas/Phinehas, in reward for a certain action taken by Phineas during the time of that encampment.⁶

Phinehas' death is reported after Joshua's; how long afterward is not said.

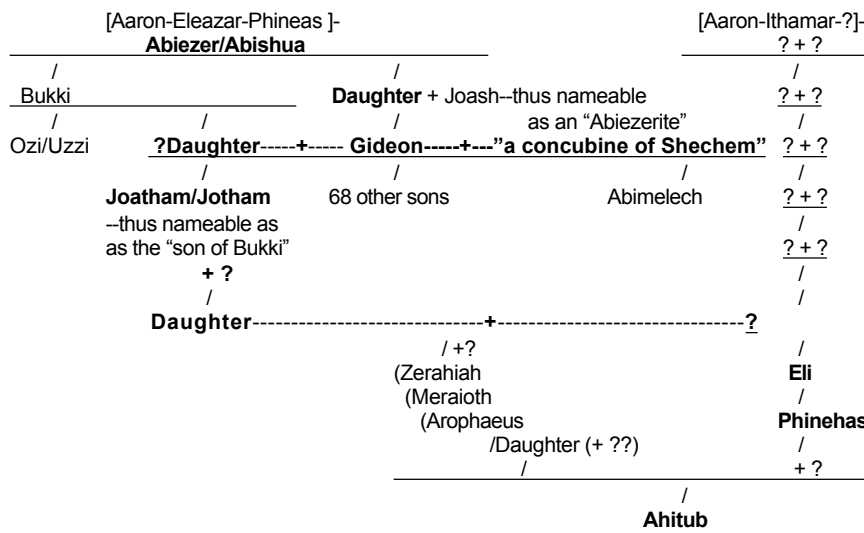
The texts do not report a legal revocation of the line of (Elisheba + Aaron -) Ithamar, whose fate is not recorded. At some point during the period of Judges, however, the Ithamar line supervened:

(3) "[T]hose...of the family of [Aaron-Eleazar-] Phineas...lived privately during the time that the high priesthood was transferred to the house of Ithamar.... [They] were these: Bukki, the son of Abishua/[Abiezer] the high priest; his son was Joatham; Joatham's son was Meraioth; Merioth's son was Arophaeus; Arophaeus's son was Ahitub; and Ahitub's son was Zadok."⁷
Josephus AJ VIII.1.3.

(4) "Now Eli was...of the family of Ithamar, the other son of Aaron." *Op. cit.*

The method of "transfer" of the high priesthood line from the house of (Eleazar-) Phinehas/Phineas to (Ithamar... -) Eli is not described.

A power struggle followed the death of Gideon, who had 70 sons. Son Abimelech, who emerged victorious, killed all of his brothers/half-brothers but one--Gideon's youngest son, Jotham, was hidden and saved. It is possible that transfer to the (Ithamar...) Eli line, and descendancy⁸ after Gideon, occurred via intermarriage of (Gideon-) Jotham and a daughter of Ithamar, to permit classification of ensuing descendants under either branch:



Continued in Appendix 2A, Attachment 4

⁵ Two other Elisheba sons (presumed also to be Aaron's) having been extinguished first; refer to Appendix 1C, sub-part IV, "Moses Conferences, etc.," A. "Rebellion of Nadab and Abihu."

⁶ The 'Cozbi incident' (Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23).

⁷ Taken together, the above quotations would indicate that Ozi took the office while his father, Bukki, still lived. Ozi's fate is not mentioned.

⁸ cf. Josephus' reference to Eli as "grandfather of Abiathar" and the seeming Ahimelech/Abiathar text contradictions; refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4, "Eli, Descendancy of."

Ensuing Ithamar descendants--(Ahitub-) Ahimelech, (Ahitub-) Ahijah, and (Ahitub-) Abiathar--are derived from disparate text sources. After Ahitub uncertainties and gaps commence between those sources in the chief priesthood line--e.g. depending on the source, Meraioth appears either before or after Ahitub.

Chief priest Eli served while the sanctuary still was at Shiloh,⁹ where eventually he was served by his protegee, Samuel. Eli first is encountered during the long warring with the Philistines. Eli's son, an also-named Phinehas, took over as chief priest and commander toward the end of Eli's life (reportedly, when Eli was age 98). Eli's final years, his death, the deaths of his sons, and the activities of Samuel occupied the last decades of the period of the Judges.¹⁰ Samuel apparently took over as judge-commander after Eli's death.¹¹

Unlike Eli, Samuel is not identified also as a chief or high priest. It was during Samuel's command that the fledgling monarchy (with Saul as its first king, before David) came to be created.

To arrive at Josephus' total of 13 chief priests for the period between "the wilderness" and the monarchy, it is necessary to include (together with both Abiathar and Zadok) certain names included on the chief/high priest lineage lists but identified by Josephus as *private* carriers of the Eleazar line:

House of Aaron-Elazar

House of Aaron-Ithamar

- | | | |
|--|-----|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aaron 2. Eleazar 4. Phinehas/Phineas 5. Abiezer/Abishua 6. Bukki 7. Ozi/Uzzi | and | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Ithamar 8. Eli 9. Phinehas/Phineas 10. Ahitub 11. Ahimelech 12. Abiathar |
| 13. Zadok | | |

(1) King David's Divisions.

When King David became established, the tabernacle was moved to Jerusalem.¹² David effected representational divisions of Eleazar and Ithamar houses under two co-high priests, Ahimelech and Zadok.

"The divisions of the sons of Aaron. The sons of Aaron: Nadab and Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar. But Nadab and Abihu died before their father¹³ and no sons were to them; and were priests, Eleazar and Ithamar. And David divided them between

⁹ See part VI of this appendix, Temple Sites.

¹⁰ Refer to Appendix 1D, II, "Judges." Prior to Eli's tenure, a handful of judge-commanders are reported serving different tribal unions at varying times. However (1) they are not designated as having been high or chief priests; (b) no statements connect them directly with official priesthood lines; and (c) the geographical ranges of their recognized authority are obscure.

¹¹ The common dates assigned, respectively, for Gideon's conquest of the Midianites (Appendix 1D, II), and for Eli as principal priest at Shiloh, are 1140 and 1099 b.c., a difference of 41 years. Samuel's advent as the last judge-commander before the appointment of Saul commonly is placed c.1047/1040, a difference of (1140 - 1047/1040 =) 93 to 100 years between the Gideon conquest and Samuel.

¹² Appendix 1E.

¹³ See fn. 5.

Zadok of the sons of Eleazar and Ahimelech of the sons of Ithamar.... And were found more of the sons of Eleazar for heads of the men than the sons of Ithamar. And they divided them. To the sons of Eleazar, heads to the house of fathers, 16; and to sons of Ithamar to the house of their fathers, eight. So they divided them by lots, these with these. For these were chiefs of the sanctuary and chiefs of God, of the sons of Eleazar and the sons of Ithamar. And wrote them Shemiah, the son of Nethaneel, the scribe of the Levites, before the king and the princes; Zadok, the priest; Ahimelech, the son of Abiathar;¹⁴ and the heads of the fathers of the priests and Levites. One principal household was taken for Eleazar, and one taken for Ithamar."
1 Chronicles 24:1 ff.

The houses and order in which the lots came up are as follows, their Eleazar and Ithamar affiliations not being designated:

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Jehoiarib | 9. Jeshur | 17. Hezir |
| 2. Jedaiah | 10. Shecaniah | 18. Aphses |
| 3. Harim | 11. Eliashib | 19. Pethahiah |
| 4. Seorim | 12. Jakim | 20. Jehezkel |
| 5. Malchijah | 13. Huppah | 21. Jachin |
| 6. Mijamin | 14. Jeshebeab | 22. Gamul |
| 7. Hakkoz | 15. Bilgah | 23. Delaiah |
| 8. Abijah | 16. Immer | 24. Maaziah |

No more than eight of David's overall divisions are named in the list of houses following the return from exile, while new ones seemingly are named.¹⁵

B. From Solomon's Reign to the Nebuchadnezzar Captivity.

Solomon, after he succeeded David, banished (Ahimelech-) Abiathar and placed sole authority in Zadok.¹⁶

"[E]ighteen took the high priesthood at Jerusalem, one in succession to another, from the days of king Solomon, until Nebuchadnezzar...took Josadek, the high priest, captive...." "[T]he times of these high priests were 466 years, six months, and ten days."
Josephus AJ XX.X.1.

Many names in the *Josephus* line given from Zadok to Josedek/Josadek/Jozadak/Jehozadak are unrecognizable, although the spelling of some can be related to scriptural lists. Of the *Old Testament's* composite lineage roster, (a) *Nehemiah* 11:11's listing ends with Seraiah; (b) *1 Chronicles* 6:3ff.'s listing ends with Josedek after Seraiah; and (c) the *Ezra/Esdra*s lists omit Josedek and add Ezra/Esdra. Over the period of Kings only two or three individuals from the composite roster are described actively in office.¹⁷

C. From Persian Repatriation to the Roman Conquest.

Fifty-five high priest tenures for this period are derived from combined sources:

(1) From the Cyrus Repatriation to Jaddua (advent of Alexander the Great).

¹⁴ There is text confusion as to whether there were two Ahimelechs; refer to Appendix 2A, Attachment 4.

¹⁵ Refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 1, a composite list of chief priests, Aaron to Jehozadak/Ezra, as given at varying scriptural sites; the 18 names given at *AJ V.XI.5* appear in column one.

¹⁶ Appendix 1E, fn. 88. (Will Durant, speaking of *New Testament* political parties in *Caesar and Christ*, remarks as follows: "Most of the upper clergy...belonged to the Sadducees [*Zadokim*], so named after their founder Zadok." NY: Simon and Shuster, 1944; p. 536.)

¹⁷ Such as Hilkiyah in the reign of Josiah (Appendix 2C, "Period of the Kings").

“[A]fter the term of 70 years’ captivity under the Babylonians, Cyrus, king of Persia, sent the Jews from Babylon...and gave them leave to rebuild their temple; at which time Jesus, the son of Josadek, took the high priesthood over the captives when they were returned home. Now Jeshua and his posterity...were in all 15, until king Antiochus [V] Eupator...--414 years ¹⁸”
Loc. cit.

The six high priests identified by scriptural texts and *Josephus*, for the first part of this period, are listed below. The canonical texts describe five (Joiada/Judas excepted) relative to specific events, but the information is insufficient to fix the terms of their tenures. Jaddua is the last chief priest of lineage mentioned as such in the *Old Testament* canon, after whom data rests with *Josephus* and *Maccabees*.¹⁹

- 1) Jeshua/Jesus
- 2) Joiakim [/Joacim]
- 3) Eliashib
- 4) ?Joiada/Judas
- 5) Yehohanan/Johanan/Jonathan/John
- 6) Jaddua/Jaddus

(Following Alexander III’s conquest of the region, Jaddua’s son-in-law named Manasseh was high priest at Mount Gerizzim; *refer to* Appendix 3B, II, Detail B—High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua.)

(2) From the Death of Alexander the Great to the Roman Conquest.

The nine identifiable chief/high priests to complete *Josephus’* 15 to the time of Antiochus V Eupator were:²⁰

- 7) (Jaddus/Jaddua-) Onias I
- 8) (Onias I-) Simon (“the Just”)
- 9) (Onias I-) Eleazar
- 10) (? -) Manasseh (“Eleazar’s uncle”)
- 11) (Simon “the Just”-) Onias II
- 12) (Onias II-) Simeon) Related uncertainties here are included in 3A, VI,
- 13) (? -) Simon) Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison.
- 14) (Simon “the Just”-) Jesus/Jason
- 15) (Simon “the Just”-) Menelaus/Onias III

The following are chief/high priests thus far discernible subsequent to Onias III:

- 16) (?-) Alcimus/Jacimus
- 17) (Mattathias Asamoneus-) Judas
- 18) (Mattathias-) Jonathan/Apphus
- 19) (Mattathias-) Simon/Matthes
- 20) (Simon/Matthes-) John Hyrcanus I²¹

¹⁸ Unless *Josephus* counted some 40 years of Jeshua while in captivity, this total does not tally with the commonly-fixed dates of Cyrus’ repatriation and Antiochus V’s reign (538 b.c. - 164/163 =) 374/375 years; *refer to* Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, “Calendar Year Comparison,” and references cited there. See Detail B to this sub-part II for available details post-Eliashib.

¹⁹ The following segments pertain, in addition to the Calendar: Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests, Eliashib to Jaddua) and Appendix 3A, IV (Explorative Timeline, Jeshua to Jaddua) for detail and citations; and Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 5 (Charted Exploration of Familial Relationships, etc.) and its supplement, Attachment 6.

²⁰ The following segments pertain: Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1 (Calendar Year Comparison Timeline) and narratives, etc. noted there, and Attachments 5 and 6 cited in the preceding footnote here.

²¹ John Hyrcanus I commences the period of volume four of this work, in which is found corresponding Calendar, Descendancy Charts, etc.

- 21) (Hyrcanus I-) Judas/Aristobulus I
- 22) (Hyrcanus I-) Alexander [I] Janneus
- 23) (Janneus-) John Hyrcanus II
- 24) (Janneus-) Aristobulus II
- 25) (Janneus-) John Hyrcanus II (second tenure)
- 26) (Aristobulus II-) Antigonus II
- 27) (?-) Ananelus
- 28) (Janneus-Hyrcanus-Alexandra II-) Aristobulus III
- 29) (?-) Ananelus (second tenure)
- 30) (Phabet-) Jesus
- 31) (Boethus-) Simon (Cantheras)
- 32) (Theophilus-) Matthias
- 33) (Boethus-) Joazar
- 34) Eleazar (Joazar's "brother")
- 35) (Sie-) Jesus
- 36) (Boethus-) Joazar (second tenure)
- 37) (Seth/Sethi-) Ananus/Annas
- 38) (Phabi-) Ishmael
- 39) (Ananus/Annas-) Eleazar
- 40) (Camithus) Simon
- 41) (?-) Joseph Caiaphas
- 42) (Ananus/Annas-) Jonathan
- 43) (Ananus-) Theophilus
- 44) (Boethus-) Simon Cantheras (second tenure)
- 45) (Ananus/Annas-) Matthias
- 46) (Cantheras-) Elioneus
- 47) (Camus-) Joseph
- 48) (Nebedus-) Ananias
[48a) (? -) Jonathan; see Appendix 4A, Timeline, page 63 *Note*.]
- 49) (Fabi-) Ishmael
- 50) (Simon-) Joseph Cabi
- 51) (Ananus/Annas-) Ananus
- 52) (Damneus-) Jesus
- 53) (Gamaliel-) Jesus
- 54) (Theophilus-) Matthias (second tenure?)
- 55) (Samuel-) Phannias/Phanas²²

D. Recap of Total Number.

The foregoing lists as derived (even if second tenures were deducted) do not tally precisely with *Josephus'* report, that "...the number of all the high priests from Aaron...until Phanas...was 83." *Josephus AJ XX.X.1.*

A. (including Abiathar but excluding Zadok from that count)	12
B. (including Zadok plus the added Azariah)	18
C. As given	<u>55</u>
Total as given	85
[Including 48a, Jonathan	<u>1</u>
	86

III. Priests, Leaders and Numbered Sons of the Returns.

A. The First-Listed Repatriation Congregation.²³

²² (Samuel-) Phannias/Phanas (the last-stated occupant of the high priest office before completion of the Roman conquest [Appendix 4A at fn. 135] has been added here, although it is not altogether clear he was included in the *Josephus* total of 83.

²³ The following quotations provide only the lead group. Detail A to this appendix 3B, II summarizes the collected listings of all the priests, division/clan leaders, and Levites of the returns.

(1) According to *Nehemiah*.

Nehemiah decided to gather “the nobles, and the judges and the people, to enroll by family. And [he] found a register of the genealogy, of those who went up at the first..., the sons of the province who went up of the exiles of...Nebuchadnezzar...[who] returned to Jerusalem and to Judah.... The [lead] ones coming with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, *Azariah*, Raaniah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Nehum, Baanah....” 7:4ff.

“The whole assembly together was four ten thousands, two thousand, three hundred and sixty [42,360], besides the manservants and their maidservants these: seven thousand, three hundred thirty-seven; and to them singing men and singing women two hundred and forty-five [42,360 + 7,337 + 245 = 49,942].” 7:66ff.

(2) According to *Ezra*.

“Now these the sons of the province who went up from the captivity of the exiles, that had exiled Nebuchadnezzar.... And they returned to Jerusalem and Judah, each one to his own city, who came with Zerubbabel: [the leading group being] Jeshua, Nehemiah, *Seraiah*, Reeliah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Misper, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah.” 2:1ff.

“All the congregation together four ten thousands, two thousand three hundred sixty [42,360] besides their male servants and female servants; these seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven, *and among them* singing men and singing women, two hundred [42,360 + 7,337 = 49,697 (if *plus* 200 = 49,897)].” 2:64ff.

(3) According to *1 Esdras*. The description and enumeration of Zerubbabel’s commission in *1 Esdras* follows Zerubbabel’s successful oration before Darius I:

“[T]he names of...the [chief] priests...: Jesus, the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias, and Joacim the son of Zorobabel....” 5:5.

“And these are they [the leading group]...that came up from captivity...with Zorobabel: Jesus, Nehemias, and *Zacharias*, and Reesaias, Eneuius, Mardocheus, Beelsarus, Aspharasus, Reelius, Roimus, and Baana, their guides.” 5:7-8.

“So of Israel, from them of twelve years old and upward, they were all in number forty thousand, *beside* menservants and womanservants two thousand three hundred and sixty. Their menservants and handmaids were seven thousand three hundred forty and seven: the singing men and singing women, two hundred forty and five [40,000 + 2,360 + 7,347 = 49,707 (if *plus* 245 = 49,952)].” 5:41ff.

(4) According to *Josephus*.

(a) *Josephus* states simply immediately after Cyrus’ authorization, and without enumeration:

“Now the number of those that came out of captivity to Jerusalem, were forty-two thousand four hundred and sixty-two.” AJ XI.1.3.

(b) *Josephus’* categorized enumeration, as in *1 Esdras*, appears after the oratory “contest” in Darius year I. It is in an abbreviated form, but in some numbers it agrees with the others, as well as presenting data the others do not:

“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, that I may not take off the mind of the readers from the connection of the historical facts...; but the sum of those that went up, *above the age of twelve* years...was 462 myriads and eight thousand;²⁴ the Levites were 74; the number of the women and children mixed together was 40,742; and besides these, there were singers of the Levites 128 and porters 110, and of the sacred ministers 392; there were also others besides these, who said they were of the

²⁴ The *Josephus* editors do not know to what to ascribe this vast number, if not an error. The italicized last statement of the quotation, however, admits the possibility that, enroute, Zerubbabel also became involved with returning many other exiles out of captivity to various homeland regions.

Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, 662.²⁵ Some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they found in the genealogies of the Levites and Priests; they were about 525; the multitude of servants that followed those that went up to Jerusalem were 7,337; the singing men and singing women were 245; and the 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, who also contributed one hundred pounds of gold, and five thousand of silver. By this means therefore the priests and Levites, and a certain part of the entire people of the Jews that had been in Babylon, came and dwelt in Jerusalem; *but the rest of the multitude returned everyone to their own country.*" (*AJ*, XI.III.10; italics supplied).

(5) Groups Listed and Their Numbers.

Column numbers correspond to above-numbered citations:

	1. ²⁶	2. ²⁷	3. ²⁸	4. ²⁹
(1) Priest Groups				Unspecified.
"The sons of Carme"			1,017	
"The sons of Harim"	1,017	1,017		
"The sons of <i>Immer</i> "	1,052	1,052		
"The sons of Jedaiah of the house of Jeshua"	973	973		
"The sons of Jeddu, the son of Jesus, among the sons of Sanasib"			972	
"The sons of <i>Meruth</i> "			1,052	
"The sons of Pashur"	1,247	1,247		
"The sons of Phassaron"			1,047	
Sub-total:	4,289	4,289	4,088	?
(2) Levites	1. ³⁰	2. ³¹	3. ³²	4.
"The Levites"				74
"The sons of Jeshua of Kadmiel of the sons of Hodevah"	74			
"The sons of Jeshua <i>and</i> Kadmiel of the sons of Hodevah"		74		
"The sons of Jessue, and Kadmiel, and Banuas and Sudias"			74	
Sub-total:	74	74	74	74
(3) People	1. ³³	2. ³⁴	3. ³⁵	4.
"Sons of"				Unspecified.
Adin	655	454	454	
Adonikam	667	666	667	
Ananias	--	--	101	
"Men of"/"They of" Anathoth	128	128	158	

²⁵ Refer to sub-part IV of this appendix.

²⁶ "The priests,;" 7:39-43.

²⁷ "The priests,;" 2:36-39.

²⁸ "The priests,;" 5:24-25.

²⁹ All of *Josephus* numbers are from the same site, *AJ*, XI.III.10.

³⁰ "The Levites,;" 7:43.

³¹ "The Levites,;" 2:40.

³² "The Levites,;" 5:26.

³³ "The number of the men of the people of Israel,;" 7:8-38.

³⁴ "The number of the men of the people of Israel,;" 2:2-35.

³⁵ "The number of them of the nation, and their governors,;" 5:9-23.

(3) **People continued**

	1.	2.	3.	4. Unspecified.
"Sons of"				
Arah	652	775		
Ares	--	--	756	
Annas	["Senaah?"]	["Senaah?"]	3,330	
Arom	--	--	32	
Ater "of Hezekiah"	98	98	"of Aterezias" 92	
Azephurith	--	--	102	
"Sons of"				
Azgad	2,322	1,222	--	
Azuran	--	--	432	
"The men of:"				
Bethlehem ³⁶	--	123	--	
Bethlehem and Netophah	188	--	--	
Bethlomon ³⁷			123	
"Sons of"				
Bebai	628	623	623	
Bezai	324	323	"Bassa" 323	
Bigvai	2,067	2,056	"Bagoi" 2,066	
Binnui	648	"Bani" 642	648	
"The men of:"				
Bethel and Ai	123	223	--	
Beth-azmaveth	42	42	--	
"They of"				
Bethsamos	--	--	42	
"They of"				
Betolius	--	--	52	
Calamolalus and Onus	--	--	725	
Caphira and Beroth	--	--	743 ³⁸	
"Sons of"				
Ceilan and Azetas	--	--	67	
"They of"				
Chaduas and Ammidoi	--	--	422	
"The men of"				
Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim	743	"K.-avim" 743	--	
"They of"				
Cirama and Gabdes ³⁹	--	--	621	
"Sons of"				
Corbe	--	--	705	
Elam	1,254	1,254	1,254	
Elam, "the other"	1,254	1,254	--	
Gibeon	95	95	--	
Hariph	112	--	--	
Harim	320	320	--	
Hashum	328	223	--	
Jorah	--	112	--	
Jericho	345	345	245	

³⁶ See "Netophah," next page, for apparent difference.

³⁷ See preceding footnote.

³⁸ This total is identical with the *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* figure for "Chephirah, and Beeroth, and Kirjath-jearim," below; *1 Esdras* also includes "Kiriathiarus," 25 men, not included by the others. (Regarding *Kirjath/Kiriath/K-jearim/avim*, see Appendix 2A.)

³⁹ Note "The men of Ramah and Gaba," below.

(3) People continued

	1.	2.	3.	4. Unspecified.
"They of" Kiriathiarus	--	--	25	
"Sons of" Lod, Hadid and Ono	721	725	--	
"They of" Macalon	--	--	122	
"Sons of" Magbish	--	156	"Nephis" 156	
Meterus	--	--	3,005	
"The men of" Michmas	122	122	--	
Nebo ⁴⁰ "the other"	52	52	--	
Netophah	--	56	55	
"Sons of Pahath-Moab, the sons of Jeshua and Joab:"	2,818	2,812		
"Sons of Phaath-Moab"			2,812	
"Sons of" Parosh	2,172	2,172	"Phoros" 2,172	
"They of" Pira	--	--	700	
"The men of" Ramah and Gaba	621	"/Geba" 621	--	
"They of" Sadas	--	--	3,222	
"Sons of" Saphat	--	--	472	
"The men of" Senaah	3,930	3,630	[Annas?]	
"Sons of" Shephatiah	372	372	--	
Zaccai	760	760	--	
Zattu	845	945	--	
Zathui			945	
Sub-total:	25,406	24,144	28,469	
Unspecified.				

(4) Levite Singers

	1. ⁴¹	2. ⁴²	3. ⁴³	4.
"Singers of the Levites"				128
The sons of Asaph	148	128	128	

⁴⁰ (1) A Moabite city originally of Amorite king Sidon (*Numbers* 21:26, 32:3; *Isaiah* 15:2), rebuilt by Reubenites (*Numbers* 32:37-38), retaken by Moabite king Mesha (Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 62); (2) modern Nuba, some eight miles NW of Hebron, has been considered as one possible Nebo; *Aid*, p. 1211; (3) the mountain where Moses died, generally identified as some 12 miles E of where the Jordan River enters the Dead Sea; (4) an Assyrian/Babylonian deity, a form of which name appears in the *Nebupolassar*/Nebuchadnezzar dynasty.

⁴¹ "The singers;," 7:44.

⁴² "The singers;," 2:41.

⁴³ "The holy singers;," 5:27.

(5) Gatekeepers/porters

	1. ⁴⁴	2. ⁴⁵	3. ⁴⁶	4.
“Porters;” “The sons of”				110
	Shallum	Shallum	Sallum	
	Ater	Ater	Jatal	
	Talmon	Talmon	Talmon	
	Akkub	Akkub	Dacobi	
	Hatita	Hatita	Teta	
	Shobai	Shobai	Sami	
Total given:	138	139	139	110

**(6) Temple slaves and descendants
of servants of Solomon⁴⁷**

- (a) 1. lists 32 *son-groups* of “temple slaves.”
2. lists 35 *fathers* of “temple slaves.”
3. lists 41 *fathers* of “servants of the temple.”
- (b) 1. lists 11 *son-groups* of “servants of Solomon.”⁴⁸
2. lists 11 *fathers* of “sons of servants of Solomon.”
3. lists 18 *fathers* of “sons of the servants of Solomon.”

	1. ⁴⁹	2. ⁵⁰	3. ⁵¹	4.
“All the temple slaves and the servants of Solomon:”	392			
“All the temple slaves and the sons of servants of Solomon:”		392		
“All the <i>ministers</i> of the temple, and the sons of the servants of Solomon:”			372	
“Sacred ministers:”				392

(7) Singing men and Women

	245	200	245	245
--	-----	-----	-----	-----

(8) Menservants and maidservants

	7,337	7,337	7,347	7,337
--	-------	-------	-------	-------

(9) “Women and children mixed together,” category given by Josephus only:

40,742

⁴⁴ “The gatekeepers;” 7:45.

⁴⁵ “The sons of the gatekeepers;” 2:42.

⁴⁶ “The porters;” 5:28.

⁴⁷ The term used to denote temple slaves is “Nethinim.” There are a few spellings different between sources of 1 and 2; spelling differences in 3 (1 *Esdras*) are commensurate with that book in general.

⁴⁸ 7:57-59.

⁴⁹ 7:46-56.

⁵⁰ 2:43-57

⁵¹ 5:29-35.

Tallies:

	1.	2.	3.	4.
(1)	4,289	4,289	4,088	<i>Unspecified</i>
(2)	74	74	74	74
(3)	25,406	24,144	28,469	<i>Unspecified</i>
(4)	148	128	128	128
(5)	138	139	139	110
(6)	392	392	372	392
(7)	245	200	245	245
(8)	7,337	7,337	7,347	7,337
(9)				<u>40,742</u>
Totals:	38,029	36,703	39,862	49,028

It is noted that:

(a) Sums of numbers in all three listings cannot be made to equal their stated totals. The main difference is in (3), number of returning sons--especially, between the canon and *1 Esdras*, where odd renditions of names do not permit equations that might cull greater discernment of areas of difference.

(b) A tally of the differences between above-category (3)'s sources yields odd correlations. The difference between below-columns 1 and 2 (1,262) when added to that between 3 and 1 (3,063) yields the difference between 2 and 3 (4,325):

	1.	2.	3.
Number of returning sons given:	25,406	24,144	28,469
2 has less than 1:		<u>(1,262)</u>	
		25,406	
1 has less than 3:	<u>(3,063)</u>		
	28,469		
3 has more than 2:			<u>(4,325)</u>
			24,144

(c) A final factor is whether respective subtotals in the enumerations as given were reduced by the numbers of priests and individuals later identified as failing to prove genealogy, etc., and denied temple membership.⁵²

B. The Two Listings of the Repatriation Congregation "in the reign of Artaxerxes."

(1) *Ezra*. "[T]hese the *chiefs of their fathers, and the genealogy of those who went up with me in the reign of Artaxerxes the king from Babylon.*" 8:1-14.

(2) *1 Esdras*. "[T]hese are the *chiefs according to their families and several dignities, that went up with me from Babylon in the reign of King Artaxerxes.*" 8:28-40.

	(1)	# in group		(2)	# in group
<u>"From the sons of:"</u>			<u>"From the sons of:"</u>		
David	Hattush	--	David	(Sechenias-) Lettus	--
Ithamar	Daniel	--	Ithamar	Gamael	--
Phinehas	Gershom	--	Phinees	Gerson	--
Adin	(Jonathan-) Ebed	50	Adin	(Jonathan-) Obeth	250

⁵² Refer to sub-part IV of this appendix.

	(1)	<u># in group</u>	(2)	<u># in group</u>	
Adonikam ⁵³	Eliphelet, Jeiel, and Shemaiah	60	Adonikam ⁵⁴	Eliphalet, Jeuel, and Samaias	70
Azgad (Hakkatan)	Johanan	110	Asthath	(Acatan-) Johannes	110
Bebai	(Bebai-) Zechariah	28	Babi	(Bebai-) Zacharias	28
Bigvai (?-)	Uthai and Zabbud	70	Bago	(Istalcurus-) Uthi	70
Elam	(Athaliah-) Jeshaiiah	70	Elam	(Gotholias-) Josias	70
Joab	(Jehiel-) Obadiah	218	Joab	(Jezelus-) Abadias	212
Pahath-Moab	Zerahiah-) Elihoenai	200	Pahath-Moab	(Zaraias-) Eliaonias	200
Shecaniah, "from the sons of Parosh"					
	Zechariah	150	Pharez	Zacharias	150
Shecaniah	(Jahaziel-) ? ⁵⁵	300	Zathoe	(Jezelus-) Sechenias ⁵⁶	300
Shelomith	(Josiphiah-) ? ⁵⁷	160	Banid	(Josaphias-) Assalimoth ⁵⁸	160
Shephatiah	(Michael-) Zebadiah	<u>80</u>	Saphatias	(Michael-) Zaraias	<u>70</u>
	<i>Totals:</i>	1,496			1,690

When Ezra camped his assembly at the "river Ahava:"

(1) Ezra "did not find there any of the sons of Levi." He then sent (not said where) for Eliezer, Ariel, Shemaiah, Elnathan, Jarib, Elnathan (*sic.* repeat), Nathan, Zechariah, and Meshullam, chief men--also for Joiarib and Elnathan, men of understanding, who in turn he sent to Iddo, "*chief man at Casiphia,*" to bring him ministers.

They brought back "a man [unnamed] of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi the son of Israel, and Sherebiah, with his sons and his brothers--18--and Hashabiah, and with him Jeshaiiah from the sons of Merari, his brothers and their sons 20--also of the temple slaves...and the leaders for the service of the Levites...220 Nethinim. All of them were called by name." *Ezra* 8:16ff.

(2) Ezra "found there [at Ahava] none of the priests and Levites." He then sent unto Eleazar, Idueh, Masman, Alnathan, Mamaias, Joribus, Nathan, Eunatan, Zacharias and Mosollamon, principal men and learned, and "bade them that they should go unto *Saddeus the captain, who was in the place of the treasury, and commanded them that they should speak unto Daddeus, and to his brethren, and to the treasurers in that place, to send...such men as might execute the priests' office.*"

They brought back "skilful men" of the sons of Moli the son of Levi, the son of Israel, Asebebia and his sons and his brethren, who were 18; and Asebia, Annuus and Osaias his brother, of the sons of Channuneus, and their sons, 20; and of the servants of the temple...and the principal men for the service of the Levites...220, the catalogue of whose names were shewed.." *1 Esdras* 8:42ff.

⁵³ "From the sons of Adonikam, last one, and these their names:"

⁵⁴ "Of the sons of Adonikam, the last, and these the names of them:"

⁵⁵ See next footnote.

⁵⁶ Per *Ezra*, "From the sons of Shecaniah, the son of Jahaziel, and with *him* [?] 300; per *1 Esdras*, "Of the sons of Zathoe, Sechenias, the son of Jezelus, and with *him* 300"--the latter definitely identifying Shecaniah/Sechenias as son of Jahaziel/Jezelus.

⁵⁷ See next footnote.

⁵⁸ Per *Ezra*, "from the sons of Shelomith, the son of Josiphiah, and with *him* [?] 160; per *1 Esdras*, "Of the sons of Banid, Assalimoth son of Josaphias, and with *him* 160."

IV. The Two Reports of Post-Repatriation Excommunications.

Text placements of the two reports of excommunication initially suggest some 41 years between--that the first occurred c. the return in part III.A above, which in its prologue includes Zerubbabel as a leader, and the second after the formal proceedings held by Ezra/Nehemiah.⁵⁹ The respective reports are detailed in parts A and B and their accompanying charts, below. The following points can be noted:

(1) Source quotations for A.1 (*Nehemiah*) and A.2 (*Ezra*) state that “the [unnamed] governor” decreed unacceptance of the listed groups; A.3 (*1 Esdras*), that “Nehemias and Atharias” did; A.4 (*Josephus*) does not specify who.

(2) The two recognizable names in A.1, A.2, and A.3--Delaiah and Tobiah--are names of priests or priest-sons involved in conflict with Nehemiah in his time, not in Zerubbabel's. A.4 gives no names.

(3) A.1, 2 and 3 state that the listed persons could not prove *their own* genealogy. The names are given in two groupings, “sons” and “priests,” the number in the group specified only for the first. A.4, which gives no names but also refers to two groups, describes the second as persons who *neither* could produce proof of their own genealogy nor that of women they had married.

(4) As to the report of formal proceedings in B, all three sources relate them only to individuals who had married “foreign/strange” wives. B.1 (*Ezra*) states its listed names consists of “sons of the priests;” B.2 (*1 Esdras*), “the priests.” B.3 (*Josephus*) states the group consisted of “certain of the multitude, and of the priests and Levites,” but does not provide names.⁶⁰

(5) It is unclear from B.1's conclusory statement whether all the listed individuals did put away their ‘illegitimate’ wives and children: B.2 states definitely that they did (see quotes at end of listings in part B). B.3 states that the inquiry “found a great many of the posterity of Jeshua the high priest, and of the priests and Levites, [who did] immediately cast out their wives, and the children which were born of them,” but does not speak to any who might have been found who did not.

A. The First-Reported Excommunications from Priesthood..

1.⁶¹ “And these those who went up from Tel-melah, Tel-haresha, Cherub, Addon and Immer,⁶² but not...able to declare house their father's and their seed, if out of Israel they were: ... These sought their register of those enrolled by genealogy, but not it was found, and they were polluted from the priesthood. And said the governor to them that not they should not, etc.”
Nehemiah 7:61-64.

2. “And these they who went up from Tel-melah, Tel-harsa, Cherub, Addan, Immer--but not were able to report house their father's and their seed, whether of Israel--: ... These searched for their register who were enrolled genealogically but not they were found; therefore they were defiled from the priesthood. And said the governor to them that not they shall not, etc.”
Ezra 2:59-63.

3. “These came up from Thermeleth and Thelersas, Charaathalar leading them,

⁵⁹ Refer to Appendix 3A, IV, “Explorative Timeline.”

⁶⁰ Josephus further stating, “[I]t does not seem to me to be necessary to set down the names of those men.” *AJ XI.V.6.*

⁶¹ These number correspond to Chart A below.

⁶² *Aid* indicates locations unknown for Tel-melah, Tel-haresha, Cherub, and Addon, being “places from which [came] individuals unable to tell their genealogy,” assuming them to have been “in Babylon,” while “some believe” Addon may have been a person (pp. 1581, 310 and 34).

and Aalar; neither could they shew their families, nor their stock, how they were of Israel: ... And when the description of the kindred of these men was sought in the register, and was not found, they were removed from executing the office of the priesthood: For unto them said Nehemias and Atharias, that they should not be, etc.” 1 Esdras 5:37-40.

4. “[T]here were also others...who said they were of the Israelites, but were not able to show their genealogies, 662. Some there were also who were expelled out of the number and honor of the priests as having married wives whose genealogies they could not produce, nor were they [said men] found in the genealogies of the Levites and Priests; they were about 525.” Josephus XI.III.10.

	Chart A			
	1.	2.	3.	4.
“The sons of Delaiah: the sons of Tobiah, the sons of Nekoda” ⁶³)			
	) 642			
“The sons of Delaiah, the sons of Tobiah, the sons of Nekoda”)		
)		
		) 652		
“The sons of Ladan, ⁶⁴ the son of Ban, ⁶⁵ the sons of Necodan”			652	
Unspecified:				662
“And of the priests: the sons of Habajah, ⁶⁶ the sons of Koz, ⁶⁷ the sons of Barzillai, ⁶⁸ who a wife from the daughters of Barzillai, the Gileadite, and was called after name.”))		
))		
	) No	) No		
	) number	) number		
	) given.	) given.		
))		
“And of the priests that usurped the office of the priesthood: the sons of Obdia, the sons of Accoz, the sons of Addus, who married Augia one of the daughters of Berzelus, and was named after his name.”)	
			) No	
			) number	
			) given.	
Unspecified				525

B. The Formal Proceedings and Second-Reported Excommunication from Priesthood.

An initial time was set for men with foreign wives to be present on a certain day, and: There “gathered everyone who trembled...because of the perfidy of the exiles.” Ezra 9:4.

“And answered Shecaniah the son of Jehiel, of the sons of Elam, and said

⁶³ The only other use is “the sons of Nekoda” (*Ezra* 2:48) included in the “Nethinim”/temple slaves group of returnees, for which only a group total is given—above, part III, A(6).

⁶⁴ (1) refer to Appendix 1C, V, B, “Levi,” at fn. 62 re tangents of (Gershonites-Shimeites-) Libni-Iddo- Zerah; (2) an Ephraimite ancestor of Joshua, *1 Chronicles* 7:22, 26, 27.

⁶⁵ Only use in this form.

⁶⁶ Only use.

⁶⁷ cf. Coz/[Cozbij], Appendix 1C, Attachment 1, fn. 23; “Meremoth, the son of Urijah, the son of Koz” (*Nehemiah* 3:4, 21); “Uriah/Urijah the priest”-Meremoth, who received precious metals to convey for Ezra (*Ezra* 8:33).

⁶⁸ The first-mentioned “Barzillai” was a sustainer of king David—Appendix 1E, preceding fn. 69.

to Ezra, We have sinned...and have married wives foreign, from the peoples of the land. Yet now there is hope for *Israel* as to this thing. Now therefore let us cut a covenant...to eject all the [those] wives and those born from them....”
Ezra 10:2-3.

“Then Jechonias the son of Jeelus, one of the sons of *Israel*, called out and said, “O Esdras, we have sinned...we have married strange women of the nations of the land, and now all of *Israel* is aloft. Let us make an oath, that we will put away our wives, [those?] which we have taken of the heathen, and with *their* children.”
1 Esdras 8:92-93.

The texts do not designate (a) which proscribed unions were of exiled men, with women of, and while in, their particular exilic territory; (b) whether any accepted unions were between suzerain- colonists and women of proveable lineage; or (c) whether priests and priest-sons may have had the option of retaining one wife of ‘legitimate’ or ‘legitimizing’ status, and her children, and renounce other wives he may have possessed. In the next two quotations, *Ezra* and *1 Esdras* appear in conflict as to the roles adopted by the persons named:

“Only Jonathan the son of Asahel, and Jahaziah the son of Tikvah, stood⁶⁹ against this; and Meshullam and Shab-bethai the Levite supported them. *And so did the sons of the exile.*”
Ezra 10:15-16.

“Then Jonathan the son of Azael and Ezechias the son of Theocanus accordingly took this matter upon them, and Mosollam and Levis and Sabbatheus helped them.”
1 Esdras 9:14.

The gathering, a great assembly of “men and women and children,” was accompanied with great weeping, at which a set time was called in three days “to examine the matter.” “The elders of every place” were to “estimate...those that have thus married” and appear.” *Ezra 10; Josephus XI.V.4.*

[At the appointed time] “they began the inquiry...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 to be necessary to set down the names of these men.”
Josephus, XI.V.4.

Chart B

(a)

1.
Ezra 10:18-44:

2.
1 Esdras 9:18-36:

“And were found these among the sons of the priests who had married wives foreign:

“And of the priests that were come together, and had strange wives, there were found:

“[F]rom the sons of **Jeshua**, the son of Jozadak, and his brothers: Maaseiah, and Eliezer, and Jarib and Gedaliah. *And they gave their hand to expel their wives...*

“Of the sons of **Jesus** the son of Josedec, and his brethren; Matthelas, and Eleazar, and Joribus, and Joadanus. *And they gave their hands to put away their wives...*

⁶⁹ “According to the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*, Jahzeiah/[Jahaziah] and the others assisted, rather than opposed.” *Aid*, page 866.

Chart B

(a) *continued*

1.
Ezra 10:18-44:

“And from the sons of **Immer**:
Hanani and Zebadiah;

“and from the sons of **Harim**:
Maaseiah and Elijah, and *Shemaiah*,
and *Jehiel* and *Uzziah*;

“and from the sons of **Pashur**:
Elioenai, Maaseiah, Ishmael, Nethaneel,
Jozabad and Elasa.

2.
1 Esdras 9:18-36:

“And of the sons of **Emmer**; Ananias, and
Zabdeus, and Eanes, and *Sameius*, and
Hiereel, and *Azarias* [at least the last three
included in 1.Harim?]

[sons of **Harim missing** in *1 Esdras*]⁷⁰

“And of the sons of **Phaisur**;
Elionas, Massias, Ismael, and Nathanael,
and Ocidelus, and Talsas.

(b)

1. “Also from the **Levites**, Jozabad, and Shimei, and Kelaiah--he Kelita--Pethahiah,
Judah and Eliezer.

2. “And of the **Levites**: Jozabad, and Semis, and Colius, who was called Calitas,
and Patheus, and Judas, and Jonas.

1. “Also from the **singers** Eliashib;

2. “Of the holy **singers**; Eleazurus, Bacchurus [*1 Esdras* names one son more than
Ezra].

1. “and from the **gatekeepers**: Shallum, and Telem, and Uri.

2. “Of the **porters**; Sallumus, and Tolbanes [*1 Esdras* names one son less than
Ezra].

1. “And **from Israel**, from the sons of **Parosh** Ramiah, and Jeziah, and Malchiah,
and Miamin, and Eleazar, and Malchijah and Benaiah.

2. “Of them **of Israel**, of the sons of **Phoros**; Hiermas and Eddias, and Melchias,
and Maelus, and Eleazar, and Asibias, and Baanias.

1. “And from the sons of **Elam** Mattaniah, Zechariah, and Jehiel, and Abdi, and
Jeremoth, and Eliah;

2. “Of the sons of **Ela**; Matthanias, Zacharias, and Hierielus, and Hieremoth, and
Aedias [*1 Esdras* names one son less than *Ezra*].

1. “and from the sons of **Zattu**: Elioenai, Eliashib, Mattaniah, and Jeremoth, and
Zabad, and Aziza;

2. “And of the sons of **Zamoth**; Eliadas, Elisimus, Othonias, Jarimoth, and Sabatus,
and Sardeus.

1. “and from the sons of **Bebai**: Jehohanan, Hananiah, Zabbai, and Athlai;

2. “Of the sons of **Bebai**; Johannes, and Ananias, and Josabad, and Amatheis.

⁷⁰ Note that toward the end of the individuals' list, below, *Ezra's* *Harim* group is given by *1 Esdras* as *Annas* (a later derivative of *Hananiah*).

1. “and from the sons of **Bani**: Meshullam, Malluch, and Adaiah, Jashub, and Sheal Ramoth;

2. “Of the sons of **Mani**; Olamus, Mamuchus, Jedeus, Jasubus, Jasael, and Hieremoth.

1. “and from the sons of **Pahath-Moab**: Adna, and Chelah, Benaiah, Maaseiah, Mattaniah, Bezaleel and Binnui and Manasseh;

2. “And of the sons of **Addi**; Naathus, and Moosias, Lacunus, and Naidus, and Mathanias, and Sesthel, Balnuus, and Manasseas.

1. “and from the sons of **Harim**: Eliezer, Ishijah, Malchiah, Shemaiah, Shimeon, Benjamin, Malluch and Shemariah;

2. “And of the sons of **Annas**; Elionas, and Aseas, and Melchias, and Sabbeus, and Simon Chosameus [*1 Esdras* names two or three sons less than *Ezra*].

1. “from the sons of **Hashum**: Mattenai, Mattathah, Zabad, Eliphelet, Jeremai, Manasseh and Shimei;

2. “And of the sons of **Asom**; Altaneus, and Matthias, and Bannaia, Eliphalat, and Manasses, and Semei [*1 Esdras* names one less son than *Ezra*].

Note: Of the last two groups of Ezra and three groups of 1 Esdras (below)--while varying in respective compositions and numbers, and apart from the consistently different spellings-- the total names of 1(a) equal the total names of 2(a), (b) and (c), while at the same time some of the names of 2(c) appear to be included in 1(b):

1(a). “from the sons of **Bani** Maadai, Amram and Uel, Benaiah, Bedeiah, Chelluh, Vaniah, Meremoth, Eliashib, Mattaniah, Mattenai, and Jaasau, and Bani, and Binnui, Shimei, and Shelemiah, and Nathan, and Adaiah, Machnadebal, Shashai, Sharai, Azareel, and Shelemiah, Shemariah, Shallum, Amariah, and Joseph; [=27]

1(b). “from the sons of **Nebo** Jeiel, Mattithiah, Zabad, Zebina, Jadau, and Joel, Benaiah. [=7]

2(a). “And of the sons of **Maani**; Jeremias, Momdis, Omaerus, Juel, Mab dai, and Pelias, and Anos, Carabasion, and Enasibus, and Mamnitanimus, Eliasis, Bannus, Eliali, Samis, Selemias, Nathanias: [=16]

2(b). “and of the sons of **Ozora**; Sesis, Esril, Azaelus, Samatus, Zambis, Josephus. [=6]

2(c). “And of the sons of **Ethma**; Mazitias, Zabadaias, Edes, Juel, Banaias. [=5]

1. “All these had taken wives foreign, and there were of them wives, and they gave sons.”

2. “All these had taken strange wives and they put them away with their children.”

V. Collected Listings of Divisions/Houses, Priests, Leaders, and Levites Of and After the Returns.

Despite the absence of surnames to link identical names in tracing progression of priesthood lines, in some categorical instances there do exist identifiable absences, etc. allowing possible perpetuation of Levitic and/or Davidic lineages, via distanced clans, unto and beyond the time of the Hasmonaeans.⁷¹

There is no record in this period of communication between vested interests in exilic hierarchies and the temple and its administration,⁷² and it is impossible to extract the complex shifting of politics and empowerment over the two repatriations spanning Persian

⁷¹ *i.e.*, disappearances of houses/divisions from post-repatriation rosters would not negate, necessarily, privately recognized descendancies under The Law, of once-represented clans/families, in ongoing numbers of female births.

⁷² *E.g.*, the correspondence between Jeremiah at Jerusalem and the exiles in Babylon during Nebuchadnezzar's tenure; refer to Appendix 2C, VII, “Jeremiah.”

rule from Cyrus through Artaxerxes. Simply taken altogether, the record reflects that regional factioning, evident with the Zerubbabel repatriation, was by the time of Ezra/Nehemiah involvement both escalated and splintered by conflicts additional to regional contentions between prior and latter-imposed suzerain authorities. In sum (and apart from whether employed invocation of The Law served political aims), rebalancing of power, expectably would be part and parcel to reformation following shifts in hegemonial relationships between suzerain(s) and subjects, in which some expectably gained and others lost.

Correlations can be drawn between changes in priesthood divisions *vis-a-vis* particular priesthood excommunicants (although the record proffers few likelihoods to the extent of the sons of Delilah and Tobiah). Some notable issues include:⁷³

(1) The number of children born to Jehoiachin during exile;

(2) The apparent 'absorption' initially of the Shemaiah house into the Shecaniah house, and the final absence of the division of Shecaniah of which its sons (of "Parosh/Phoros/Pharez") were found to have foreign wives.

(3) Absence of a continuation of recorded descendance of *Iddo*: (a) a (Joah-) *Iddo* is listed in *Chronicles* as a son of (Levi-) Gershom; (b) a (Zechariah-) *Iddo* was a prince of Manasseh-east in King David's time; (b) a priest *Iddo* accompanied Zerubbabel; (c) a prophet *Iddo* was father of Berechiah and grandfather of Zechariah, the prophet;⁷⁴ (d) Ezra from the river Ahava sent to *Iddo*, "chief man at Casiphia," to bring him ministers; (e) *Iddo* sent to Ezra, in addition to temple servants, an unnamed man "of understanding," of the sons of (Levi-) Mahli. *Iddo* then last appears as the head priest of the *Iddo* paternal house "in the days of Joacim and Ezra."⁷⁵

(4) Questions concerning the alternate uses of *Harim* and *Annas*.⁷⁶ Previous uses of *Harim* (which appears as a "head of the people" at the signing of the covenant) were (a) a priesthood division in King David's time; (b) a house of priest-sons accompanying Zerubbabel (where the alternate name, *Carme*, poses ties to the original east-Jordan tribe of Reuben); and (c) a priesthood initial division "in the days of Joacim and Ezra," of whom the head priest was *Adna*; and (d) *Adna*, of the sons of *Pahath-Moab*, who had a foreign wife (these being the only biblical uses of *Adna*).

(5) The origin of *Adonikam*. Six hundred and sixty-six/seven members of *Adonikam* returned with Zerubbabel; 60/70 returned with Ezra. The report of the leaders of the latter, small group bears a unique modifier: "From the sons of *Adonikam*, *last one*, and these their names!" "Of the sons of *Adonikam*, the last, and these the names of them:" Eliphalet/ Eliphalet, Jeiel/Jeuel, and Shemaiah/ Samaias. It is unclear to what '*last one/the last*' refer.⁷⁷

⁷³ The order in which they are presented does not necessarily indicate sequence. Lesser contradictions will not be noted—e.g. how one of two listings, of individuals obtaining post-reformation residence at Jerusalem (Detail A to sub-part II, at C), appears to devolve into the time of king David.

⁷⁴ Berechiah/Barachiah and *Iddo*, refer to Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, and see both that attachment and Appendix 3B, I for Zechariah/Zachariah and *Zechariah*, *Book of*.

⁷⁵ It is notable that the divisions and head priests shown in column 2 of Detail A are said to be "in the days of Joacim and Ezra," collectively; there is no indication that Joacim and Ezra were working in concert, however. See Appendix 3A, IV, at derived year 458—"At about the same time that Ezra as an old man died, so did Joacim the high priest;" AJ XI.V.5. (Also possibly notable is that king David's priesthood divisions nos. 12 and 21—"Jakim" and "Jachin"—were not included in the reformation divisions; Appendix 3B, II, Detail A.)

⁷⁶ See at fn. 70; also related are the *Jeremiah/Hananiah* alternates.

⁷⁷ It has been speculated (a) that the *Adonikam* sons were the last in a direct Davidic line; and/or (b) that *Adonikam* equates with *Adonijah* (column 5 of Detail A). *Aid* (page 36) comments: "When the representatives of the paternal houses attested to the...resolution drawn up in Nehemiah's day this [*Adonikam*] family was apparently listed by the name *Adonijah*—Neh. 9:38; 10:16." It is true that the order of names of Ezra-accompanying chiefs runs Bebai, Azgad, *Adonikam*, Bigvai (*Ezra* 2:11-14) and

(6) The *Nehemiah* account (3:1) of the priests who worked on the rebuilding of the city's wall relates, "[R]ose up Eliashib the priest high and his brothers the priests and they built the Sheep Gate." It can be assumed then, at that point certain events had not yet matured which led to Nehemiah's later "understanding" what Eliashib had done for Tobiah/Tobijah, and ejection of Tobiah by Nehemiah on return to Jerusalem after his hiatus. Then, following *Nehemiah* 12's description of the inauguration of the wall, it is reported that, "*that day*"--when "they read in the book of Moses....[and] it was found written...that not should come the Ammonite and the Moabite into the assembly...*was it...that they separated all the mixed races from Israel.*" But it was, "*before this, Eliashib the priest...who was related to Tobiah, had established himself....*" (13:1)

- (7) (a) "Sons of David" vis-a-vis Hattush.
 (b) Was the original King David division "Jeshur" *Jeshua*? Was there a prior connection between that and the term "Pahath-Moab?" In the first return 2,812 people were "sons of Pahath-Moab, the sons of Jeshua and Joab." In the Artaxerxes repatriation, 200 "from the sons of Pahath-moab" accompanied Elihoenai, the son of Zeremiah.
 (c) What happened to Jehoiarib?
 (d) The disappearance of *Matt*-root and *Eli*-root names.

VI. Temple Sites.

A. Shilo/Shechem/Mount Ebal/Mount Gerizim/Gerizzim.

Shechem (*circa*/at modern Nablus; some believe equal to *Sychar*) was the original Levite enclave and sacred city of refuge established by Joshua, some 30 miles north of Jerusalem. Congregationally--after the 'north' seceded, following Solomon's death--Shechem became the Hebrew 'Israelite' center, while Jerusalem remained that of Hebrew 'southerners,' or 'Judahites.'

Joshua's capital and treasury at Shiloh was located "on the north of Bethel [which was approximately 12 miles N of Jerusalem), toward the sunrising, by the highway which goes up from Bethel to Shechem [some 30 miles N of Jerusalem]...." (*Judges* 21:19). It was the first landed home of the tabernacle and the Ark. Erection of an early structure there is acknowledged obliquely (judge Samuel lay down "in the temple...where [rested] the ark." 1 *Samuel* 3:3.)

The Shiloh site continued through the period of the Judges. Ostensibly it ended after the captured Ark was relinquished to king David by the Philistines.⁷⁸ Construction at Shechem is reported under Jeroboam, the first ruler of the 'Israel' kingdom. (Jeroboam was selected/ 'anointed' by priest Abijah/Ahiah of Shiloh). Shechem/Nablus is at the heart of the old *district* of Samaria. During the first part of the two-kingdom period, Israel kings ruled from near Shechem and "Tirzah in the vale [possibly Ramah, a site of indefinite location]" until king Omri bought a "hill" from one Shemer and built the city of Samaria.⁷⁹

The *city* of Samaria, some 34 miles north of Jerusalem and northwest of Shechem, was first referred to as "Shemer" or "Shamir."⁸⁰ During the two-kingdom period the terms, "king of Samaria" and "cities of Samaria," refer frequently to the king and scattered cities/villages of the kingdom of Israel.⁸¹

Bebai, Azgad, *Adonikam*, Bigvai (*Ezra* 8:11), compared to Nehemiah covenanters, Azgad, Bebai, *Adonijah*, Bigvai. (The only other biblical use of *Adonijah* was Solomon's half-brother, [King David + Haggith-] Adonijah, who Solomon had murdered, and of whom no descendants are of record; refer to Appendix 1E.

⁷⁸ Related in Appendix 1E. (See Appendix 2A, for *Ark*.)

⁷⁹ Refer to Appendix 2C, IV, narrative of the Period of the Kings.

⁸⁰ "Belonging to the clan Shemer," *Aid*, p. 1435; see at Appendix 1D, II, fn. 28 and also see Appendix 2C, IV, fn. 22 ("Shamir").

⁸¹ Care is required in distinguishing retroactive usages of the terms, 'Samaria,' and 'Samaritans,' which terms become fixed in the texts after the Assyrian conquest in the north c. 740 b.c.; see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, *Samaria, etc.* Vagueness of the

Mounts Ebal and Gerizzim, which face each other in the heart of the old district of 'Samaria,' are "separated by a beautiful narrow valley, the Vale of Shechem, in which nestles the [modern] city of Nablus."⁸² On one of them, Joshua "set up the stones," on which "a copy of the law of Moses' was written." According to *Joshua* 8:30-32, it was Mount Ebal. According to *Deuteronomy* 24:4, it was Gerizzim [*sic.*].

In about 332 b.c./b.c.e. a temple was built at Gerizzim when Alexander III the Great/Macedon replaced Persia as overlord. (It is unclear from the texts whether some type of holy shrine had endured in the Shiloh area up to that time.) Combined suzerain administration and priesthood relations surrounded establishment of the Gerizzim temple, similar to the times of Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah. (Alexander had difficulties distinguishing regional population. In the 'Samaria' region, for example, persons "who had then Shechem ...for their metropolis" petitioned him for the same rights he had granted already at Jerusalem, asserting that "they derived their genealogy from the posterity of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasseh."⁸³)

Some 150 years later, after Seleucid Antiochus IV became hegemon (175-163 b.c./b.c.e.), the Gerizzim temple was converted to a temple of Jupiter Hellenius, when ambassadors "from the Sidonians, who live[d] at Shechem," petitioned to be distinguished from accusations which "belong[ed] to the Jews" and "to live after the customs of the Greeks."⁸⁴

AJ XII.V.5.

B. Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, the best known, became the main temple site after the Philistines relinquished the ark and King David prepared a tabernacle for it in the Jerusalem precincts (volume one).

C. Heliopolis, Egypt.

An anciently-mentioned biblical site, the name of which has been translated as "On," later became the site of "Heliopolis [*Greek* for 'City of the Sun']," some 22 miles northeast of Memphis "on the right bank of the Nile, a little to the north of present-day Cairo."⁸⁵ Anciently, On's high priest was one Potiphera, whose daughter, Asenath, became the wife of Rachel and Jacob's son, Joseph, the tribal mother of Ephraim and Manasseh.⁸⁶

"Greek philosophers and scholars were drawn there...and On became celebrated as a center of Egyptian wisdom." On's priesthood "became very wealthy, rivaling the priesthood of Memphis...and...[was] surpassed only by the priesthood at Thebes." "According to Strabo," the site of "On evidently suffered a...blow when Cambyses II [Persia's successor to Cyrus the Great] conquered Egypt..." (Said to have been famous for its obelisks, little was left of that site which has also been referred to as "Tel e-Yehudieh", *the mound of the Jew.*⁸⁷)

'Samaria' district persisted to the Roman era--"boundaries are not definitely known today," but generally, " ...between Galilee and Judea" (*Aid*, page1436).

⁸² *Aid*, page 479.

⁸³ See Appendix 3B, II, Detail B, for details of the Gerizzim politics and events.

⁸⁴ The generally derived year of 332/331 b.c. for the building of the Gerizzim temple fits Josephus' mention that, after John Hyrcanus I--whose reign at Jerusalem began c. 134-- took Shechem and Gerizzim, the Gerizzim temple became "deserted 200 years after it was built." *AJ* XIII.IX.1.

⁸⁵ --"not the town *Leontopolis* 60 miles from Memphis." which "Jewish settlement near the tip of the Delta...developed into a military colony responsible for the defence of the important road from Pelusium to Memphis," so noted by *Williamson* p. 406, n. 54 and p. 52, n. 82.

⁸⁶ *Genesis* 41:45, 50; 46:20; volume one of this work.

⁸⁷ *Aid* p. 1253.

Strabo in his time wrote: “Heliopolis is now deserted,” but “it contains the ancient temple constructed in the Aegyptian manner,” showing evidence of Cambyses’ “outrages,” including burned and mutilated obelisks. At “Heliopolis,” Strabo saw “the houses of priests and schools of Plato and Eudoxus,” who spent time there with the priests that excelled in astronomy. (Vol. VIII, p. 79.)

Ancient On/Heliopolis also is taken to be the site where self-exiled Onias IV was given leave by Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II “to build there a temple...after the pattern of that in Jerusalem...that may be for the benefit,” said Onias IV to Ptolemy, “of thy self, and thy wife and children, that those Jews which dwell in Egypt may have a place whither they may come and meet together...and be subservient to thy advantages...”⁸⁸

Onias [IV]--who was the nephew of Onias [III/Menelaus] that was dead; and who bore the same name as his [Onias IV's] father [Onias II], and was a child when his father was killed--fled into Egypt to Ptolemy [VI] Philometor and got into the friendship of him and Cleopatra his wife. "[W]hen he found he was in great esteem...with Ptolemy," Onias IV was given "that temple which is fallen down at Leontopolis, in the Nomus [administrative center] of Heliopolis, 180 furlongs⁸⁹ from Memphis, and which is named from the country Bubastis."⁹⁰ There he [eventually] built a little town on the lines of Jerusalem and a temple/sanctuary like to that in Jerusalem, at which he [Onias IV] was made high priest.'⁹¹

The initial inference from *Josephus* is that Onias IV pursued building the temple immediately upon his self-exile. However, although “[w]e must observe, that Josephus speaks of Antiochus [V] ...as [if] now/[then] alive when Onias had leave...to build his temple... it seems not to have been actually built till about 15 years afterwards.”⁹² Onias IV, “assured” Ptolemy VI that he could “bring all the Jews to his assistance,” and if a Heliopolis temple was built, they would be “so much readier to fight” against the Seleucids and “would then come to him [Ptolemy VI] with greater good will.” “Onias built a fortress and a temple...such as resembled a tower.” Ptolemy VI “also gave him a large country for a revenue in money.... Onias...had a mind to contend with the Jews at Jerusalem, and could not forget the indignation he had for being banished thence. Accordingly, he thought that by building this temple he should draw away a great number from them to himself.”

Josephus, Against Apion, VII.X.

⁸⁸ *Josephus AJ, XIII.III.1ff.* The authorization occurred c. 144 b.c. (*refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1*). The next quotation here is a paraphrased summary which sources include *AJ XII.IX.7, BJ I.I.1 and BJ VII.X.2.*

⁸⁹ One mile [5,280 ft.] divided by one furlong [220 yds. x 3 = 660 ft.] = 8 furlongs in one mile; 180 furlongs divided by eight = 22-1/2 miles.

⁹⁰ See Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 3, *Bubastis*.

⁹¹ According to Onias IV's description, he had “found a very fit place in a castle that hath its name from the country Diana,” and added, “grant me leave to purge this holy place, which belongs to no master, and is fallen down.” *AJ XIII.III.1.*

⁹² *Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 1, fn. 32.*