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**EZRA STUDIES**



# EZRA STUDIES



BY ✓

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TO  
SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH  
D.C.L., F.R.S., K.C.I.E.  
PIONEER IN EZRA STUDIES  
THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED  
AS A TOKEN OF HIGH ESTEEM



## PREFACE

Thirteen years ago, in 1896, I published a pamphlet entitled *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, which appeared in Giessen as one of the Beihefte of the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. It presented in concise form certain conclusions which I had reached a year or two previously, in studying the so-called "Apocryphal Ezra," or First Esdras. At about the same time when I was carrying on my investigations appeared the articles of Sir Henry Howorth, in the *Academy* (see the references given on p. 16), the pamphlets of Hoonacker and Kusters,<sup>1</sup> and the more elaborate treatise of Eduard Meyer (see below). My own conclusions were formulated before I had seen any of these publications, and differed widely from each and all of them at almost every point. I found myself in agreement with Howorth, however, in his important contention that "I Esdras" represents the old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.; and with Kusters in his argument (previously set forth, less completely, by Schrader and others) that the Biblical account of the return of exiles from Babylonia to Jerusalem in the time of Cyrus is untrustworthy.

The conclusions reached and stated in my pamphlet have been adopted, in general, by H. P. Smith in his *Old Testament History*, and by Kent in his *Student's Old Testament*, but in each case with little or no discussion of the questions involved. So far as I know, the booklet has never been reviewed or estimated in print, except in four brief German notices, to three of which I have occasion to refer in the present volume. It has been mentioned or quoted in a few places, generally in such a way as to show that it had not been read, but only looked at here and there. Siegfried, in the tolerably long list of monographs given in the preface to his *Commentary on Ezra-Nehemiah* (1901), does not include it. Driver, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, names it in his list of monographs, but otherwise takes no notice of it, even when discussing the questions with which it is chiefly concerned.

<sup>1</sup> Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras* (1890); *Néhémie en l'an 20 d' Artaxerxes I et Esdras en l'an 7 d' Artaxerxes II* (1892); *Zorobabel et le second Temple* (1892); and Kusters, *Herstel van Israel in het Perzische Tijdvak* (1894), German trans. by Basedow in 1895.

One or two scholars were sufficiently impressed by the book to express themselves with emphasis. Thus Klostermann, in the article "Esra und Nehemia" in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*,<sup>3</sup> vol. v, p. 501, remarks: "Zuletzt ist zu erwähnen weniger der Koters in der Ersetzung der Ueberlieferung durch überberaten Phantasie überbietende Torrey, Composition and historical value of Ezra-Nehemia, Giessen 1896, als vielmehr Ed. Meyer, Die Entstehung des Judentums, u. s. w."<sup>2</sup> It is true that such a revolutionary treatise as mine could make no favorable impression on those who had not the time to examine it carefully, or on those who cannot be relied on to distinguish a sound argument from an unsound one. I must admit, also, that this first publication was in its plan not very well fitted to make converts. It presented the whole argument in condensed form, leaving many steps merely indicated in a few words, or covered by an assertion, where it was taken for granted that the reader could see for himself the facts and processes which had only been hinted at. But things which are self-evident to one who has himself worked through a large part of the material are often less plain to others. Moreover, an essay which flatly contradicts most of the fundamental tenets of modern Old Testament science in its field (and that a very important field) has every presumption against it, especially when it is presented by one who is unknown as an investigator in this sphere. It is only natural to decide, at the first glance, that the new conclusions cannot possibly be right, and need not be seriously considered. I believe, however, that the main arguments offered in my *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah* are sure to be cogent for any one who has studied the material closely enough to be able to follow them through. The question of the general acceptance of the conclusions presented there and here is only a question of time.

The preceding briefer investigation seemed chiefly destructive. The author, whose principal tasks and interests are not in the Old

<sup>2</sup>Similarly, Ed. König, in the article "Ezra and Nehemiah" in the *Standard Bible Dictionary* (1909), p. 247, writes: "The trustworthiness of the documents and memoirs which have been used in the books of Ezra-Nehemiah has been demonstrated at length, especially by Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums*, 1896, by whom the extreme views presented in C. C. Torrey's *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah* are shown to be without critical foundation." Which of the two treatises was without critical foundation will be evident, I think, to those who read the successive chapters of the present volume, especially chapter vi.



Testament field, had not then the opportunity to carry it out further, but hoped that some other investigator would see that what it involved was not the mere matter of a few passages, or even of a few incidents in the life of the Jewish people, but a thoroughgoing revision of the existing notions of the history of their national growth in the Persian period, their institutions, and their religious ideas. Whoever had proceeded thus far could hardly fail to perceive also how the later part of the Old Testament itself, and the story of the community in Jerusalem, had now for the first time become comprehensible and self-consistent. No such coadjutor appeared, however; hence at last the present work, every chapter of which is constructive.

This attempt to sketch the history of the Jews in the Persian period, culminating in the last chapter of the book, differs from all preceding ones in several fundamental particulars. It recognizes for the first time the extent of the Chronicler's independent handiwork. That he must be regarded as the sole author of the Ezra story, of all the book of Nehemiah after chapter 6, and of the Artaxerxes letter in Ezra 7, is here demonstrated conclusively. The nature and purpose of his work are also discovered and set forth. It is not the production of a Levitical historian of small ability and large bias (as it is usually regarded), but a great undertaking with a single very definite aim well executed, an elaborate and timely championing of the Jewish sacred institutions, especially in opposition to the Samaritans; very interesting and very important, but by no means to be used as a source for the history of Israel under Persian rule. Its author is, demonstrably, not a mere editor, but a writer possessed of a rich and vigorous imagination, which he here exercised to the full. Another important point of difference concerns the use made of the Chronicler's independent work, that is, all of his narrative which we are unable to control from other sources. It is here shown that every part of it either lies directly in the line of his main purpose or else bears other marks characteristic of his own creations; and it is accordingly left entirely out of account in portraying the course of the history. There was no return of exiles, no scribe-potentate Ezra, no law brought from Babylonia, no wholesale expulsion of Gentile wives and children. The book of Ezra-Nehemiah does not furnish us the date of the completion of the Pentateuch.

But the theory here set forth marks a new departure not only in its treatment of the Chronicler, but still more in the point of view from which it estimates the later writings and writers of the Old Testament. It is customary to measure them, one and all, by the Chronicler's "Ezra," and their words are everywhere given an interpretation to correspond. It would be much fairer to take as the standard the Second Isaiah, the prophets and teachers of the restoration period, and those who wrote the best part of the Psalter, giving their utterances the broad interpretation which I have indicated, and to which they are fully entitled. These were philosophers and poets who in their conception of God and man surpassed all the other sages of the ancient world, one of their number, moreover, being incomparably the profoundest thinker and most eloquent writer in all the Old Testament; men busied with the greatest concerns of human life, not with the petty interests attributed to them by our commentators. The seed sown by their predecessors of the Hebrew monarchy did not die, nor did the plant which sprung from it dwindle and grow sickly, while the Jews remained in their land; it prospered mightily and brought forth abundantly. Jesus of Nazareth was the true child of his people, the best fruit of a sublime religious growth which in modern times has been sadly misunderstood. The story of the religion of Israel, from Deuteronomy down to the time of the Roman rule, is not a story of deterioration, but one of advance. Moreover, Judaism grew up in Judea, it was not transplanted from foreign soil. The fact of the Dispersion, as is here shown for the first time, exercised a tremendous influence all through the Persian period and thereafter, and its main effect on the Jews of the home-land was broadening and salutary. The messianic and universal interpretation of the Second Isaiah which is found in the Gospels is the only correct one. To put the whole matter in a few words: both the history of Israel after the fall of the kingdom, and the exegesis of the literature of that period, which have been written during the past generation have been built on a false foundation derived from the Chronicler's work, and need to be completely revised. To give the first sketch of such a historical reconstruction is the chief purpose of the present volume, and especially of the last chapter, which attempts to use impartially for that purpose all the trustworthy evidence which we possess.

The contributions incidentally made to the science of Old Testament literature will probably also be found interesting: the proof of the fact that "First Esdras" is a rescued fragment of the old Greek translation of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, not an apocryphal writing; the light thrown on some of the versions of these books, especially the demonstration of the true character of the much misunderstood and misused Lucianic recension, the proof that our "canonical" Greek translation is that of Theodotion, the publication for the first time of a part of the Hexaplar text of Nehemiah, and the dethronement of Codex B from the high place which it has so long held without right; the first presentation of the Story of the Three Youths in its original character and extent, with the demonstration that it was written in Aramaic; the recovery, for the "canonical" Old Testament, of the lost chapter which originally followed the first chapter of Ezra, and the attempted restoration of its Hebrew text, rendered back from the Greek; the manifold evidence given to show that among the Jews of Jerusalem in the Greek period it was commonly believed that Darius Hystaspis (supposed by them to be a Median king, and called "Darius the Mede") immediately preceded Cyrus; the conclusive proof that the Aramaic documents in Ezra all date from the Greek period; the restoration of the primitive form of the long-debated Ezra story, by the transposition of a single block of narrative belonging to a section which ever since the second century B.C. has been recognized as in some way out of place; and other less important matters. The author also hopes that some of the observations relating to text and versions may stimulate to a more serious pursuit of this branch of scientific investigation. If the historical and literary study of the Old Testament books is still in its childhood, the critical study of the Hebrew text may truly be said to be in its infancy. Textual emendation based on conjecture is usually mistaken, and that based on the evidence of versions is in most cases precarious at least; for the massoretic text is likely to be right even where it is contradicted by the other witnesses,<sup>3</sup> and the testimony of the latter

<sup>3</sup> In the vast majority of cases, the version only *seems* to contradict the Hebrew, but does not in reality. Regarding the relative excellence of the massoretic text, the writer may refer to his "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel" (*Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XV, 1909), in which some new evidence in support of our traditional Hebrew is offered.

is very easily misunderstood. The writer is himself conscious of many shortcomings and foolish performances in this field, and does not suppose that the text-critical attempts made in the present volume are free from blunders. Great pains have been taken, however, to find out the character and history, not only of the texts which are being scrutinized, but also of those by the aid of which it is proposed to emend. Lack of acumen may be excused; the unpardonable sin is that of criticising without any careful attention to the materials of criticism. The way in which the best known and oftenest quoted of our modern commentators and editors hack away at a faultless Hebrew text, on the ground of Greek readings which they have not carefully examined, found in translations with whose character they do not concern themselves and of the nature and conditions of whose literary transmission they have hardly an idea, is nothing short of appalling. And yet this is what passes for "text-criticism" at the present day. A good many instances of the kind receive mention in the following pages, mostly in footnotes. The influence of this hasty and unscientific mode of procedure in dealing with the text has been working great harm in all the other branches of Old Testament study.

Most of the chapters of this book have already appeared in print, but in places where their circulation has of necessity been quite limited. They are not mere reprints, but in nearly every case have undergone revision. In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, published under the auspices of the University of Chicago, appeared chapters I (Oct., 1906), II (Jan., 1907), III (Apr., 1907), V (Oct., 1907), VI (Apr., 1908), VII (Jan., 1909 and Apr., 1909), and VIII (July, 1909). Chapter IV appeared in Vol. II of the *Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, published at the same University early in 1908. Chapter IX appears here for the first time.

It is a pleasure to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the members of the Semitic and Old Testament Faculty of the University of Chicago and to the Manager of the University Press, for their encouragement and generous assistance, without which the volume would hardly have been written.

Attention is called to the Addenda and Corrigenda at the end of the book.

GRINDELWALD, SWITZERLAND  
September 1, 1909

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PORTIONS OF FIRST ESDRAS AND NEHEMIAH IN  
THE SYRO-HEXAPLAR VERSION

In the years 616 and 617 A. D., Paul of Tellā made at Alexandria his Syriac translation of the old Greek version of the Old Testament. The Greek text which he translated was one of great historical importance, namely, that which constituted the "Septuagint" column in Origen's *Hexapla*. It is quite possible that the *Hexapla* itself was in existence at that time (presumably at Caesarea); but, however that may be, it is pretty certain that old manuscripts transcribed directly from the original—and some of them doubtless collated again with it, to insure the greatest possible accuracy—were to be had in Alexandria. One or more of these supposedly faithful copies formed the basis of Paul's labors. His rendering was a closely literal one, and its characteristics are now pretty well known.<sup>1</sup> Every part of the Greek is reproduced as exactly as possible, and in such a uniform and self-consistent manner as to render this translation very easily recognizable, wherever specimens of it are found.

The history of the manuscript transmission of this "Syro-Hexaplar" version is a comparatively brief one, as might have been expected. Although often copied, at least in part, it was not as generally or as carefully preserved as the Peshitto. A number of manuscripts containing longer or shorter portions of it are now known to be extant. Of these, the most important by far is the great Milan codex, published in fac-simile by Ceriani in 1874 (*Codex Syro-Hexaplaris*; published as Vol. VII of his *Monumenta sacra et profana*). This contains the translation of the second half of the Greek Bible; a twin codex containing the first half, and no doubt originally forming the first volume of this same manuscript, was in existence as late as the sixteenth century, when it was in the possession of Andreas Du Maes (Masius) of Amsterdam. As is well known, it has since then mysteriously disappeared. The Maes codex was a torso, to be sure, lacking

<sup>1</sup> See the account of this version in Swete's *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 112-14, and the literature cited on p. 116.



also that he—in agreement with the church tradition—believed it to have the right of priority over the form adopted in the Jewish canon. And Origen was certainly not ignorant of the fact, so widely ignored in modern times, that “I Esdras” is nothing else than a very respectable translation of a Hebrew-Aramaic version of the Ezra history.

The status of “Second Esdras” in the *Hexapla* and in Paul’s translation cannot be demonstrated absolutely, with the evidence now available, though a tolerable degree of certainty can be reached. No Hexaplar text of the canonical Ezra, whether Greek or Syriac, has been known; but see now below. The only such text of Nehemiah now recognized is the one which is published in the following pages. In the table of contents of the lost Maes manuscript stood simply “Ezra;”<sup>2</sup> according to recognized usage this might mean (1) the apocryphal Ezra, or (2) the canonical Ezra, or (3) both together, or (4) the combination of one or both of them with Nehemiah. It has already been shown that the apocryphal Ezra (I Esdras) stood in the Syro-Hexaplar translation, and the text printed below shows that Nehemiah was also included there. The “Ezra” of the Maes codex therefore undoubtedly stood for these two books, at least. It is unfortunate that Maes, in making his extracts for the *Peculium syrorum* (in the Antwerp Polyglot) and for the Amsterdam edition of the *Critici sacri*, should have left Chronicles and Ezra untouched, although excerpting systematically every other book contained in his manuscript!<sup>3</sup>

It is not to be doubted, finally, that the Syro-Hexaplar version—and therefore the Maes codex—contained the canonical Ezra, as the first part of “Second Esdras.” If the Greek version of our canonical book (and therefore, of course, of Chronicles and Nehemiah as well) is that of Theodotion, as there are good grounds for believing,<sup>4</sup> and as not a few eminent scholars, from Grotius (1644) onward, have contended, it nevertheless certainly was not apportioned to him, nor even in any way designated as his, in Origen’s work. No one can seriously doubt, in view of all

<sup>2</sup> See Rahlfs, in Lagarde’s *Bibliothecae syriacae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent*, pp. 32<sup>e</sup> sq.

<sup>3</sup> Rahlfs, *ibid.*, pp. 19 sq.

<sup>4</sup> I shall discuss this question in a subsequent chapter. See the very interesting and acute observations of Sir Henry Howorth, printed in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May and November, 1901; June and November, 1902; and his collection of the external evidence.



I Esdr. viii, 88-92. Confession and repentance of the people, and the oath administered by Ezra.

ix, 1-10. The proclamation and the assembly.

46*b*-47. Ezra blesses God, and the people respond (from the account of the reading of the Law = Neh. viii, 6).

It will be seen from this table of contents that the "First Book of Ezra" here excerpted is identical, in arrangement and extent, with our First Esdras.

Then follow the extracts from the "Second Book of Ezra," all of which are taken from the book of Nehemiah. These are:

Neh. i, 1-4*a*. Nehemiah hears of the distress of Jerusalem.

ii, 1-8. He is sent thither by Artaxerxes.

iv, 1-3. Sanballat and his allies conspire to attack Jerusalem.

10-16. The builders of the wall prepared for battle.

vi, 15-16. The completion of the wall.

vii, 73*b*-viii, 18. The reading of the Law.

ix, 1-3. Confession of the people.

This Esdras-Neh. catena I copied entire in the year 1898. I have not thought it worth while to print here the whole text of the I Esdras selections, however, since it differs but slightly from that already published, which is accessible in convenient form. I have accordingly collated it with the Lagarde text, and give the variant readings, as follows:

I Esdr. **ii**, 2 [אנן] 3 אעמר [אנן] + 6 אהא | [ענינא] 5 והלך 3 אעמר [אנן] 2  
 om. o | 7 אעמא | 8 ענינא | [ענינא] 8 ענינא | 2° | 7 אעמא | o.  
 10 אעמא | 11 אעמא + a marginal note (original hand)  
 12 אעמא | 13 אעמא | 14 אעמא | 15 om. | 1° | 14 אעמא | אעמא  
 20 אעמא | 21 אעמא (sic) | 22 אעמא | 23 אעמא | 24 אעמא | 25 אעמא  
 26 אעמא | 27 אעמא | 28 אעמא | 29 אעמא | 30 אעמא | 31 אעמא | 32 אעמא | 33 אעמא | 34 אעמא | 35 אעמא | 36 אעמא | 37 אעמא | 38 אעמא | 39 אעמא | 40 אעמא | 41 אעמא | 42 אעמא | 43 אעמא | 44 אעמא | 45 אעמא | 46 אעמא | 47 אעמא | 48 אעמא | 49 אעמא | 50 אעמא | 51 אעמא | 52 אעמא | 53 אעמא | 54 אעמא | 55 אעמא | 56 אעמא | 57 אעמא | 58 אעמא | 59 אעמא | 60 אעמא | 61 אעמא | 62 אעמא | 63 אעמא | 64 אעמא | 65 אעמא | 66 אעמא | 67 אעמא | 68 אעמא | 69 אעמא | 70 אעמא | 71 אעמא | 72 אעמא | 73 אעמא | 74 אעמא | 75 אעמא | 76 אעמא | 77 אעמא | 78 אעמא | 79 אעמא | 80 אעמא | 81 אעמא | 82 אעמא | 83 אעמא | 84 אעמא | 85 אעמא | 86 אעמא | 87 אעמא | 88 אעמא | 89 אעמא | 90 אעמא | 91 אעמא | 92 אעמא | 93 אעמא | 94 אעמא | 95 אעמא | 96 אעמא | 97 אעמא | 98 אעמא | 99 אעמא | 100 אעמא  
 dittogr. | om. | 38 אעמא | 39 אעמא | 40 אעמא | 41 אעמא | 42 אעמא | 43 אעמא | 44 אעמא | 45 אעמא | 46 אעמא | 47 אעמא | 48 אעמא | 49 אעמא | 50 אעמא | 51 אעמא | 52 אעמא | 53 אעמא | 54 אעמא | 55 אעמא | 56 אעמא | 57 אעמא | 58 אעמא | 59 אעמא | 60 אעמא | 61 אעמא | 62 אעמא | 63 אעמא | 64 אעמא | 65 אעמא | 66 אעמא | 67 אעמא | 68 אעמא | 69 אעמא | 70 אעמא | 71 אעמא | 72 אעמא | 73 אעמא | 74 אעמא | 75 אעמא | 76 אעמא | 77 אעמא | 78 אעמא | 79 אעמא | 80 אעמא | 81 אעמא | 82 אעמא | 83 אעמא | 84 אעמא | 85 אעמא | 86 אעמא | 87 אעמא | 88 אעמא | 89 אעמא | 90 אעמא | 91 אעמא | 92 אעמא | 93 אעמא | 94 אעמא | 95 אעמא | 96 אעמא | 97 אעמא | 98 אעמא | 99 אעמא | 100 אעמא  
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## II

### THE NATURE AND ORIGIN OF "FIRST ESDRAS"

#### I. THE TWO RECENSIONS OF THE EZRA HISTORY

In the case of several of the books of the Old Testament, the Greek Bible gives us a text which differs widely from the traditional Hebrew or Aramaic. In Jeremiah there has been an extensive transposition of chapters, so that in the second half of the book the order in the Hebrew is altogether unlike that in the Greek. Which, if either, of the two represents the original order is still a matter of controversy. In Esther the Greek contains a number of rather long passages which are wanting in our Hebrew and are probably secondary, even if possibly translated from a Hebrew original. Moreover, the history of the tradition of the text is often a very complicated one. In several cases the Greek exists in two or more rival versions or recensions, as in the Books of Tobit and Judith. In the case of Daniel we have three different traditions. The oldest Greek version departs widely from our Hebrew-Aramaic text, not only in adding or subtracting brief passages here and there, but also in including the separate stories of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon. The later Greek Bible effected a sort of compromise by adopting Theodotion's translation of our massoretic Hebrew and yet retaining the added stories.

Now in the latter part of the Chronicler's history of Israel, in the section dealing with the return from the exile, the rebuilding of the temple, and the work of Ezra, almost exactly the same thing has happened as in the case of Daniel. The old Greek translation, with its transpositions, its one long interpolation, and its other minor peculiarities, was in strong disagreement with the Hebrew text which was preferred in Palestine in the second century A. D., and which soon came to hold the field as the only authoritative form of the narrative. Accordingly, a later translation, based on this massoretic Hebrew, was put into circulation in place of the older version, and soon supplanted it in every region where the Greek Bible was in use. There seems to be good reason to believe that this later translation was the work of Theodotion, whose version thus, in the case of the book Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah,

occupies a place in our modern Greek Old Testament precisely similar to that which it occupies in the case of Daniel. The discussion of this question will be reserved for another place. At all events, the old version was so effectually superseded that it very narrowly missed being lost altogether; in this fact, again, furnishing a close parallel to the history of the Daniel text.

There is to be noticed, at the outset, one important point in which the case of the rival recensions of the Ezra story differs from the other cases with which it has just been compared. In Jeremiah the transpositions, though extensive, were comparatively harmless. They brought about no serious contradiction or improbability. In Daniel and Esther the additions, though extensive, were not such as to interfere in the least with the principal narrative. They were simply joined on externally, and exercised no influence on their surroundings. But the two recensions of the narrative dealing with the restoration of the Jews and the work of Ezra could not stand thus peaceably side by side, for the one gives the lie to the other. As for the transpositions, they are effected in the middle of a connected history, with dates, successive kings, and a necessary order of events. It makes comparatively little difference whether Jer. 31 comes before or after Jer. 41, or even whether in I Kings, chap. 20 precedes or follows chap. 21; but it makes all the difference in the world whether the train of exiles described in Ezra, chap. 2, received permission to return from Cyrus or from Darius. And as for the one addition, the Story of the Three Youths, the proverbial bull in the china shop could not do more thorough and more vociferous damage. Every adjacent portion of the history is either stood on its head or else reduced to fragments.

Yet the tradition of the Greek church, with one voice, names this troublesome fragment "*First Esdras*," while the version which faithfully renders our massoretic text is only given second place. Josephus, as is well known, believed its version of the post-exilic history to be the correct one, and so, doubtless, did the most of his contemporaries, even in orthodox Jewish circles.

## II. PAST AND PRESENT THEORIES REGARDING THE "APOCRYPHAL" BOOK

"*First Esdras*," or "*Third Ezra*," or "*The Apocryphal Ezra*," or "*The Greek Ezra*," as it has been variously called, has had an interesting history. There is probably no one of all The Old

Testament writings which has been so inadequately studied, and which is so seriously misunderstood among Old Testament scholars at present. St. Jerome put the tremendous weight of his authority against it (in his Preface to Ezra and Nehemiah: *Nec quemquam moreat quod unus a nobis liber editus est, nec apocryphorum tertii et quarti somniis delectetur; quia et apud Hebraeos Esdrae Nehemiaeque sermones in unum volumen coarctantur, et quae non habentur apud illos, nec de viginti quatuor senibus sunt, procul abjicienda*), and his word was law, as usual, for the Latin church from the Middle Ages onward, and exercised a profound influence over the whole western world. The book was excluded from the Complutensian Polyglot (1514-17), and was not even admitted by the Council of Trent (1546);<sup>1</sup> in printed editions of the Vulgate it is given place in an appendix at the end of the Bible, after the New Testament. By modern scholars generally this "apocryphal book" is not regarded as a survival from the old Greek version of this portion of the Old Testament, nor even as the part of a recension which once included all of Ezra and Nehemiah; on the contrary, it is believed to be a later free compilation made with a "tendency." That is, just as the Chronicler, in his day, edited and expanded certain parts of the history of Israel into a book which should inculcate his own views, so (according to the generally accepted theory) a later and unknown writer selected that part of the history which "began" with Josiah's passover (as though this were a natural beginning!) and ended with the career of Ezra, and rewrote it, with certain significant changes and additions, according to his own purpose.

This view is altogether mistaken, but it is the only one which has any recognition at the present time. All of the modern textbooks of Introduction, commentaries, and encyclopaedia articles, whether English, German, or French, speak of the "author" of First Esdras, and of his probable "purpose" in making this com-

<sup>1</sup>It is singular that the belief should have had such wide currency, at this time, that First Esdras did not exist in Greek. Thus Lupton, in his Introduction to First Esdras (*Speaker's Commentary*), p. 5, quotes the remark prefixed to the Latin version of the book in the noted Latin Bible edited and published by Stephanus at Paris in 1557: "*Hujus libri ne Graecum quidem codicem, nedum Hebraeum nemini (quod sciam) videre contigit.*" The form of the quotation which I give is that of the original, of which I have a copy. Lupton is mistaken, however, in supposing that this note is to be attributed to the scholar Vatablus (whose name is used in an unwarranted way by the editor of this Bible); nor can it have come from Claudius Badwell, who did indeed prepare the translation of the Apocrypha for this Bible (see LeLong-Masch, *Bibl. Sacra*, II, p. 480), but only of the books which stood in the Complutensian Polyglot. The remark is to be attributed to Stephanus himself or to one of his unnamed helpers.

pilation. The question is even seriously discussed whether this "author" (1) made up his book from our canonical Greek version of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah; or (2) made use of an independent Greek version; or (3) made his own translation from the Hebrew-Aramaic original. That he made his "compilation" in Greek is taken for granted, since it is the general belief that the interpolated Story of the Three Youths, as we have it, is not a translation from a Semitic original. It is a fact that speaks volumes for the general neglect of the book, that Schürer in both the first and second editions of his *Geschichte* maintained the view that First Esdras was compiled from our canonical Greek Old Testament—though any well-equipped university student could demonstrate the contrary to a certainty by an afternoon's work on any chapter in the book.

To illustrate a little further the current view, and the treatment now given to this "apocryphon" by Old Testament scholars: The DeWette-Schrader *Einleitung* (8th ed., 1869, p. 565) bravely confessed inability to recognize the purpose of the "author" of First Esdras in compiling it, remarking: "Ein Zweck dieser characterlosen Compilation lässt sich nicht entdecken;" but the great majority are content to repeat over, each from his fellow, Bertholdt's naive hypothesis that the writer intended to provide a history of the temple from the latter part of the regal period down to the time when the cultus had been restored. Kusters, in his *Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode* (German trans. by Basedow, pp. 124-26), unfolded a much more elaborate theory—with even less support from the document itself. Of course, the abrupt ending of the "book" (in the middle of a sentence!) has been generally noticed, though few have made any attempt to explain it. Ewald's conjecture, that the work was left unfinished by "its author," is frequently repeated, e. g., by Strack, *Einleitung*<sup>4</sup>, p. 152 ("Das Buch, welches von seinem Verfasser nicht vollendet worden zu sein scheint," etc.), and by Guthe, in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen des A. T.*, p. 2. In most textbooks of Introduction to the Old Testament First Esdras is ignored—as though it stood in no close relation to the Old Testament!—and this, too, even by those who profess to believe that it represents a Hebrew-Aramaic text differing in many respects from our massoretic recension. In Cornill's *Einleitung*<sup>5</sup>, for example, it receives not a syllable of mention. In Driver's



*Introduction* it is given a brief note at the end of the chapter on Ezra and Nehemiah. By commentators the two "books," Ezra and First Esdras, are usually kept entirely separate. If the commentaries on Chronicles and on Ezra-Nehemiah mention First Esdras at all, it is only as a *curiosum*. Bertholet, in his commentary on Ezra and Nehemiah (in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*), does, indeed, devote a section to the Greek Ezra in his introduction, pp. xvi, xvii, but his statements regarding it are notably confused and ill-digested, while in the commentary itself he makes no serious attempt to use it. In general, his attitude toward the apocryphon is characteristic of a certain irresponsible method of dealing with sources which is far too prevalent in modern Old Testament criticism: any comparison of the Greek Esdras text, in occasional difficult passages, is a work of supererogation, of which the commentator may boast; the idea that he is in duty bound to consult it *all the time*, and to make a really critical study of it does not suggest itself.

The commentaries on First Esdras, again, have not brought us far toward an understanding of its origin and true character; as might be expected from the fact that all the commentators have believed the book to be simply a late and "historically worthless" compilation. The parallel portions of the canonical books are only occasionally consulted, and then in the most perfunctory way. In the *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des A. T.*, by Fritzsche-Grimm—the one thoroughgoing and scholarly commentary on the Old Testament Apocrypha, but now long outgrown—the treatment of First Esdras (by Fritzsche) is below the level of the rest; chiefly, no doubt, for the reason already given. No commentary on the book that has appeared since that date (1851) is worthy of serious attention. Lupton, in Wace's *Speaker's Commentary* (1888), is very superficial; and both he and Zöckler (1891) are equal to the feat of subjecting the book to a fresh study without even finding out that it offers us a separate, extra-canonical translation from the Semitic! In the critical examination of text and versions next to nothing has been done, though this is a most promising field for investigation. The statements as to these things which now and then appear are for the most part either false or inaccurate. Fritzsche (*Comm.*, p. 9) asserted that the best text of First Esdras is to be found in the uncial B and the cursives 52 and 55, and this most misleading

statement has been industriously copied by his successors, no one taking the trouble to test the matter. In the second edition of Cornill's *Einleitung*, p. 268, one could even read that Jerome(!) was the author of the Vulgate version of our apocryphon. Nestle (*Marginalien und Materialien*, p. 29, n. 2) says that "the Lucian recension" (meaning the text printed in Lagarde's *Librorum vet. test. canonicorum pars prior graece*) furnished the basis of the Syriac translation; a theory which would seem plausible for the first nine verses of the first chapter, but from that point on is seen to be absolutely false. There has not even been made a careful comparison of the two Greek versions, the canonical and the apocryphal, as they stand in our printed Greek Bibles, to say nothing of inquiries as to their nature, history, and mutual relations. Even for the restoration of the massoretic Hebrew text of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, no critical use of even the current Greek text of First Esdras has ever been made. A few (most recently Guthe, in the *Polychrome Bible*) have included "The Greek Ezra" in their apparatus in a more or less haphazard and superficial way, but such attempts as these can have no considerable value.

The one scholar who in recent times has defended the view that First Esdras represents a Greek translation which is older than the one contained in the corresponding books of our canonical Greek Bible is Sir Henry Howorth, who has argued the case more than once,<sup>2</sup> with much learning and acumen. This view had been held, in one form or another, by not a few scholars; among them Grotius, in his annotations, 1644; Whiston, *Essay towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament*, 1722; Pohlmann, "Ueber das Ansehen des apokr. iii. Buchs Esras," *Tübing. theol. Quartalschrift*, 1859, pp. 257-75; Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, IV, 1864, p. 166; and Lagarde, *Psalterium Hieronymi*, 1874, p. 162, note. No one of these scholars, however, set forth the view so fully and vigorously as Howorth, nor do they seem to have appreciated, as he has, the great importance of this conclusion. Nevertheless, the proof which Howorth has been able to bring forward is by no means conclusive; the skeptic would not

<sup>2</sup> In the *Academy*, 1893, January 7 and 21, February 4 and 25, April 15, June 17, July 22; in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists at London*, Vol. II (1893), pp. 69-85; and (most fully, and including the substance of all the previous articles) in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, May, 1901, pp. 147-59, November, 1901, pp. 305-30, June, 1902, pp. 147-72, and November, 1902, pp. 332-56.



be compelled by it. He does, indeed, show with a formidable array of evidence that the canonical recension of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. *might well be* much later than the First Esdras recension, but he fails to show that it is in fact later. His assumption (*Proceedings Soc. Bib. Arch.*, May, 1901, p. 151), that any Greek translation which closely follows the text of our present Hebrew Bible must be derived from Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, will hardly be accepted by those who have carefully studied the Greek Old Testament. He assumes, in like manner, that the canonical Greek version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. is the work of Theodotion—as Grotius, Whiston, and Pohlmann had conjectured before him—but without being able to bring forward any shred of evidence in favor of this opinion, beyond the fact that Theodotion's version of Daniel has found a place in our Greek Bible. The one prime necessity—if the current beliefs as to the Ezra books are to be superseded—is a well-grounded and plausible theory of the origin and mutual relations of the two recensions now existing. Such a theory has never been formulated,<sup>3</sup> and Howorth has failed to provide one. His main conclusions, touching these matters, are the following: (1) First Esdras gives us the original form of this history; that is, (*a*) the *order* in our apocryphon (Ezr. 4: 7-24 following Ezr. 1: 11, and Neh. 7: 73—8: 12 following Ezr. 10: 44) is the primary and correct one; and (*b*) the Story of the Three Youths formed a part of the history as it was compiled by its author. (Howorth makes no attempt to prove that our Greek text of the story is a translation from the Semitic, though this proof—which has never been supplied—is essential to his theory.) (2) Origen, or perhaps “his editors,” made our First Esdras by cutting a piece out of the middle of the “Septuagint”<sup>4</sup> version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., and then editing and correcting it to some extent. (3) Our canonical Ezra-Nehemiah is the result of a thoroughgoing and arbitrary re-arrangement of the text, undertaken by the Jewish rabbis, who (*a*) knew nothing of Darius (II) Nothus, and (*b*) wished to identify Zerubbabel

<sup>3</sup>The theory which is set forth in the following pages was presented in full at the meeting of the American Oriental Society at Andover, Mass., in April, 1896, but was not printed.

<sup>4</sup>I suppose that Howorth means by “the Septuagint” that Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. which was the first to gain wide currency. I do not understand him to imply the belief that all—or even most—of the books of the Old Testament were translated at the same time, or by the same persons, or in any official or uniform way. Would it not be better, in the interest of clearness and accuracy, to cease altogether from using the term “Septuagint” in scientific treatises?

with Sanabassar, and (c) had various prejudices which led them to make deliberate and extensive alterations in the story of Nehemiah. These conclusions each and all present such serious difficulties that, in my opinion, even the view now generally held, with all its absurdities, would be likely to maintain its ground in the face of them.

### III. THE NATURE OF FIRST ESDRAS

The main facts regarding the true character of our "apocryphal" Ezra book may be stated briefly as follows: *It is simply a piece taken without change out of the middle of a faithful Greek translation of the Chronicler's History of Israel in the form which was generally recognized as authentic in the last century B. C. This was not, however, the original form of the History, but one which had undergone several important changes.*

As is well known, the apocryphal book and the canonical book are, in the main, merely duplicate versions. But probably many fail to realize how close the duplication is. First Esdras contains a long passage, including chaps. 3, 4, and the first six verses of chap. 5, which is not found in the canonical recension. Aside from this, however, its material contents are exactly those of the corresponding parts of Ezra-Nehemiah. Beginning with the last two chapters of II Chronicles, it then includes the whole of the book of Ezra, and continues with a portion of the Ezra narrative<sup>5</sup> which is now in our book of Nehemiah, namely, Neh. 8:1-12 and the beginning of the first clause of verse 13, where the fragment ends. In every part of all this history the two recensions generally agree with each other sentence for sentence and clause for clause. In the cases where they fail to agree the differences are due to the usual accidents of manuscript transmission, or to mistakes made by the one or the other translator. The universally accepted view, that First Esdras is a free translation, or a free working-over ("freie Bearbeitung") of the material, is mistaken. The translation is close, and the text as a whole has not been "edited," nor freely handled.

In investigating First Esdras, then, the all-important point of approach is the Story of the Three Youths, which at present stands only in this recension. We need a satisfactory theory of its origin

<sup>5</sup>As I have shown elsewhere, the passage Neh. 7:70-8:18 originally formed a part of the Chronicler's story of Ezra (following Ezra 8), and was accidentally transposed to the place where it now stands. See my *Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, pp. 29-34. I shall return to this subject later.

and history, and especially to know who incorporated it in this narrative, whether the Chronicler or some later hand. And this necessarily involves the further question, whether the original language of this episode—or, rather, the language in which it stood at the time when it was incorporated—was Semitic or Greek. If it never existed in Semitic form, then it certainly never was inserted by the Chronicler in his own book, nor could it ever have formed a part of any Semitic recension of these narratives of the Jewish exiles. On the other hand, if it can plausibly be maintained that the Greek text of the story, as we have it, is a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic, then we have at hand the solution of some of the chief problems in this literary tangle.

It is fortunately possible to decide at once the question as to the Chronicler, while holding the question of the original language still in abeyance. The form of this history contained in I Esdr., chaps. 2-5, cannot possibly have been the form given it by its author. So scholars of all times have agreed, with hardly a dissenting voice, and for reasons that are conclusive. In the first place, the Artaxerxes correspondence, 2: 15-25 (= Ezra 4: 6-24), is palpably misplaced here. It constitutes, to be sure, a very good introduction to the Story of the Three Youths, which immediately follows, but forms in no sense the continuation of 2: 1-14, where the narrative is obviously cut short in the middle. Again, the Story of the Youths is itself a disturbing element, and the disturbance this time is far more serious. The presence of this story inevitably turns the whole history upside down, bringing in contradictions and absurdities from which there is no escape. To mention only a single point: The events narrated in 5: 46-70 [47-73] (notice verses 53 [55], 68 [71], and 70 [73]!) *are events of the reign of Cyrus*, even in this recension! There is no way of making them anything else, or of supposing that they were ever written in any other way. It is not easy to believe that any compiler of a serious history could make such an outrageous blunder as this. What is more, the episode of the Youths cannot be made to fit in anywhere else. Whoever tests the matter will speedily find that there is no point, before, in, or after Ezra 1-6, at which this episode is a possibility; at that, too, even if the name of the king be changed from "Darius" to some other name. Removed to any other place, it causes even greater disturbance than it makes at present.

Obviously, the story was not written for any such context as this; and it is equally obvious that the writer of this context had no thought of fitting it to contain the episode. The conclusion is certain, that the Story of the Three Youths is an interpolation, not a part of the history as it was originally composed. In view of the manifest traces of the Chronicler's hand in the extra-canonical verses just following the episode and serving to connect it with the canonical narrative (see below), the question might seem for a moment to be a legitimate one, whether the Chronicler himself may not have made the insertion, as an after-thought. But no one who gives the matter serious consideration will continue to entertain this hypothesis. The Chronicler is a writer of very considerable skill, who composed this history with a definite purpose, of which he never lost sight. He is most methodical in his literary habits, and we know him to be one who incorporated documentary sources in the way best suited to his own ends. He had himself carefully composed this most important narrative of the return (so essential to his pet theory!), writing it out, with vivid detail, in his own words (as scholars agree). It is not reasonable to suppose that he could have undone his own work and have given the lie to his own history in so stupid a manner, by squeezing in this unnecessary episode in an impossible place.<sup>6</sup> It was not by the Chronicler, then, but by a later hand, that the story was interpolated.

The important question now arises, whether the interpolation was made in the original Hebrew-Aramaic text of the history, or in the Greek translation. It is characteristic of the general neglect which First Esdras has suffered, that no one has recently undertaken to determine, by examining the evidence, in what language the Story of the Three Youths was originally written. It is generally taken for granted that the language was Greek, and one scholar after another asserts this with confidence. Fritzsche (*Handbuch*, p. 6) wrote: "Ein hebräisches Original lag nicht zu Grunde, die Sprache verräth sich durchaus als ursprünglich hellenistisch; nur der Schluss, 5:1-6, macht eine Ausnahme, und von diesem besitzen wir das Original nicht mehr." This

<sup>6</sup> If the story had been generally believed in his day, he would have known it when he composed his history. If it was not generally believed, he was under no necessity of inserting it. From our knowledge of the Chronicler, we should not expect the story to interest him especially. And finally, if he had wished to insert it in his completed book, he might easily have prepared a suitable place for it.

opinion has been adopted, as usual, by Fritzsche's successors; thus Schürer, Reuss, König, Zöckler, Lupton, Cornill ("ohne Zweifel griechisch geschrieben"), Guthe ("sicher griechisch"), Bertholet, and many others. Most of these, it should be noted, make an exception of the passage 5:1-6, which (like Fritzsche) they believe to have been translated from a Hebrew original. Howorth asserts that the story was written in a "Semitic" language (of course, his theory of the book requires this), but does not attempt to go farther. Ball, in his notes in *The Variorum Apocrypha* (1892), suggested one or two hebraisms in these chapters, but did not thereby make a Semitic original seem probable. Renan (*Hist. du peuple d'Israël*, IV, p. 180, note) said, in speaking of I Esdr., chaps. 3 and 4: "The original was certainly Hebrew."

As for the Greek in which I Esdr. 3:1—5:6 now stands, those who believe it to be more idiomatic than the ordinary "translation Greek" of the Old Testament are mistaken. It stands, in this regard, on exactly the same plane as the old Greek version of Daniel, or that of the books of the Kings, or of First Maccabees. From the beginning to the end, it shows an unbroken succession of Semitic idioms, reproduced with a faithfulness which is often very clumsy, and in several cases giving plain evidence of mistranslation. It is true that the subject-matter (namely, in the section 3:18—4:32) is unlike anything else in the Old Testament; and it is this fact, unquestionably, which misled Fritzsche into making his extraordinary remark about the language of the document. But if any student of the Greek Bible will look closely at the idiom of these two chapters, he will find it precisely the same which elsewhere results from a close rendering of a Hebrew or Aramaic original. Again, though as regards subject-matter and mode of treatment the section just named happens to stand alone in our Old Testament literature, it is by no means true that it has a "Hellenistic" sound. All those who are familiar with Semitic modes of thought and literary forms will recognize here a characteristic Semitic product.

The fact must not be overlooked, that the first six verses of chap. 5 are almost universally pronounced a translation from a Semitic original, as above noted. The fact usually *is* overlooked. Those who make the exception straightway forget it, and certainly never attempt to explain it. On what theory can this translated

“fragment” be accounted for? At present it plays a very important part in helping to connect the Story of the Youths with the Hebrew narrative 5: 7 ff. (=Ezra 2: 1 ff.). Its points of affinity with either section are obvious, and certainly not accidental. It sounds as though it were of one piece with the verses which immediately follow it, as well as with those which immediately precede it; and as for the Three Youths, there is an express allusion to them (somewhat parenthetical, to be sure) in vs. 6. But what end this passage of six verses may have served when connected with neither portion of its present context, no one, so far as I know, has ever ventured to guess. Of course, if the Episode of the Youths were originally written in Greek, it would follow that these six verses must have belonged to an entirely separate document. As for the following narrative (the Chronicler’s), if this passage (5: 1-6) originally formed a part of it, how has it disappeared from our canonical book? And if it did not originally belong to it, how in the world can it have been detached from its proper surroundings and brought to this place? Guthe’s amazing suggestion (Kautzsch’s *Apokryphen*, p. 2) that it was composed by “the redactor” (!) certainly needs no refutation. The passage bears no resemblance whatever to an editorial patch. Nor is any theory of an isolated fragment plausible. We are not driven to any such strait as this, that we should be obliged to postulate a lost narrative of a return of Jews from Babylonia, written in Hebrew and translated into Greek, and now surviving only in these six verses! There is a far simpler hypothesis. Just as soon as it is observed that the Greek of this passage is the result of translation, it becomes probable that the Story of the Youths was incorporated in a Semitic form.

There is still other important evidence of this nature pointing to the same conclusion. The latter part of chap. 4 cannot so easily be separated from the first part of chap. 5. There is no perceptible break, nor anything to make it probable that two separate documents are joined at this point. The two concluding verses of chap. 4 cannot have formed the end of a piece of narrative. The closing words of verse 63, “and they feasted . . . seven days,” make it plain that their author intended to narrate what took place after the seven days. And in like manner the first words of 5:1, “After this there were chosen,” etc., presuppose the words which just precede them. The two parts agree per-



fectly, and any attempt to pull them apart has the presumption strongly against it. Two documents were united, beyond doubt, somewhere in this vicinity, but it was not at *this* point. And again, the evidence of translation from a Semitic original is quite as noticeable in the latter part of chap. 4 as it is in 5: 1-6. Observe, for example, the idiom in vs. 63: *καὶ τὸ ἱερόν οὐ ἄνομάσθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῶ;* and similarly in vs. 54: *ἐν τίνι λατρεύουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ.* Now although these verses do not belong to the unexpanded Story of the Three Youths (which, as will be shown presently, ends at 4: 42), they belong to the context in which it was imbedded. Moreover, in some of the verses which now form a part of the Story, and can only have been written in continuation of it, the marks which indicate the work of a translator are plainly to be seen. The verses 4: 44-46, 57, for example, in the sustained awkwardness with which they render Semitic idioms—and probably reproduce Semitic blunders—could easily be paralleled in other specimens of “translation Greek,” but hardly in Greek of any other type.

The antecedent probability, from every side, of a Semitic original for the Episode is thus overwhelming, and we may fairly take for granted, at the outset, the fact of translation (substituting “ohne Zweifel semitisch” for “ohne Zweifel griechisch”). Only very strong evidence in the Greek text of 3: 1—4: 42, such evidence, namely, as to show that it could not have been the work of a translator, could suffice to shake this probability; and such evidence, as has already been said, is not to be had.

It only remains to determine whether the original language was Hebrew or Aramaic. This question, usually a very difficult one, is here rendered easy of answer by the use of the Greek word *τότε*, in 3: 4, 8; 4: 33, 41, 42, 43, 47, which points plainly to an Aramaic original. The only places in the Greek Old Testament in which *τότε*, “then,” “thereupon,” is consistently used to continue a narrative are the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra and this Story of the Three Youths. The usage is neither Greek nor Hebrew; the word can stand only for the Aramaic  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ}$  (or  $\text{ܐܝܢܐ}$ ). It is not a question of one or two occurrences, such as can be found here and there in all Greek literature; the word appears again and again, all through the narrative, in every one of these sections in which the Greek is translated from Aramaic, but does not appear similarly anywhere else. In this Story there

is very little narrative, the space being occupied with discourses, letters and decrees, and the like; but wherever the story is resumed (notice especially 4: 41-47) we are pretty sure to see sentences and paragraphs headed by *τότε*.

Among the other marks of translation, the following are noteworthy:

3:3. *καὶ ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο* is quite impossible. The king is (and must be, for the sake of the story) sound asleep until vs. 13; cf. vs. 8 and 9! Those who were "waking" were the three men<sup>7</sup> who constituted his body-guard. The original text may have read in some such way as this: *וּבְמִתְעָרְרֵן הָיוּ בְּאָזְנוֹן תְּלָתָהּ עֲלֵימֵינָא*, "Thereupon the three youths bestirred themselves" (or "stood on guard"). The change would then have been very easy, since *בְּאִרְבַּע* almost invariably (but not always; see Dan. 7:11) begins the sentence.

3:5. *ἕνα λόγον*. The customary use of *הַ* in the place of an indefinite article. So also 4:18.

3:5. *ὃς ὑπερισχύσει* is a sure mistranslation. It should be *τί ὑπερισχύει*, "what thing is the strongest," see vs. 10-12. The Aramaic probably had *הַ, הַ*.

3:12. *ὑπὲρ δὲ πάντα νικᾷ ἡ ἀλήθεια*. The *ὑπὲρ* is impossible in Greek, as commentators have remarked (see especially Fritzsche). It is simply the translation of *עַל*, with which the verb *הִתְנַצַּח* is regularly construed; cf. Dan. 6:4.

4:14. *πολλοί* is an obvious (and quite natural) mistranslation of *הַרְבִּיבִי*. The meaning in the original was "men are *mighty*," not "men are *numerous*;" cf. vs. 2.

4:15, 16. The translator has here given us a false rendering and an incorrect division of clauses. Instead of our meaningless text, we must put a comma after *βασιλέα*, and then read: *καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὃς κυριεύει τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγένετο*. Cf. again vs. 2. The mistranslation is one of a very common type.

4:17. Is it possible that we have here a double rendering? Some such word as *הַדְרָא*, or *שְׁבַהוּרָא*, for example, would account for both *στολὰς* and *δόξαν*, the one translation being literal and the other interpretative. The *στολαί* are not needed here. Compare the uses of the Hebrew words *הָרַר*, *צָבַר*, and *תִּשְׁאָרָה*, and the (mistranslated) verse I Macc. 14:9.

<sup>7</sup> Ordinarily called "pages" because of the misunderstanding of this verse.



4:31. *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις*. Probably for *וְעַם הַיְהוּדָה*, which should here have been translated “and *in spite of* this.”

4:37. *καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν* should probably be *εἰ οὐκ ἔστιν*. The original may well have been *וְכָל עֲמָלָם בְּהוֹן בְּהוֹן*; all men and all their works are evil, “*if* truth be not in them;” or the initial letter of *וְ*, “if,” may have fallen out accidentally after the last letter of the preceding word (*τοιαῦτα = דְּנָה* or *אֵלֶּה*).

4:39. *τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν*. The *ἀπὸ* is a monstrosity here; see the commentaries. The Lagarde text, *δίκαια ποιεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀπέχεται*, is arbitrarily corrected, as the evidence of manuscripts and versions shows conclusively. Fritzsche thinks it likely that some Hebrew idiom “schwebte dem Verfasser vor,” but confesses his inability to find an example of it in our Hebrew Bible. We have precisely this idiom in biblical Aramaic, in Ezra 7:26. The original text here was therefore undoubtedly *לְהַקְדִּים דִּינָא עֲבָד כִּן כְּלָדוֹן בִּישָׁא וְרִשְׁיָא*; Truth is no respecter of persons, “but executes judgment upon all evil and wicked men.” The Latin and Syriac versions render correctly.

These examples will suffice. The Story of the Three Youths was written in Aramaic, and was inserted by a redactor in the Hebrew-Aramaic text of the Chronicler’s history.

The process of combining the two narratives necessarily involved some harmonistic labors on the part of the redactor. The Story, in its original form, does not seem to have made any mention of the Jews. As far as 4:42—where it may well have ended—it contains not a word to give it connection with Jewish history or interests, with the exception of the single parenthetical clause in vs. 11, *οὗτός ἐστιν Ζοροβαβέλ* (*הוּא זְרֻבָבֶל*), which has been universally recognized as an addition by a later hand. It may well be that this very brief, but very potent, gloss antedates the expanded form of the Story, and in fact was the ultimate cause of its inclusion in a history of the Jewish people; but, be that as it may, it is pretty certain that the expansion itself, through which the Story was made into a tale of exiles returning to Jerusalem by royal decree, was the work of the self-same redactor who interpolated it in the Chronicler’s book.

Now it must be remembered that the Chronicler himself is giving, at this very point, an account of a return of exiles from Babylonia; and, what is more, that the leaders of his expedition

are Jeshua and Zerubbabel. The last portion of his narrative preceding the interpolated matter is 2:1-14 (= Ezra, chap. 1). In this he had told of the proclamation of King Cyrus, and how the Jews prepared to obey it; then, further, how the king brought out the sacred vessels belonging to the temple in Jerusalem (which are fully described and numbered), and delivered them into the hand of a Jewish prince named Sheshbazzar. At this point the narrative is interrupted by the interpolation. The next portion of the history which is certainly known to come from the hand of the Chronicler is the list, 5:7-42 (= Ezra 2:1-67), and where the narrative is resumed at the close of the list it appears that the returning exiles are already in Jerusalem. This is a surprising leap, especially for such a narrator as the Chronicler. We should certainly expect him to describe, with some detail, the starting of the expedition; to make express mention of the two leaders, Jeshua and Zerubbabel, whom he elsewhere makes so prominent; to tell of the provision made by the king—and afterward referred to—for the aid of the Jews and especially for the building of the temple; and so on.<sup>8</sup> The probability at once suggests itself, that a part of the Chronicler's narrative is contained in the long sequel to the Story of the Three Youths, that is, in the section 4:43—5:6.

It would, of course, be the wish of the interpolator to use the original narrative as far as possible; and in this case that would be especially easy, since all the circumstances, and even the names (excepting only the name of the king), are identical. This probability becomes much stronger as soon as we observe the peculiar way in which the expansion of the Story has been effected. As was remarked above, it has been left absolutely untouched—saving the gloss of two words in 4:13—all the way from the beginning, 3:1, to 4:42, which is evidently the last verse of the original story which we have. It would have been an easy matter, and, we should say, most desirable, to add a bit of Jewish coloring, especially at the beginning, if only in order to make the connection more plausible. But the redactor took his task very easily, and apparently limited his own editorial additions to what was absolutely necessary. In view of this, it is surprising to find that the extra-canonical matter constituting the sequel to the Story occupies twenty-seven verses—about half the extent of the

<sup>8</sup>See my brief statement of the case in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1897 pp. 168-70.

Story itself. And who is this who now begins to write at such length, and so methodically, what sounds like a piece of carefully composed history (vss. 47 ff.), and with such disproportionate interest in "the priests and the Levites" (vss. 52-56) and in "instruments of music" (4:63, 5:2)? These are the pet interests of the Chronicler himself; his peculiar property, in fact.

There is, indeed, plain evidence of composition in this long sequel, 4:43-5:6, showing that it consists of the work of the interpolator *plus* the work of the Chronicler. In the verse 5:6, especially, we can see how a harmonistic gloss has been added to the original text. The date, as it stands, is altogether out of place; and, indeed, it is difficult to imagine a reason for telling in any place the day of the month on which Zerubbabel made his successful speech. The words just preceding the date, "he who spoke wise words before Darius," are an obvious gloss, the last of the redactional patches by means of which the two documents were combined. This statement of year, month, and day was originally the Chronicler's date of the return from Babylon. Commentators have wondered why such a date was missing, in this history in which month and day of the month are never wanting, and on this occasion which overshadowed all others in importance. Verse 6 originally read: "in the second year of the reign of Cyrus, the king of Persia,<sup>9</sup> in the month Nisan, on the first day<sup>10</sup> of the month." The interpolator was, of course, obliged to alter "Cyrus" to "Darius" (as also in 5:2), and the insertion of his gloss necessitated a slight change in the wording of the sentence. Whoever examines 5:1-6 closely will see that it is written throughout in the characteristic phrases of the Chronicler, and this is true also of much of the latter part of chap. 4. The redactor's part is, indeed, as we were led to expect, a comparatively small one. Two brief passages, purely harmonistic, and easily recognized, are all that he has added, namely, vss. 43-46 (with the first clause of vs. 47) and vss. 57-61.<sup>11</sup>

This conclusion, as to the Chronicler's authorship of 4:47-56 in particular, receives important confirmation from without. In

<sup>9</sup>The phrase "king of Persia," מֶלֶךְ פֶּרְסִיָּה, is a well-known mark of the Chronicler's hand.

<sup>10</sup>In the Greek, τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, "the first month," is derived by some mistake from בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ, as many have observed.

<sup>11</sup>These two patches, small as they are, contain some things of interest. Observe the statement regarding the Edomites, in vs. 45, and the very unusual phrase "king of heaven," in vss. 46 and 58.

Ezra 3: 7 we are told how cedar-wood for the building of the temple was brought to the Jews from Lebanon "*according to the grant which they had from Cyrus, king of Persia;*" but the preceding narrative, in our canonical recension, contains no record of any such grant. But in this fragment of the Chronicler's history which survives in First Esdras, in 4:48, we have the edict to which reference was made: "He (Cyrus) wrote letters also unto . . . those that were in Lebanon, that they should bring cedar-wood from Lebanon to Jerusalem." Again in Ezra 3: 1 (= I Esdr. 5:46 [47]) there is a statement of time which presupposes a definite date in the preceding narrative. Just after the long list of returning exiles, and the subjoined statement that the people arrived in Jerusalem and settled there and in the neighboring cities, the narrative continues: "And when the seventh month was come," etc. In our canonical Ezra there is no preceding date, to which this can be referred. The date in 1:1, "The first year of Cyrus, King of Persia," is not to be thought of, both because it is too indefinite and because the time would be far too short. And the Chronicler is particular about such matters as these; see, for example, Ezra 7:8, 9, and 8:31. But in the First Esdras recension, just before this list of returning exiles, we find the missing date, in 5:6 (the verse which has already been discussed; see above).

First Esdras, then contains a portion of the Chronicler's history which has been lost from our canonical book of Ezra. The original narrative passed directly on from 2:14 (= Ezra 1: 11) to 4:47, which began thus: "[And Cyrus the king] wrote letters for him (i. e., for Sheshbazzar) unto all the administrators and governors," etc. Then, after the section 4:47-56, there followed immediately 4:62-5:6, and then 5:7 ff. (= Ezra 2: 1 ff.). There is no reason to doubt that the history, as thus restored, is complete and in the very same form which its author gave it.

The interpolator, for his part, wrote 4:43-46, and the first clause of vs. 47 (altering the original slightly here), and vss. 57-61. He also changed "Cyrus" to "Darius" in 5:2 and 5:6, and inserted a gloss in the latter verse.<sup>12</sup> Whether the gloss in 4:13 is from him, or from a previous hand, may be questioned. It was he, finally, who transposed the Artaxerxes correspondence, Ezra 4:6-24, to the place where it now stands in First Esdras.

<sup>12</sup>The "Joachim" of this verse came from a misread יִיָּקִים, as I have shown elsewhere.

It is an interesting question, at what point the Aramaic text ended, and the Hebrew text began, in the composite narrative. It is, of course, certain that the Chronicler himself wrote all of this portion of his history in Hebrew (or what may be allowed to pass for Hebrew); and it is hardly less certain that the interpolator was as well acquainted with the one language as with the other. No one will question that the verses 4:43-46, at least, were written in Aramaic;<sup>13</sup> and it may also be taken for granted that the passage 5:1-6 was allowed to stand in its original Hebrew. But in regard to the intermediate portion, 4:47-63, there is room for doubt, since it is conceivable that the interpolator should have written vss. 57-61 in Aramaic, and then have translated the Chronicler's Hebrew up to and just beyond that point, in order to conceal from sight the real place of the juncture. It is improbable, however, that he would have made himself this unnecessary labor. So far as we can judge, from the very few Jewish productions of this period that have survived, the combination of Hebrew and Aramaic in the same document was a common thing. It was possible, for instance, for the Chronicler to compose Ezra 6:16-18 in Aramaic, and then continue the same narrative in Hebrew in vss. 19 ff.—although he could not have had any reason for wishing to deceive his readers as to where the preceding document ended. Similarly, in Dan. 2:4 we see the change from the one language to the other taking place in the middle of a sentence, the narrative then going on as though nothing had happened. Obviously, such abrupt changes as these were not felt to be disturbing. So far as the Greek of this part of First Esdras is concerned, the last sure sign of an Aramaic original is the *τότε* of vs. 47. Beyond this point, the language seems to me everywhere to suggest Hebrew rather than Aramaic, though I have not been able to find any decisive proof. I therefore believe that the interpolator's Aramaic continued as far as the first words of the Chronicler's narrative, and that everything after this was Hebrew, including vss. 57-61. That is, vs. 47 began

<sup>13</sup>Aside from the strong probability that this added patch would be written in the same language as the preceding narrative, we have the evidence of *τότε* in vs. 43, the position of the infinitive *ἐκπέψαι* in vs. 44, and the *κύριε βασιλεῦ* (apparently *מַלְכֵא מְרִיָא*, as in Dan. 4:21) in vs. 46. The last-named verse, by the way, contains an evident mistranslation, the conjunction *ἦ* being rendered by *καί*, instead of by some word meaning, "since," "inasmuch as." The Aramaic was: *וְנָדָא הִיא רְבִיתָא (דִּי) מִן לְוָתָא*, "since such munificence is thine." The Aramaic *רְבִיתָא* used here exactly like *גְּדִילָה* in II Sam. 7:21, I Chron. 17:19, where also the Greek rendered by *μεγαλωσύνη*.

in *Aramaic*: "Then Darius the king arose, and kissed him;" and it was continued in *Hebrew*: "And he wrote letters for him unto all the administrators and governors," etc.

The result of this investigation has been, to restore a lost half-chapter to our "canonical" Old Testament—a thing which has never been done before, and presumably will never be done again—and to give the Story of the Three Youths its true place as an important specimen of old Aramaic literature. I hope to throw further light on the origin of this Story in a subsequent chapter.

#### IV. THE ORIGIN OF OUR TWO RECENSIONS

The Chronicler, probably not far from the middle of the third century B. C., but possibly later, wrote his Levitical History of Israel. Its contents, in their original order, were as follows: I and II Chronicles; Ezr. 1; *I Esdr.* 4:47-56; 4:62-5:6; Ezr. 2:1-8:36; *Neh.* 7:70-8:18; Ezr. 9:1-10:44; *Neh.* 9:1-10:40; *Neh.* 1:1-7:69; 11:1-13:31.

At the beginning of the last century B. C. this history was current only in a form which differed from the original form in two important particulars: (1) Three chapters originally belonging to the story of Ezra had been accidentally transposed, by a natural mistake,<sup>14</sup> into the book of Nehemiah. (2) The Aramaic Story of the Three Youths had been interpolated. The interpolator added a few harmonistic verses at the end of the Story, and also *transposed the passage Ezra 4:6-24* to a place just before it.

Somewhat later, still another alteration found its way into numerous copies of the work. The fact that the account of *the reading of the Law* (*Neh.* 7:73-8:18), and that of *the sealing of the covenant* (*Neh.* 9:1-10:40), had originally belonged to the story of Ezra was not lost sight of among the Jews. Accordingly, someone, at some time in the last century B. C., made an attempt to restore the history to its true form by transposing these chapters to the place from which they were supposed to have come. That is, they were simply appended to the story of Ezra, being made to follow Ezra 10. It must be noted, however, that *not all* of the matter which had originally belonged to the story of Ezra was restored at this time. The three verses *Neh.* 7:70-72 were so securely lodged in their new surroundings (owing to the same considera-

<sup>14</sup>See my *Composition of Ezr.-Neh.*, p. 34.



tions which had caused their transfer thither) that they were no longer movable. The re-transferred section accordingly began with 7:73.

The result was (as we have the best of evidence) that *two editions* of the Chronicler's book, with its interpolated Story of the Youths, were current at the beginning of the Christian era. The two differed only at one point, namely, the section Neh. 7:73—10:40, containing the story of the Reading of the Law and the account of the Sealing of the Covenant. In the one edition (call it A) the position of this section was the same as in our massoretic Hebrew Bible; in the other edition (call it B) it had been appended to the Book of Ezra, of which it formed the close, Ezra 10:44 being continued by Neh. 7:73; and in neither edition were the two narratives which constitute this section in their original and proper context! To describe the two editions a little more fully:

A = I and II Chron.; history from Cyrus to the completion of the temple as in I Esdr.; stories of Ezra and Nehemiah as in our Hebrew Bible.

B = I and II Chron.; history from Cyrus to the completion of the temple as in I Esdr.; story of Ezra concluding with Neh. 7:73—10:40; story of Nehemiah as in our Hebrew Bible *minus* the section just mentioned.

One point in the description of Edition B requires special proof here, namely, the statement that not only Neh. 8, but also chaps. 9 and 10, were retransposed to the end of Ezra. That chap. 8 was thus transferred we know, of course, from First Esdras. Our only surviving text, however, breaks off at the beginning of vs. 13, in this chapter; so for an answer to the question, What came next? we must turn to other evidence. This is of two kinds:

1. *General probability.*—Chaps. 9 and 10 had long been connected with chap. 8, and must have been felt to be of one piece with it. Whoever had acumen enough to see that chap. 8 was out of place in the Book of Nehemiah must also have seen (as readers of the book in all ages have seen) that chaps. 9 and 10 belonged with equal certainty to the story of Ezra. The testimony of such verses as 9:1-3, 4 f. (cf. 8:4, 7); 10:28(!), 29,

30. could not be misunderstood.<sup>15</sup> And with chap. 8 removed, the incongruity of chaps. 9 and 10 with their surroundings would be very much more obvious. Imagine 9:1 following directly upon 7:72!

2. *The evidence from Josephus.*—Josephus, who is the earliest writer (of those known to us) to excerpt the Chronicler's history, used Edition B. As his method is to give only such extracts as suit his purpose, and he frequently vaults over whole chapters and gives to others only a sentence or a clause, it is not always easy to follow him. The two chapters, Neh. 9 and 10, obviously contain hardly anything that he could use for his history; and, in fact, he makes no use of them at all, unless we find them alluded to in certain phrases at the end of his abridgment of Neh. 8. In telling the story of Ezra, when he comes to the account of the reading of the law he gives in concise form the contents of Neh. 8, to the very end of the chapter (*Antt.*, xi, 154–57). In finishing the account, he says that Ezra urged the people not to mourn, saying that it would be better for them at that time to keep the feast with joy, *καὶ τὴν μετάνοιαν καὶ λύπην τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐξημαρτημένοις ἀσφάλειάν τε ἔξειν καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ μηδὲν ὅμοιον συμπεσεῖν*. And he then adds, that after the people had kept the feast for the eight days, *ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ οἰκεία μετὰ ὕμνων τοῦ θεοῦ* (cf. Neh. 9:5?) *τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τῶν περὶ τὸ πολίτευμα παρανομηθέντων Ἐξῆρα χάριν εἰδότες*. Either one or both of these passages may well have been suggested by Neh. 9 and 10; but more than this can hardly be said. Josephus then passes on to the story of Nehemiah, which he gives in greatly abridged form. After narrating how the building of the wall was finished, he proceeds (xi, 180 f.): *τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ . . . ἔδυσφόρει* (= Neh. 6:16—end). *Νεεμίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ὀρώων ὀλιγανθρωπωμένην* (= Neh. 7:4, *καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὀλίγος ἐν αὐτῇ*) *τοὺς ἱερεῖς τε καὶ Λευίτας παρεκάλεσεν τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντας μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ μένειν ἐν αὐτῇ* (Neh. 11:1, 10–23; 12:1–26) . . . *τόν τε γεωργοῦντα λαὸν τὰς δεκάτας τῶν καρπῶν ἐκέλευσε φέρειν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἵνα τρέφεσθαι διηνεκῶς ἔχοντες οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευῖται μὴ καταλείπωσι τὴν θρησκείαν* (Neh. 12:44; 13:10–12).

It can hardly be doubted, in view of all this—and with nothing to point to the contrary conclusion—that the two chapters, Neh. 9 and 10, stood at the end of the book of Ezra in the B edition.

<sup>15</sup> To say nothing of the *καὶ εἶπεν Ἐξῆρας* with which 9:6 begins in the Greek version!



Both editions, A and B, must have continued in use for a considerable time. The extent to which Edition B was used may be judged from the fact that it was the one from which the old Greek version was made, as well as the one used by Josephus in writing his history of the Jews;<sup>16</sup> while for a witness to the prestige of Edition A we have the fact that it was ultimately taken as the basis of the recension which alone was adopted for the "official" Hebrew Bible.

It deserves especially to be emphasized that the Story of the Three Youths was present in both of the current forms of the history. At the beginning of the Christian era, there was probably no version of the Chronicler's book in existence which did not contain this Story. Certain it is, at any rate, that those who made the recension now represented by our massoretic text knew of no such form already existing, but were obliged to resort to excision.

The trouble caused in the Jewish world by this Levitical History of Israel, in its two incongruous editions, could be imagined even if we had no direct proof of it. As time went on, and the lingering traditional knowledge of the Persian period dwindled and disappeared, the Chronicler's compilation stood out conspicuously as the one document dealing with the history of the Jews in this important time. It seems to have been little used at first, and when at last it became generally known it was looked upon with suspicion (witness its position in the Jewish canon, and its rejection from the Syriac Bible, to say nothing of other indications), but its ultimate recognition was inevitable. The final test came, of course, when the idea of a definite "canon" of divinely inspired scripture was first developed; namely, about the beginning of the second century A. D. The Jewish rabbis were obliged to meet squarely the question whether they should accept this book or reject it. On the one hand, it was the source, and the indispensable support, of certain theories which had come to be implicitly believed and cherished, especially in ecclesiastical circles; but, on the other hand, it was obviously an untrustworthy guide. Anyone could see that the Story of the Three Youths was incongruous with its surroundings, and it needed no unusual acumen to see that it was in fact an interpolation. Such naive attempts to cut the knot as that of Josephus, who substitutes

<sup>16</sup>And Josephus, as we know, was a writer who would have been careful to employ the *orthodox* recension.

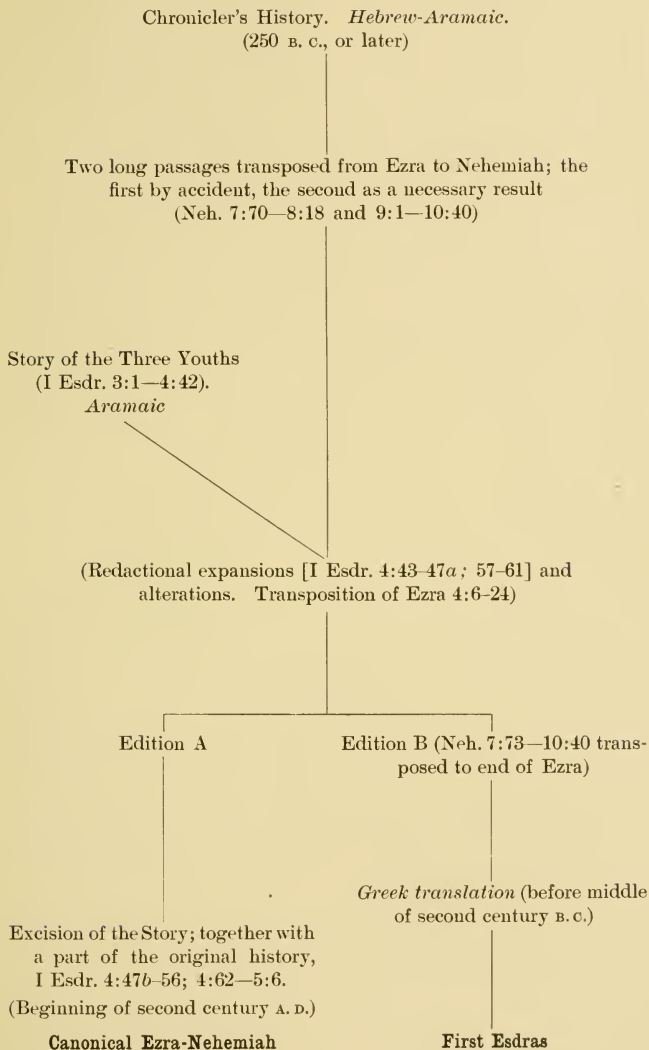
"Cambyses" for the Artaxerxes of I Esdr. 2:15 ff., could only do more harm than good. And the case with the history of the two great leaders, Ezra and Nehemiah, was no better, for *two* versions, incompatible with each other, were in circulation. The situation was an intolerable one, and could be ended only in one way, namely, by a new recension.

A final revision was accordingly made, and was officially adopted. The Story of the Youths was cut out bodily from the book, and care was taken that it should never again appear in the Jewish sacred writings. But unfortunately, in the excision of the Story, *a part of the Chronicler's original narrative was cut out with it.* The cause of this accident is easy to see. The expanded Story, as edited by the interpolator, did not end with I Esdr. 4:63, but extended through the first six verses of chap. 5. The interpolation in vs. 6, supported by the occurrence of the name "Darius" both here and in vs. 2, left the revisers no alternative; the knife must cut between vss. 6 and 7. Upon the excision of the Story followed necessarily the restoration of the Artaxerxes correspondence to its proper place.

The choice between the two versions of the Ezra-Nehemiah story must have caused more difficulty. What led the Jewish revisers here to follow Edition A rather than Edition B can only be a matter of conjecture. Possibly some external evidence showing that the order of chapters in the former was older than that in the latter was still in existence. But it is perhaps more likely that what decided the matter was the presence, through interpolation, of Nehemiah's name in the three doubtful chapters (see Neh. 8:9 and 10:1, and compare the date in 1:1), an interpolation which easily (and almost inevitably) took place after these chapters had been accidentally transposed into the story of Nehemiah.

So much for the origin of our canonical Ezra. As for our First Esdras, it is, as has already been said, the one surviving fragment of the old Greek version of the Chronicler's history, a version which was simply a faithful rendering of Edition B, and was probably made in the latter part of the last century B. C. The accompanying diagram will serve to illustrate the history of the two recensions.

The extent of our First Esdras, it is hardly necessary to add, is due simply to accident. Probably all the manuscripts, Semitic



or Greek, which contained any other version than the official one were systematically destroyed. Just as the old Greek version of Daniel narrowly escaped the fate which befell its Semitic original, being saved only in a single Greek codex and a secondary version, so this portion of the condemned Esdras recension was rescued by a lucky chance. There was only one such fragment, and all of our "I Esdras" texts and translations go back to it. It probably consisted of a few quires plucked out of the middle of a codex. The first page of the rescued fragment began with II Chron. 35:1; and the last words on the last page were *καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν*, which in this version had been the first words of Neh. 8:13.

And it is certain, finally, that the manuscript from which this piece survived was Greek, not Semitic. There never existed a Hebrew-Aramaic fragment of the same extent as our First Esdras. Conclusive proof of this statement is found in the closing words, for in the Hebrew text Neh. 8:13 begins with *וביום השני*, not with the verb.

Whether accidentally rescued or deliberately excised, it is evident that this fragment was not altered nor edited in any way by those who first preserved it by itself. No attempt was made to give it a suitable beginning, nor even to complete the obviously unfinished sentence with which it ends.<sup>17</sup> In every library of ancient manuscripts there are to be found similar fragments, consisting generally of a few quires surviving from codices of which the remainder has been lost;<sup>18</sup> fragments almost always through accident, but sometimes also through selection. In the sense in which any one of these might be called a "book," First Esdras may be given that designation, but in no other sense.

<sup>17</sup> Except in the Lagarde Greek recension, which here, as in some other places (compare what was said above regarding the text of 4:39) has been deliberately "revised."

<sup>18</sup> Compare, for example, the accidental loss of the first part of the Peshitto version of Tobit, which has totally disappeared.

### III

## THE STORY OF THE THREE YOUTHS

(I Esdras 3:1-4:42)

### I. ORIGIN OF THE STORY

Among the most interesting surviving specimens of old Semitic literature must be counted the story of the three young guardsmen at the court of King Darius, and their contest of wits in the royal audience hall. As has already been shown (see above, pp. 18-30), this narrative was originally written in the Aramaic language, and was interpolated in the Chronicler's history of Israel by an unknown hand, probably near the beginning of the second century B. C. The main questions as to its origin, date, and primitive form, and the class of literature to which it belongs, remain to be answered. It is now generally believed that this "story" was a Jewish composition, a "contribution to the legendary history of the Captivity and Return" (Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 266); and the only remark which it ordinarily calls forth is the verdict that it "is unhistorical." I shall try to show in the following pages that it was originally a separate composition, a bit of popular wisdom-literature complete in itself, and in its first estate having nothing to do with the history of the Jews; that it was composed in Palestine, probably soon after 300 B. C.; that it was incorporated entire in the Chronicler's history, and has been preserved in what is substantially its original form.

The interpolator, as I have shown (see pp. 25-27), gave the story, in the main, as he found it, without attempting to work it over, or indeed to make any alteration whatever beyond what was absolutely necessary. The beginning, obviously, was left untouched. Up to the end of 4:42, moreover, there is not a clause, nor even a word, that seems to be secondary or editorial, excepting of course the manifest gloss in 4:13. It was only at the end, where the story required to be adapted to a definite place in Jewish history, that redactional patches were necessary, and were made. The interpolator himself did this harmonistic work; and one

necessary feature of it was the occasional change of the name "Cyrus," in the immediately following portion of the Chronicler's history, to "Darius" (above, pp. 27 f.). The presence of the name "Darius," in fact, was an indispensable condition of the insertion of the story, Zerubbabel being the hero. The question therefore arises at once, whether the interpolator may not himself have introduced the name throughout the whole story. We know with certainty that according to *his* representation the king who sent Zerubbabel and his company to Jerusalem was Darius II Nothus;<sup>1</sup> but it is quite another question, whom the author of

<sup>1</sup> It is strange that the question of the chronological order of the Persian kings according to the attested Jewish tradition should have made, and should still be making, so much trouble among scholars. See for example Meyer, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 14; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*<sup>5</sup>, p. 171, note; Bertholet, *Esra und Nehemia*, p. 13, middle. The simple fact is this, that according to the accepted view of the Jewish scholars and writers, in the Greek period and still later, a *kingdom of the Medes preceded that of the Persians*, and Darius I Hystaspis was the monarch of this Median kingdom. Aside from this one important error, the Jewish writers made no mistake in regard to the Persian kings, but everywhere preserved the true order.

As for the kingdom of the Medes, it is the one briefly referred to in Dan. 2:39 and 7:5, as scholars are generally agreed. Neither the author (or authors) of Daniel nor any of the other Jewish writers shows any interest in this Median power or its history. The duration of its rule over Babylonia was believed to have been very brief; to have included, in fact, the reign of only one king. We read in Dan. 5:30, 6:1, that upon the death of the last Babylonian king, Belshazzar, *his kingdom was taken by Darius "the Mede,"* and we are told with equal distinctness in 6:29, cf. 9:1, 10:1, 11:1, that this Darius was immediately succeeded by Cyrus, the first king of the Persians. (I do not believe that the original text of Dan. 9:1 called this Darius the "son of Ahasuerus." The name דָּרְיֹוֹשׁ הַמֵּדֵי is due to some copyist, who substituted a well-known name for the unknown, and probably corrupt, form which lay before him. In Josephus, the name is "Astyages"—cf. Theodotion's Bel and the Dragon, vs. 1 (original reading possibly "Darius, son of Astyages"?) One might perhaps conjecture "Cyaxares" (Hu w a l š a t a r a), for this blunder would at least have involved no anachronism. Cyaxares flourished about 600 B.C., and this Darius came to the throne "about sixty-two years of age" (Dan. 6:1). But perhaps we need not take the writer's chronology so seriously. I suppose it is possible that the author, or authors, of these chapters had never heard the name of *Hystaspes*.) That is, in the Jewish tradition represented by the author of Daniel (who was a man of some learning), Darius I Hystaspis was put immediately before Cyrus instead of immediately after him. The author of Daniel would have begun his list of Persian kings thus: Cyrus, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I Longimanus, Darius II Nothus, etc.

The Chronicler's history of Israel represents precisely the same view of the royal succession, and, accordingly, of a brief Median rule preceding the Persian. It is perfectly plain from Ezra 4:1-7 that his list of the Persian kings began in the same way as did that of the author of Daniel. The Chronicler makes no mention of Darius Hystaspis, "The Mede," before Cyrus, for the same reason that he fails further on to include Artaxerxes III Ochus, namely, because these kings (as he supposed) had nothing to do with the history of the Jews. But aside from this one transposition of Cyrus and Darius—the same which is made in Daniel—his succession of Persian kings, as given in *Ezr.-Neh.*, is the correct one. According to his view, Zerubbabel and his companions finished the temple under Darius Nothus; and the Artaxerxes who befriended Ezra and (afterward) Nehemiah was Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Again, the Chronicler's *Aramaic source* represents the selfsame historical tradition. The author of this story of the building of the temple of course makes no mention of the Median king who preceded Cyrus, nor does he have occasion to mention Xerxes; but he leaves us in no doubt as to the fact that, in his belief, the temple was finished in the time of the Darius whose reign followed that of Artaxerxes I.

The *textual tradition*, it should be observed, perpetuates this view of the two kings named Artaxerxes. The name of the enemy of the Jews, who is mentioned in Ezra 4, is invariably written with **ש**; the name of the friend of the Jews, mentioned in Ezra 7 f. and



the Story of the Youths intended by his "Darius," or indeed, whether he used this name at all. What, then, is the historical setting of the story, and who is the "king" at whose palace the scene is laid?

It is, of course, beyond question that the story was originally told of a *king*, not of a satrap, governor, or other high official. It is almost equally certain that the scene was laid in Persia. From the beginning of the story to its end, the Persian kingdom and its capital are plainly in the thought of the writer. The allusions are too many and too deeply imbedded in the structure of the story to be regarded merely as the result of an editorial revision (see, for example, 3:1, 2, 9, 14). We must conclude that when the story was originally composed the narrator intended to describe a scene at the court of one of the Achaemenids. Observe also how the interpolator takes it for granted that the event described took place in the Persian capital. If he were giving the tale a new setting, he would certainly be explicit as to the name of the city; but as it is, he plainly assumes that every reader would know that Susa was intended. Thus, in 4:57: "And he (Darius) sent away all the vessels *which Cyrus had brought<sup>2</sup> from Babylon* (i. e., to Susa);" and again, in verse 61: "So he (the youth) took the letters, *and came forth (from Susa) to Babylon.*"

If no other evidence were to be had, it would still remain doubtful whether the name "Darius" is also original, or whether it is to be ascribed to a later hand. But fortunately, we have the evidence which is needed. Thanks to that most important verse, 4:29, we are able to determine which king is intended, and the

Neh. 2, is invariably written with  $\Delta$ . The Darius who came between these two kings was of course Darius Nothus.

And finally, the interpolator of the Story of the Youths shared the view of the Chronicler, the author of Daniel, and the textual tradition of Ezr.-Neh. The fact that he *transposed the account of the correspondence in the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes*, Ezr. 4:6-24, to the place which it occupies in I Esdr. is conclusive evidence of this. Like the other Jewish writers of his time, he believed that the Darius under whom Zerubbabel finished the building of the temple was Darius Nothus; and, according to him, it was at or very near the beginning of the reign of this same king that the three youths held their contest at the Persian court. According to his version of the history, Zerubbabel was still a youth at the time of the completion of the temple; while according to the Chronicler's version he was an old man at that time (though in all probability the Chronicler supposed the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I to have been brief ones).

It is true that our modern historians may reasonably be in doubt as to the date of the completion of the temple; but it does not seem to me that there is justification for doubt, in the face of this evidence, as to what view the old Jewish narrators held.

<sup>2</sup>The Greek translator's  $\epsilon\chi\omega\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon$  is probably a mistaken rendering, both here and in verse 44; see the notes.

approximate date of the story. According to the text ordinarily used, the passage reads thus:<sup>3</sup>

*I saw Apama the daughter of Bartakes, . . . the concubine of the king, sitting at the king's right hand; I saw her snatch the crown from his head, and place it upon her own; with her left hand she slapped the king. In spite of all this, the king gazed upon her with open mouth.*

It is obvious that we have here the key to the date and original home of the story. The proper name Apama, at least, has been correctly transmitted. It is a very well-known name, and yet not one that would have been chosen at random or taken as typical. The writer of the story had a real personage in mind at this point. The fact that the name of the girl's father is appended adds to the certainty of this conclusion, though the latter name is so badly mutilated as to seem almost hopeless.

Among all the women named Apama who are known to us, there are only two who need to be taken into account. The prime requisite is that the girl should have been a concubine, or at least a favorite,<sup>4</sup> of one of the Persian kings. The two who most nearly meet the requirements are (1) Apama, the daughter of the satrap Artabazos III, who was the son of the satrap Pharnabazos II; and (2) Apama, the daughter of the Bactrian satrap Spitamenes, or Pithamenes. These two Apamas were the most celebrated of all who bore the name, and both made their first appearance in history at the court of the Persian king. The king, moreover, was Darius III Codomannus, and this fact is another corroborating element. The coincidence is too far-reaching to be an accident; the natural conclusion is that the king originally intended in this story was Darius III. All that we know of the two Apamas, during their early life in Persia, is contained in the well-known story of the great feast at Susa, given by Alexander to his generals after the conquest of Persia. At this feast, according to the historians, Alexander gave to the foremost of his generals wives from the Persian court. Apama, daughter of Spitamenes (or, as some authorities have, Pithamenes), was given to Seleucus Nicator, the first of the Syrian line of monarchs; and Apama, daughter of Artabazos, was given to Ptolemy Lagi, the first of the Egyptian kings. Thus Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii, 4, 6,

<sup>3</sup> The Greek text, with its various readings, will be given below and discussed.

<sup>4</sup> We are left in some uncertainty by the Greek *παλλακή* here, inasmuch as it is a translation and we cannot be sure what Aramaic word was used in the original.



narrating the distribution of wives: Σελεύκῳ δὲ τὴν Σπιταμένους τοῦ Βακτρίου παῖδα. In speaking (*ibid.*) of the wife given to Ptolemy Lagi, he calls her the daughter of Artabazos, but uses the native name Ἀρτακάμα.<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Eumenes*, §1, gives the name correctly (Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν Ἀπάμαν), and says that Artabazos was her father. Strabo, *Geographica*, xii, 8, 15, confuses the two Apamas, saying that Apama, the daughter of Artabazos was given in marriage to Seleucus Nicator.<sup>6</sup> The statement regarding Seleucus and his wife which is given by John Malalas, *Chronographia*, viii (Migne, Vol. XC VII, col. 312), is perhaps worth quoting:

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ ἔλαβε γυναῖκα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπὸ Πάρθων ὀνόματι Ἀπάμαν παρθένον· ἦντινα ἐπῆρην ἀνελὼν τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς Πιθαμένην, ὄντα στρατηγὸν Πάρθων μέγαν. Ἀφ' ἧς Ἀπάμας ἔσχευ ὁ αὐτὸς Σέλευκος θυγατέρας δύο, Ἀπάμαν καὶ Λαοδίκην.

There is nothing in our extra-biblical sources to indicate that either the daughter of Artabazos or the daughter of Spitamenes had been, or was supposed to have been, a concubine of Darius Codomannus. This, however, is a fact of no importance. In I Esdr. 4:29 we are dealing, in any case, with a popular tale, the original purpose of which we have no means of knowing. Court gossip and the story-tellers of the common people alike love to play with such details as these, and to invent them, with or without malice prepense, especially when the early life of the royal personage was (as in this instance) a romantic one, and had been lived in a foreign land. And Alexander might well have been represented as finding extraordinary treasures in the harem of Darius. It may be that the author of the Story of the Youths himself added this touch of local interest to the scene he was painting, representing the celebrated queen of his land as having been, in her girlhood, a favorite of the great Persian king. Be that as it may, we need waste no more thought on the *παλλακή* of I Esdras than we do on the *παρθένος* of Malalas, in the passage above quoted. Beyond question, the evidence within reach points to the general conclusions already stated: (1) the "Darius" of our story is, in any case, Darius III; (2) for the heroine of the verse 4:29, we must look either to Egypt or to Antioch.

<sup>5</sup> See Wilcken, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. "Apama."

<sup>6</sup> Nöldeke, *Gött. Gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, p. 295, accepted the statement of Strabo, and was followed in this by Marquart, *Fundamenta israelit. und jüd. Geschichte*, pp. 65 f. But the evidence inclines decidedly the other way (so also Wilcken, in Pauly, *loc. cit.*).

It is not altogether easy to decide between the two Apamas; fortunately, the decision at this point need not greatly affect our conclusion as to the original home of the story. If the daughter of Artabazos and wife of Ptolemy is meant, then it is pretty certain that the tale was composed either in Egypt or in Palestine, somewhere near 300 B. C.; for such an allusion to the foreign-born queen could only have been made during her lifetime or a short time after her death. If the other Apama, the daughter of Spitamenes and wife of Seleucus, was intended, the natural conclusion would be that the story was written in Syria, and perhaps most likely in northern Syria, at about the same date. Of local "color," or allusion, to connect the narrative with either of the two kingdoms, there is not a particle. All the setting is distinctly Persian, as has already been remarked, and the Persian capital is the only scene which the story suggests.<sup>7</sup> As for the use of the Aramaic language, we know that it was the reigning tongue at this time, from the borders of Persia to the Mediterranean, and that it was also used to some extent in Egypt, where the Semitic element of the population was considerable. Still, a document of this sort, composed in Egypt at the beginning of the third century B. C., would probably have been composed in Greek; in Syria or Palestine, on the contrary, Aramaic would have been the natural vehicle. So far as general probability is concerned, then, the matter stands thus: if our "Apama" is the Egyptian queen, then the story is most likely to have been written in Palestine; if the wife of Seleucus is intended, then it probably originated somewhere in central or northern Syria.

The main hope of reaching a satisfactory decision lies in the names which are given in 4:29. These, as has already been remarked, are presumably corrupt in the forms which have reached us. Foreign proper names in a Semitic text are easily and rapidly changed. The transliteration into Greek is apt to involve some additional loss, and the corruption is increased still further by copyists, especially when, as in this case, the original is no longer to be had for reference. All our texts and versions of I Esdras are derived as was shown above (p. 36), from the fragment of a single faulty Greek codex. It is only necessary to recollect the large number of almost incredibly distorted proper names else-

<sup>7</sup> Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 66, attempts to show that the palace in Antioch was the original scene, but fails conspicuously at every point.

where in this book, in order to see what we must be prepared to find here. And, in fact, our traditional texts of 4:29 do not contain any form closely resembling either Artabazos or Spitamenes. In the ordinary text of the Egyptian recension, represented by the uncials A, B, and their fellows, the Syro-Hexaplar version, the Ethiopic, and other less important witnesses, the girl Αραμα is called the daughter of "Bartakes" (τὴν θυγατέρα Βαρτάκου). We seem to have conclusive evidence, however, that this was not the reading of the primal Greek fragment out of which "First Esdras" grew. In the Syro-Palestinian recension, found in the Lagarde text and the Latin, we read Βαζακου, or Βεζακου, Lat. *Bezakis*; and as this reading is confirmed by the witness of Josephus, *Ant.* xi, 3, 5, τὸν βασιλέα . . . εἰδὸν ποτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαβεζάκου τοῦ Θεμασίου παιδὸς Ἀπάμης . . . ῥαπιζόμενον, we must accept it as the original reading of our I Esdras fragment. For, (1) it is certain that all our I Esdras texts were derived from the one fragment; (2) Josephus, though he followed a Greek text in *Ezr.-Neh.*, as elsewhere, did *not* have before him the mutilated scrap, "I Esdras," but a complete translation of the Chronicler's book; and (3) it is certain that no I Esdras text was influenced here by Josephus. The Syrian text of 4:29 is thus the original, so far as I Esdras is concerned, reading as follows:

ἐθεώρου ἀπὸν καὶ Ἀπάμην τὴν θυγατέρα Βαζακου τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ, τὴν παλλακὴν τοῦ βασιλέως, καθημέρην ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ βασιλέως, κτέ.

From the form of the name given here, the other forms were derived, through the usual accidents of transmission. In the copying of cursive manuscripts the spelling Βαρτακου arose, probably through an intermediate Βατακου. The prefixed syllable in the reading of Josephus, *Ραβεζακου*,<sup>8</sup> is merely the result of a very ordinary copyist's error, having its origin in the [θυγατέ]ραβεζακου of the Greek text which was Josephus' only source.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A good deal of ingenuity has been wasted on these names. Fritzsche says of the form *Rabezakes* in Josephus, "das wäre *רַבְשָׁקָה*." Ball, in the *Variorum Apocrypha*, cites the Syriac, "Aphūma, daughter of . . . rabba Artak," and remarks that the Greek *Bartak-es* may be a corruption of the latter. Marquart, *Fundamente israelit. u. jüd. Geschichte*, pp. 65 f., seems to me to heap one improbability upon another in the attempt to explain the names in the verse. Regarding the Syriac "Artak," see below.

<sup>9</sup> Notice that a blunder of exactly the same nature had found a place in the Greek text, belonging to the other (Egyptian) recension, which was translated by Paul of Tellā. [θυγατέ]ραβάρτακου resulted in *Ραβάρτακου*, which the Syr.-Hex. reproduces by *رَبَاذَا*. In view of all the proper names and titles beginning with *Rab-*, it is no wonder that this mistake should have been made in more than one place.

We are certainly justified, under the circumstances, in connecting *Bazak-* with *Ἀρτάβαζος*, as e. g., Marquart (*loc. cit.*) has done. If we can suppose the original form of the name to have been *Artabāzak* (Marquart), the problem is at once made easy, for the hypothesis of a very ordinary sort of haplography in the original Aramaic text, by which *בִּרְתַּ [אֲרִת] בִּזְק*, "the daughter of Artabazos," became *בִּרְתַּ בִּזְק*, *τῆν θυγατέρα Βαζακου*, is all that is necessary.

But there is still another point at which the text of this verse in I Esdras is unsatisfactory. The *τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ* must conceal a proper name, for the adjective would be altogether out of place either in Aramaic or in Greek. If a name originally stood here, it was presumably that of the grandfather of Apama; and in the text of Josephus we do, indeed, have such a name, *τοῦ Θεμασίου*. It is true that this does not appear to be a very desirable acquisition, inasmuch as it has seemed probable, since the researches of Nöldeke, that the father of Artabazos III was the satrap Pharnabazos II; still, it is not hard to believe that the narrator of this tale could have been mistaken in such a particular; and as *Θαμάσιος* occurs in Herodotus (vii, 194) as a Persian name, and this is the very form from which the other readings (*Θεμάσιος*, *θαυμάσιος*, *θαυμαστός*) are most easily derived, we shall probably do well to retain it.

The conclusion is, that the heroine of I Esdr. 4:29 was Apama, the daughter of Artabazos ("son of Thamasios" ?), and that the Story of the Youths was written probably while she was still living as queen of Egypt and Palestine, but possibly in the next following generation. The home of the story was Palestine, where the connection with Egypt was then very close, and where the Aramaic language was commonly employed, as we know, for compositions of this nature. Other minor indications, of very little weight in themselves, seem to me to point in the same direction: the freedom with which the writer uses the queen's name; his uncertainty (?) as to the name of her grandfather; and the fact that the first appearance of the story of which we have knowledge was in Judea. At the time when it was inserted in the Chronicler's narrative of the Jews (probably in the early part of the second century B. C.), Palestine was no longer under Egyptian rule, and queen Apama and her history were already forgotten.

It has already been observed (above, pp. 25 f.) that the original

and unexpanded Story of the Youths does not extend beyond 4:42 in our book. It is complete as we have it; even at the end it does not appear that anything is missing; on this point see further below. There is no likelihood that it formed a part of a larger work; as it stands, it is a carefully planned and executed whole, and quite sufficient unto itself. Much might be written as to its literary character and qualities, for it is an admirable composition, but here there is space only for a few general observations.

The scene of the story is laid in Susa, shortly before the advent of Alexander, and it thus belongs to the great group of legends which attached themselves to this turning-point in the history of the East. The description of the king's surpassing power and glory is that with which we are familiar in the tales belonging to the "Alexander cycle." The narrators loved to represent the last Darius as the richest and most glorious of his line. This is exactly what was done, for example, in Dan. 11:2, a verse which is valuable as giving us the popular Palestinian view of Darius Codomannus: "And now I will show thee the truth. Behold, there will arise yet three kings in Persia, but the fourth will be far richer than all the others; and when he has become mighty in his riches, the Lord of All<sup>10</sup> will raise up the kingdom of Yāwān" (i. e., the Seleucid kingdom, in the place of the kingdom of Persia).

There is nothing to show that the story originated in Jewish circles. Against a possible Jewish origin speaks the fact that no mention is made of the Jews or their institutions, from the beginning up to 4:42, which is at all events the last verse of the story in its original form which has reached us.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, the religious element is almost entirely lacking, although the writer's main theme and the development of his thought were such that we should have expected him at least to introduce the mention of God before finishing his hero's discourse on the mightiest and best of all things. How sorely this lack was felt by the early translators is evident from the way in which they have introduced alterations and interpretations in the endeavor to bring in the

<sup>10</sup>As I have shown elsewhere, the missing word שֵׁר is to be restored before הַכֹּל. See my article, "Yāwān and Hellas as designations of the Seleucid Empire," *JAOS*, XXV, 310 f.

<sup>11</sup>The fact that in 4:13 the words "this was Zerubbabel" are secondary is obvious enough. Moreover, it is a poorly executed gloss, for this one name could not suffice to identify the man—hence the additions which we find in the Lagarde Greek, the Syro-Hexaplar version, and other texts. This perhaps makes it more probable that the interpolator himself inserted the name here; he had no need to be more explicit, since the new context of the story, and the subsequent gloss in 5:6, would more than suffice for the identification.

missing religious element (see 4:35, 36, 41, and the notes on these verses).<sup>12</sup> The author may indeed have been a Jew by birth; but this writing cannot be said to belong, in any true sense, to the Jewish national or religious literature; and the probability is strong that it was composed by a gentile. It is worthy of remark that it contains no allusion to, or quotation from, the Old Testament. The only passage which could be taken as possibly showing acquaintance with the Hebrew Scriptures is 4:39; but the resemblance to Deut. 10:17 is not striking, and is probably purely accidental.

This tale of the youths and their contest belongs to the popular "Wisdom Literature" of Syria and Palestine, written in the language and embodying the philosophy and the rhetoric of the time. There were doubtless many such writings, and it is by a stroke of rare good fortune that this one has been preserved to our day. The chief concern of its author, it is plain to see, is with the three "wise sentences" which were uttered. He has no personal interest in the "third youth," who gained the victory, and neither names nor describes him. He does not care especially for the narrative, but cuts it short at all points. His interest is in the three discourses, and the story is told solely for their sake. He does, indeed, give his dialogue a striking historical setting, combining the legends of the great king, and his magnificent court, with a local allusion that must have added considerably to the interest of his readers. But this is merely his literary art; for the history in itself he had no concern.

From the literary point of view, the successive discourses of the three youths are highly interesting. It is evident that the form in which they are cast is well studied; in their structure they doubtless follow the approved models of their time and place. It is a pity that we have not the original Aramaic, so that we might observe the finer points of style and phraseology. The Greek, to be sure, is a close translation, and so far as the framework of the discourses and the construction of their successive paragraphs are concerned, we are nearly as well off as we could be if we were in possession of the original. Neither in the ideas expressed nor in the garb in which they are clothed is there anything that could properly be termed "hellenistic." There is no

<sup>12</sup> It is no wonder that they should have felt that this element must be present, seeing that the speaker of these immortal words was no other than the great leader Zerubbabel, the builder of the temple!





imitation ("eine handgreifliche Nachbildung") of Esth. 1:1-3. But these words must have been written without due consideration, for all the indications point just the other way. Imitation there certainly is. The book of Esther opens with the very same scene with which the Story of the Youths begins; a royal feast in the city of Susa, given to all the officers of the "hundred and twenty-seven provinces, from India to Ethiopia." Then the feast is described; but what had been told in our Story simply and soberly is here so exaggerated as to be merely grotesque. The festival in I Esdras is an affair of a single day; in Esther, the principal entertainment lasts one hundred and eighty days. Darius had feasted certain classes of his retainers, which are named; but "King Ahasuerus" makes a banquet for every human being in Susa, and the banquet lasts seven days. It is certainly not difficult to see on which side the borrowing lies.

The question of the literary relationship between I Esdras and Daniel is less easily settled. There is probably dependence, and the borrower was in that case certainly Daniel. In Dan. 6:2 we have the "hundred and twenty-seven<sup>14</sup> provinces" of Darius' kingdom; and in the following verse the "three presidents," apparently the same who are mentioned in I Esdr. 3:9 as holding the highest position of authority under the king. The coincident use of these two items is not likely to be a mere accident;<sup>15</sup> the natural inference is that there was literary dependence (so also Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 68). Internal evidence then makes it certain that the borrowing, if borrowing there was, was by Daniel. The Darius of Dan. 6:1 ff., 29, is "Darius *the Mede*," who was put before Cyrus; from him, the Story of the Youths was as remote as possible. On the other hand, if we suppose that the author of Dan. 6 intended his king to be *the same* as the one who is mentioned in I Esdr. 3, we shall be driven to the conclusion that the borrowing took place before the Story of the Youths became incorporated in the Chronicler's history; for in our I Esdras, the king who befriended Zerubbabel came not only after Cyrus, but also after Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. This conclusion makes no difficulty for those who believe—as I myself have long felt certain—that the first six chapters of Daniel are

<sup>14</sup>So the old Greek version, which here, as often elsewhere, has preserved the original reading.

<sup>15</sup>Lagarde, as is well known, expressed the opinion (*Mittheilungen*, IV, p. 358) that the Story of the Three Youths originally stood in the book of Daniel, following Dan. 6:1. It is not surprising that he should have made few converts to this view.



older than the rest of the book, and it seems to me to be probable, for every reason.<sup>16</sup> It is not a necessary conclusion, however, for the author of Dan. 6:1 f. may have intended to represent his Darius as instituting customs which continued down to the time of the Persian king Darius Nothus.

After the Story became a part of the history of the Jews, interest was centered more on the three youths themselves than on the wise sayings which they uttered. As a matter of course, all three of them were soon believed to have been Jews. According to the Neapolitan Synopsis, for example (Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, II, p. 84), the two comrades of Zerubbabel on this occasion were Jeshua and Ezra.<sup>17</sup> That which led to the preservation of the Greek Esdras fragment was, of course, not any regard for the true text (those who cared for the text would have been far more likely to destroy the fragment), or for the true course of the history; but solely the personal interest in Zerubbabel and the picturesque story of his life given in this document. For an illustration of the early Christian interest in this hero, see the Lucca old Latin codex (Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, II, p. 19, 3 ff.).

In the translation which here follows, the Story of the Three Youths has been separated from the interpolator's additions, and stands by itself once more, for the first time since 200 B. C. It is also treated for the first time as a translation from an Aramaic original, with an attempt to restore, as far as possible, the meaning of the primitive text. I do not believe that any one, reading the composition as it stands here, will deny to it a very high place in the literature of the ancient Semitic world. In translating the Story and, later on, the additions of the interpolator, I have followed Swete's text, not only because it is the most convenient, but also because it represents that recension of whose readings we are surest here. I have departed from it only in 4:29, for reasons already given. In a preceding chapter (above, pp. 23 ff.) I introduced some evidence showing that our Greek is a rendering of an Aramaic text; many more proofs of the same nature will be found in the notes appended to my translation.

<sup>16</sup>The Story was interpolated in the book of Ezra somewhere near the beginning of the second century B. C., in all probability. If the old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. really lay before Eupolemus, in the middle of that century (see Schröder, *Geschichte des jud. Volkes*<sup>3</sup>, III, 311, 352 f.), there can be little doubt that it was the same translation from which our "I Esdras" fragment was derived.

<sup>17</sup>Ezra and Zerubbabel not infrequently appear together in this way. In the Chronicle of John of Nikiü (ed. Zotenberg, pp. 169, 391) the two are identified.

## II. TRANSLATION

(I Esdras 3: 1—4: 42)

3<sup>1</sup> King Darius made a great feast for all his retainers; namely,<sup>a</sup> all the members of his household, all the nobles of Media and Persia,<sup>2</sup> and all the satraps, captains, and governors under his rule, from India to Ethiopia, in the hundred and twenty-seven provinces.<sup>3</sup> And they ate and drank, and when they were sated they went away. Darius the king also retired to his bed-chamber and slept.

<sup>4</sup>Then stood on the watch<sup>b</sup> the three young guardsmen who protected the person of the king. And they said to one another: <sup>5</sup>Let each one of us name a thing which is mightiest;<sup>c</sup> and to him whose sentence shall seem wisest, Darius the king shall give great gifts and magnificent honors,<sup>d</sup> <sup>6</sup>namely,<sup>e</sup> permission to be clothed in purple, to drink from gold and to sleep upon gold, (to ride in) a chariot with a golden bridle, and (to wear) a tiara of fine linen, and a chain about his neck; <sup>7</sup>and he shall sit next to Darius because of his wisdom, and shall be called Darius' kinsman.<sup>8</sup> So they wrote each his own sentence; and having sealed the writing they put it under the pillow of Darius the king, saying, <sup>9</sup>When the king awakes, the writing shall be given<sup>f</sup> to him; and whose sentence is adjudged by the king and the three lords of Persia to be the wisest, to him shall be awarded the victory, as prescribed. <sup>10</sup>The first wrote, Wine is mightiest. <sup>11</sup>The second

<sup>a</sup>The  $\gamma$  (= *καὶ* 2<sup>o</sup>) is either explicative (cf. the note on vs. 6) or secondary. It is sufficiently obvious, even without the comparison of Esther 1:3, that  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\upsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\pi'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\ \delta\omicron\nu\gamma$  (= probably  $\text{לְכָל עַבְדֵי הַיָּדָיִם}$ ) does not mean all the inhabitants of the Persian realm. The enumeration which follows proceeds from the highest to the lowest of those who were invited. Whether or not the translator here used *οἰκογενής* as a synonym of *συγγενής*, its Aramaic original (very likely  $\text{בֵּיתָה בְּנֵי בֵּיתָה}$ ) certainly meant more than "house-servants"!

<sup>b</sup>See the suggestion for emendation of the Aramaic text which was made in a previous chapter (above, p. 24). Instead of *καὶ ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο. Τότε οἱ τρεῖς νεανίσκοι . . . εἶπαν κτέ.*, a Greek version giving the original meaning would have read in some such way as this: *Καὶ γρηγοροῦντες ἦσαν τότε οἱ τρεῖς νεανίσκοι . . . καὶ εἶπαν κτέ.* The unusual position of the word  $\text{בְּאֲרָיִךְ}$  (= *τότε*) was probably the cause of the misunderstanding (or corruption) of the Aramaic text.

<sup>c</sup>Or, "Let each one of us frame a sentence, (declaring) what thing is mightiest." In any case, our Greek is a mistranslation; see above, p. 24.

<sup>d</sup>The original probably had here a derivative of  $\text{נִצַּח}$ .

<sup>e</sup>Apparently another explicative  $\gamma$ . Cf. the note on vs. 1.

<sup>f</sup> $\text{Δώσουσιν αὐτῷ}$ : the favorite idiom in Aramaic, employing the indefinite third person plural in the place of a passive.

wrote, The king is mightiest. <sup>12</sup>The third wrote, Women are mightiest; but Truth is victor over all things.

<sup>13</sup>So when the king awoke, they took the writing and gave it to him, and he read it. <sup>14</sup>And he sent and summoned all the nobles of Persia and Media, and the satraps, captains, governors, and magistrates;<sup>a</sup> and when they had seated themselves<sup>b</sup> in the hall of audience the writing was read before them. <sup>15</sup>And they said,<sup>c</sup> Call the youths, and they shall expound their sentences. So they were summoned and came in. <sup>16</sup>And they said to them, Discourse to us concerning the things which you have written.

Then the first, who had declared the power of wine, proceeded<sup>d</sup> to speak as follows: <sup>17</sup>Sirs, how mighty a thing is wine! It seduces the wit of all who drink it; <sup>18</sup>It makes of one mind the king and the orphan, the slave and the freeman, the poor and the rich. <sup>19</sup>It turns every mood into gaiety and glee; of distress, or of debt, there is no recollection. <sup>20</sup>It makes all hearts feel rich; there is no remembrance of king or satrap; the discourse is all in talents. <sup>21</sup>Those who have drunk forget friend and brother, and erelong swords are drawn; <sup>22</sup>then, when they wake from the wine, they remember not what they have done. <sup>23</sup>Sirs, is not<sup>e</sup> the wine mightiest, since it can thus compel? When he had thus spoken, he ceased.

**4**<sup>1</sup> Then the second youth, who had declared the power of the king, spoke<sup>f</sup> as follows. <sup>2</sup>Sirs, are not men mighty, since they rule the land and the sea, and all that is in them? <sup>3</sup>But the king is mightier still, for he is their lord and master; in all that he commands them they obey him. <sup>4</sup>If he orders<sup>g</sup> them to war with

<sup>a</sup> Compare the enumeration of officers in Dan. 3:2, where the first four titles, in the old Greek translation, are the same and in the same order as here.

<sup>b</sup> Read *ἐκάθισαν*, plural, with the Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, and the following context.

<sup>c</sup> Read *εἶπαν*, plural, with the Syriac and vs. 16.

<sup>d</sup> The use of *ἤρξατο* in this narrative (also 4:1, 13; cf. further 4:44, where *ἤρξατο* must be read in place of the first *ἠύξατο*) suggests the well-known Aramaic usage, in which a conventional and often almost meaningless **רר** is prefixed to the narrating verb. See Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 29; J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1906), I, 15.

<sup>e</sup> Compare the rhetorical question introduced by **אִלֵּן** in Dan. 4:27, where Theodotion's translation has *οὐχ*, as here.

<sup>f</sup> Concerning *ἤρξατο*, see the note on 3:16.

<sup>g</sup> *Εἶπη* for the Aramaic **רמס**, "command."

one another, they do it. If he sends them out against the enemy, they go, and overcome mountains, walls, and towers. <sup>5</sup> They slay, and are slain, but the king's command they transgress not. If they conquer, they bring all the booty to him; and when they make raids for plunder, whatever they take <sup>a</sup> is his. <sup>6</sup> They also, in turn, who serve not as soldiers, who go not to war, but cultivate the soil; as often as they sow, of the harvest they carry to the king; yea, each constrains his fellow to bring tribute to the king. <sup>(7)</sup> And yet he is one man only.<sup>b</sup> <sup>7</sup> If he orders to slay, they slay; if to spare, they spare; if to smite, they smite. <sup>8</sup> If he orders to lay waste, they lay waste; if to build, they build. <sup>9</sup> If he orders to cut down, they cut down; if to plant, they plant.<sup>c</sup> <sup>10</sup> All his people and his armies obey him. He, furthermore, reclines; he eats and drinks, and then sleeps; <sup>11</sup> but they keep watch round about him; no one may depart to do his own work, nor may any oppose his will. <sup>12</sup> Sirs, how shall not the king be mightiest, since he is thus obeyed? And he ceased.

<sup>13</sup> Then the third, who had spoken of women, and of truth (this was Zerubbabel<sup>d</sup>) took up<sup>e</sup> the word. <sup>14</sup> Sirs, is not the king

<sup>a</sup> It is quite possible that ἀλλα correctly represents the original Aramaic text; but if this is so, the writer at least expressed himself awkwardly. As Fritzsche observes, the ancient versions and copyists, as well as modern translators, have been troubled by this clause. It may be that the original contained a form derived from the root אָהַר "take, seize," instead of one from אָהַר, "other."

<sup>b</sup> This clause, *καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς μόνος ἐστίν*, is better joined to the preceding than to the following verse. So far as the Greek is concerned, it might be connected either way, though the reading of the Lagarde text seems to join it to the preceding. Our present verse-division here is due to the influence of the Latin translation; the other versions are non-committal. Such translations as that of Guthe, "Er allein ist einzig!" (following Fritzsche) miss the true meaning. The Aramaic could not have expressed such an idea in these words. The original was unquestionably: *וְהוּא יְהוָה יֶבְרַח הַיָּם*. Compare Josh. 22:20, *וְהוּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, where the Greek renders by *καὶ οὗτος εἰς μόνος*. With the phrase as used here cf. Judith 1:11, where it is said that the rebellious nations did not fear Nebuchadnezzar, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν ὡς ἀνὴρ εἰς.

<sup>c</sup> These sentences, vss. 7-9, have a decidedly Aramaic sound. This persistent omission of conjunctions and conditional particles, after the opening clause, would be less likely in Hebrew.

<sup>d</sup> These words were not in the original story, which made no mention of the Jews. The gloss was added either by the one who interpolated the story in the Chronicler's history, or by a still earlier hand.

<sup>e</sup> See the note on 3:16.

great; and are not the sons of men mighty;<sup>a</sup> and the wine, is it not powerful? Who now is it that rules all these, that governs them, is it not woman? <sup>15</sup>Of woman the king was born; and all the people who rule the sea and the land <sup>(16)</sup>were born of women.<sup>b</sup> <sup>16</sup>They nourished the men who planted the vineyards whence the wine comes.<sup>c</sup> <sup>17</sup>It is they who give grace to mankind,<sup>d</sup> and without them men could not live. <sup>18</sup>If men have gathered gold and silver, and aught else precious, and see a woman comely in form and feature,<sup>e</sup> <sup>19</sup>leaving all this they gape at her, and with open mouth they gaze upon her; yea, all choose her above gold and silver and everything precious. <sup>20</sup>A man forsakes his own father, who brought him up, and his native land, and joins himself to his wife; <sup>21</sup>to her he abandons himself,<sup>f</sup> and remembers not father, nor mother, nor country. <sup>22</sup>Hence also you may know<sup>g</sup> that women rule you: do you not labor and toil, and then bring all and give it to women? <sup>23</sup>A man takes his<sup>h</sup> sword, and goes forth to

<sup>a</sup> Πολλοί is an obvious mistranslation of רברבין. Cf. vs. 2 and 15; the meaning "mighty" is absolutely necessary.

<sup>b</sup>On the relation of the Greek translation to the Aramaic text of these clauses, see above, p. 24. The original was: נשין וְלִקְהָה מַלְכָא וְכָל עַמָּא דִּי שְׁלֵט בִּימָא וּבִארְעָא מְנַהֵן הוּוּ.

<sup>c</sup>In the Syriac (Hexaplar) version, instead of *על הגן? שמעון? הסן*, which is attested by all the MSS, the reading should be *על הגן שמעון הסן*.

<sup>d</sup>In all probability, the original Aramaic was something like *והנין עבדן יהיין לאישא*. The object of the verb was a word which meant "adornment," and could be understood in either one of two ways; see also my note above, p. 24. Our Greek gives us two translations: *καὶ αὐταὶ ποιοῦσιν τὰς στολὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων* side by side with *καὶ αὐταὶ ποιοῦσιν δόξαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. (The L text tries to escape this awkwardness by transposing the *στολὰς* clause into vs. 16, where it is obviously out of place.) For the likelihood of such an ambiguity, cf. such passages as Ps. 29:2, and I Macc. 14:9, *ἐνεδόσαντο δόξας καὶ στολὰς πολέμου* (where in the original Hebrew צבא = *πολέμου* was a copyist's mistake for צביר).

<sup>e</sup>How is it possible to suppose that a Greek author composing these lines would have perpetrated such an unnatural and unnecessary barbarism as *καλὴν τῆ εἶδει καὶ τῆ κάλλει*? But we expect that sort of thing from a translator.

<sup>f</sup>The Greek, *καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀφίησι τὴν ψυχὴν*, plainly represents the Aramaic *וְיָלַק אַחַתְהָא שְׂבָק בְּשָׂמָהּ*, lit., *et apud mulierem suam se relinquit*, which the translator misunderstood.

<sup>g</sup>The use of the Greek *δει* suggests Aramaic *וְיָלַק* or *וְיָרַק* or *וְיָרִיד*, but not any Hebrew idiom.

<sup>h</sup>In the Syriac, instead of *סַבְרָה* (so all the MSS) we must read *סַבְרָה*.

raid, and to rob and steal; he sails over seas and rivers,<sup>a</sup> <sup>24</sup> faces the lion, and makes his way through the darkness. Then, when he has stolen, plundered, and robbed, he brings all to his love. <sup>25</sup> A man loves his wife far more<sup>b</sup> than father or mother: <sup>26</sup> for women, many have parted from their wits; for them they have been made slaves; <sup>27</sup> yea, many have been ruined, have fallen, and perished,<sup>c</sup> for woman's sake. <sup>28</sup> And now, will you not believe me? Is not the king great in his power? Do not all countries fear to touch him? <sup>29</sup> Yet I saw<sup>d</sup> the king's concubine, Apama,<sup>e</sup> the daughter of Artabazos son of Thamasios, sitting at the king's right hand; <sup>30</sup> I saw her snatch the crown from his head, and place it upon her own; with her left hand she slapped the king. <sup>31</sup> In spite of all this,<sup>f</sup> the king gazed upon her with open mouth. As oft as she smiled upon him, he laughed; if she became vexed, he wheedled, that he might be restored to favor. . <sup>32</sup> Sirs, must not the women be mighty, seeing they do such things as these?

<sup>33</sup> Then the king and the nobles looked at one another.<sup>g</sup> Thereupon he went on<sup>h</sup> to speak of truth. <sup>34</sup> Sirs, are not women

<sup>a</sup> *Eis τὴν θάλασσαν πλεῖν* is not Greek; the *eis* merely reproduces an Aramaic **ܐܝܢ**. If **ܐܝܢ** was the verb used, we know from the Syriac that it was regularly construed with this preposition.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek *πλείον . . . μάλλον* suggests at once the Aramaic **ܐܝܢܐ . . . ܡܐܠܠܘܢ**; the Hebrew has no idiom which would fit exactly here.

<sup>c</sup> Greek *ἡμάρτησαν*, but we may be certain that this singularly feeble antithesis did not exist in the original. The Syriac does not render by **ܐܝܢܐ**, but chooses a verb (**ܥܘܪܐ**) which may mean either "err" or "be ruined;" and doubtless some such word stood in the Aramaic.

<sup>d</sup> Guthe has: Und doch schauten sie (!) ihn.

<sup>e</sup> On this name, and the other names in the verse, see above. The Latin of the Lucca codex (Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien*, II, 17), mentioned above, has here: *et Debannapenem* [Lag. edits, *Debanna pemem*] *filia Bezzachi . . . concubina regis sedentem vidi circa regem*. Lagarde did not attempt to explain this, but only observed that the latter part of this singular word ("des sonderbaren Worts") contained the name *Ἀθήμη*. The rest is simply a mutilated [*vi*]*debam*, which rendered the Greek *ἑθεώρουν*. This Lucca text is derived from a close translation of the Syrian Greek recension.

<sup>f</sup> The Greek *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις*, "moreover," is probably a mistranslation of **ܐܝܢܐ ܕܝܢܐ**.

<sup>g</sup> There is no need to attempt, as Fritzsche and others have done, to explain the singular "idiom" *ἔβλεπον εἰς τὸν ἕτερον*. Even Codex B may suffer from scribal errors, and in this case the original was unquestionably *ἔβλεπον εἰς εἰς τὸν ἕτερον*—this being the preposition with which the verb in this sense is most commonly construed. One *eis* fell out by accident.

<sup>h</sup> See the note on 3:16.



mighty? Great is the earth, and lofty the sky, and swift the sun in his course, for he rounds the circuit of the heavens, and returns again to his place in a single day. <sup>35</sup> Is not he great who does this? But<sup>a</sup> truth is greatest and mightiest of all.<sup>b</sup> <sup>36</sup> All the earth invokes truth, and the heavens praise her; and all created things<sup>c</sup> totter and tremble . . . .<sup>d</sup> and with her<sup>e</sup> is no error<sup>f</sup> at all. <sup>37</sup> Perverse is the wine, perverse is the king, perverse are women; perverse are all the children of men, and all their works, all such alike, if<sup>g</sup> truth abide not in them; and in their perversity they shall perish. <sup>38</sup> But truth endures, and grows ever stronger; yea, lives and prevails for ever and ever. <sup>39</sup> With her is<sup>h</sup> no

<sup>a</sup> Could any Greek writer, not a translator, have been content to use *καί* for the conjunction both here and at the beginning of vs. 38?

<sup>b</sup> The addition of *παρά* to the comparative degree of the adjective probably translates *בְּרִיךְ מִן*. Cf. the Syriac.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἔργα* probably translating *עֲבִידָתָא*.

<sup>d</sup> It seems probable that something is missing here, perhaps only a few words. What we have in our present text is not sufficient to give the third clause of the verse a satisfactory connection with its surroundings, nor to prepare the way for the last clause. We might imagine some such progress of the thought as this: "And all created things totter and tremble [before her, for she alone is perfect,] and with her is no error at all." It must be remembered that all our manuscripts and versions are derived from a single faulty Greek codex, which in turn represented a translation made from a more or less imperfect Aramaic text.

<sup>e</sup> The only well attested reading is *μετ' αὐτοῦ*, "with him." Thus both the Lagarde text and the Egyptian text (represented by the codices A, B, and their fellows). The reason for the choice of the masculine pronoun was of course the desire to find, or to introduce, the mention of God in this most important passage, especially after the seeming mention of him in the words *ὁς ταῦτα ποιεῖ*, in the preceding verse; see further the note on vs. 40. In all probability, Josephus had before him the reading *μετ' αὐτοῦ*; at all events, he adopts the interpretation which it embodies. Since the Greek translation was made after this story had become a part of the Chronicler's history, it is most likely that the translator himself chose the masculine pronoun here. But in the original, the suffix pronoun certainly referred to "Truth." The necessity of this is so obvious that some Greek codices and the Latin version have corrected accordingly.

<sup>f</sup> It is a pity that we do not know what Aramaic words are rendered by *ἀλήθεια* and *ἀδικία*, in these verses. Supposing the former to have been *קִשְׁטָא*, the latter would have been some such word as *קִרְיָא* (literally "crookedness").

<sup>g</sup> According to the conjecture already made; above, p. 25.

<sup>h</sup> *καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρ' αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν κτέ.* is an unusual way of saying in Greek "She does not accept," etc. The original was *וְלֹא אָחַז לְרַחֵם לְמִסְבָּה אֶפְסָן*. How natural this form of words is in Aramaic may be seen from Deut. 10: 17, where the Hebrew has simply *לֹא יִשָּׂא פָנָיו*, while the Targum replaces this by the same idiom which we have here.



respect of persons, nor seeking of profit,<sup>a</sup> but she executes judgment on<sup>b</sup> all the evil and wicked. All approve her acts, <sup>(40)</sup> and in her judgment there is no injustice.<sup>c</sup> <sup>40</sup> And hers<sup>d</sup> is the might, and the kingdom, and the power, and the majesty for ever and ever.<sup>e</sup> Blessed of God is<sup>f</sup> truth! <sup>41</sup> And he ceased speaking.<sup>g</sup> Then all the people cried out, saying, Great is truth, and mightiest of all!

<sup>42</sup> Then the king said to him: Ask what thou wilt, above what was prescribed, and we will give it thee, since thou art proved wisest; and thou shalt sit beside me, and be called my kinsman.

### III. THE INTERPOLATOR'S ADDITIONS

It is most likely that the story in its original form ended at this point (the end of verse 42) and in just this way. It is true that the king is made to say: "Ask what thou wilt, above what was prescribed, and we will give it thee;" but it is quite probable that this was merely a picturesque oriental flourish, and that the hearers or readers were left to imagine for themselves what,

<sup>a</sup> Διάφορα here in the post-classical sense "rewards" or "gifts;" the meaning being that Truth, as judge, neither regards persons nor takes bribes. Cf. II Chron. 19:7, οὐκ ἔστιν μετὰ Κυρίου θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀδικία οὐδὲ θανμάσαι πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δῶρα, a parallel which is interesting in view of the fact that the two passages are presumably quite independent of each other.

<sup>b</sup> The Greek ἀπὸ translating ܐܢܝܢ. On the Aramaic idiom here, found also Ezra 7:26, see above, p. 25.

<sup>c</sup> On the reading of the Hexaplar Syriac in this clause, see above, p. 5.

<sup>d</sup> We must of course read either αὐτῆς or αὐτῆ. The former (which is perhaps more likely to have been the original, if the Aramaic was ܕܝܠܗ) is the reading of the Lagarde text; the latter that of the Egyptian recension.

<sup>e</sup> This sentence may well have been the origin of the doxology which has been appended to the Lord's Prayer in Matt. 6:13.

<sup>f</sup> The reading of the Greek, εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας, "blessed is the God of truth," is manifestly unsuitable. If the speaker had intended to advance from the praise of truth to that of God, he would have needed to begin sooner. The least that we could require of him would be that he should indicate the relation of God to truth. Verse 41, moreover, ignores any ascription of praise to God in the closing words of the discourse. Evidently, our present reading is due to the same interpretation or redaction which found or introduced the mention of the deity in vs. 35 and 36. The original was presumably מְבָרַךְ אֱלֹהֵהּ קִשְׁטָא, "Blessed of God is truth," the construct state being employed in the manner familiar from the Old Testament. In all probability, the Greek translator is the one who should be held responsible for the misinterpretation both here and in vs. 36; see the note there. It is of course possible that the whole clause is a later addition.

<sup>g</sup> The Greek (!) phrase, καὶ ἐσιώπησε τοῦ λαλεῖν, renders the Aramaic ܪܫܟܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ; cf. for example the Targum of Job 32:1.

if anything, it was that the young soldier requested. Certain it is, at all events, that verse 42 as a whole was not written by the interpolator, for he would not have ended it in this way; the last clause only serves to interrupt his undertaking. If we suppose that the tale originally had another conclusion, which he has replaced by his own, it is not of the least use to try to conjecture what that conclusion was.

As has already been remarked, it was probably the interpolator himself who inserted the gloss, "this was Zerubbabel," in 4:13; and he now proceeds, with manifest skill, to effect the transition to the Chronicler's narrative of the returning Jews and the help given them by Cyrus. Only four verses (43-47 a) are needed at this point, namely the following:

<sup>43</sup> Then he said to the king: Remember the vow which thou didst make, to build Jerusalem in the day when thou shouldst receive thy kingdom,<sup>18</sup> <sup>44</sup> and to send back all the vessels which were taken from Jerusalem, which Cyrus when he first<sup>19</sup> conquered Babylon brought away,<sup>20</sup> but vowed<sup>21</sup> to return them thither; <sup>45</sup> and thou didst promise to build the temple which the Edomites burned<sup>22</sup> when Judea was laid waste by the Chaldeans. <sup>46</sup> And now, this is the thing which I ask, my lord the king, and for which I make request of thee, since such munificence is thine;<sup>23</sup> I ask that thou perform the vow which thou didst row to the King of Heaven<sup>24</sup> with thine own lips to perform. <sup>47</sup> Then Darius the king arose, and kissed him; and | wrote for him letters, etc.

<sup>18</sup> From the order of the words in the Greek, coupled with our knowledge of the closeness of this rendering, it is evident that the connection of clauses is that which I have given in the translation: Darius had vowed to do these things when he should come to the throne. According to the interpolator, this feast at the Persian capital took place at or very near the beginning of Darius' reign. This is also made necessary by the sequel: the altar was built by the returned exiles "in the seventh month" (of the first year of Darius), I Esdr. 5:46; the foundation of the temple was first laid "in the second year in the second month," 5:55; and the interrupted work of building was renewed before the end of this same year, thanks to the efforts of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, 6:1. All this chronology is flatly contradicted by 5:6, to be sure; see below, pp. 60 f.

<sup>19</sup> We must read ἤρξατο in place of the first ἠξιατο; cf. the note on 3:16. I see that Gaab (cited in Fritzsche) has anticipated me in this conjecture.

<sup>20</sup> The Greek has ἐχώρισεν, "set apart," which might do here, but would not do in vs. 57, where it is used in a similar context. The reading ἐξεχώρισεν, found in codex A, and preferred by Fritzsche, is only a correction, and a poor one at that, for the verb ἐχώρισεν is ordinarily intransitive. The interpolator's theory of the temple vessels was this: When Cyrus took Babylon, he carried away some of these vessels to Susa, with the other plunder; the rest of them, which were still in Babylon, he sent to Jerusalem by Sheshbazzar, promising to send the remainder (those in Susa) at some later time. See also vs. 57 and the note there. In both verses, 44 and 57, the original had a verb which meant to "bring forth" or "carry away" (here probably פָּשַׁח); and this was misunderstood by the translator.

<sup>21</sup> The *voluit* of the Latin version here must originally have been *vorit*.

<sup>22</sup> Interesting as embodying the popular tradition in Palestine in the third century B. C.

<sup>23</sup> On the Aramaic text of this clause, see above, p. 29, note.

<sup>24</sup> An unusual and interesting title; also vs. 58, Dan. 4:34 (cf. 5:23).

At this point, the Chronicler's Hebrew narrative was reached. The verse began with the words: "And Cyrus the king wrote for him (i. e., Sheshbazzar) letters," etc. This the interpolator altered skilfully, as usual. Up to this point the Aramaic language had been used (see above, pp. 29f.); now Hebrew took its place. The transition, it should be observed, was a particularly easy one, inasmuch as the vocabulary of this verse and of the verses immediately following is almost identically the same in the two languages. The Jewish reader of that day would not have been disturbed by the change, and, indeed, might not have noticed it at all until several verses of the Hebrew had been read.

By this first editorial insertion, the interpolator gave the Story of the Youths its connection with Jewish history. Darius the king is asked by the victorious youth to fulfil his promises, (1) to build Jerusalem; (2) to send to Jerusalem the temple vessels which Cyrus had carried from Babylon to Susa, but had promised to restore to the Jews; (3) to build the temple in Jerusalem. It is noteworthy, and another striking illustration of the self-restraint of the interpolator, that in these verses not a word is said regarding the expedition of Zerubbabel and his friends to Jerusalem! This youth was one of the three bodyguardsmen of the king; he does not even ask for leave of absence, however, but takes himself off (vs. 61) as a matter of course. The company of Jews which now sets out from Babylonia is a very large one; but the youth does not request, nor suggest, that they be allowed to go, nor is any formal permission given. The way in which it is simply taken for granted, in vs. 47, that "he" and "those with him" are going up to people Jerusalem, is one of the most satisfactory bits of incidental evidence that the juncture of the patch with the main narrative—the continuation of Ezra 1: 1–11—comes at just this point. Verses 47 ff. cannot possibly be regarded as the sequel of 43–46.

A second patch was necessary after verse 56, at the point where the prescriptions of the king for the returning exiles came to an end. First of all, the interpolator had need to introduce mention of his second instalment of temple vessels, in accordance with verse 44. Moreover, the need of some transition from the palace in Susa to the Jews in Babylonia, mentioned in the next verse of the Chronicler, was sufficiently obvious. The inter-

polator fills these needs easily, as usual. He also improves the opportunity, in narrating the exit of the youth from the palace, to introduce a little of the religious element which is so noticeably lacking in the preceding tale. The five verses (originally Hebrew) which constitute this patch read as follows:

<sup>57</sup> *And he sent forth all the vessels which Cyrus had brought<sup>25</sup> from Babylon; and all which Cyrus had ordered to be made, he himself commanded to make<sup>26</sup> and send to Jerusalem.*

<sup>58</sup> *And when the youth went forth, lifting up his face to heaven toward Jerusalem,<sup>27</sup> he blessed the King of Heaven,<sup>28</sup> saying: <sup>59</sup>From thee is victory, and from thee wisdom;<sup>29</sup> thine is the glory, and I am thy servant. <sup>60</sup>Blessed art thou, who hast given me wisdom; and to thee I give thanks, O Lord of our fathers. <sup>61</sup>So he took the letters and went forth,<sup>30</sup> and came to Babylon and told all his brethren. | <sup>62</sup>And they blessed the God of their fathers, etc.*

With verse 62 the Chronicler's narrative is resumed; and after this point the work of the interpolator's hand is seen only in 5:2, where the name "Cyrus" is changed to "Darius," and in 5:6, where both this change of name and also other alterations have been made (see below).

This latter verse, 5:6, is a good illustration of the difficulties with which the interpolator was confronted in his attempt to make the best of an impossible task. In some particulars, to be sure, his expanded version of the history might have seemed even more plausible than that of the Chronicler (it has been preferred in recent times, for instance, by so acute a scholar as Sir Henry Howorth).<sup>31</sup> Thus, in the Chronicler's narrative the career of Zerubbabel is extended over more than a hundred years, from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus down to the first years of the reign of Darius II Nothus.<sup>32</sup> It is, of course, unfair to impose our chronology upon the Chronicler, who not only made the reign of Darius I Hystaspis precede that of Cyrus, but also may have thought the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I shorter than we

<sup>25</sup> The Greek has ἐχέουσεν, but the Hebrew original probably had צִיָּוָה; see the note on verse 44.

<sup>26</sup> The Hebrew text here was very likely corrupt.

<sup>27</sup> So also in the contemporaneous writings Dan. 6:11; Tobit 3:11f.

<sup>28</sup> See the note on verse 46.

<sup>29</sup> If the author of the Story of the Youths were writing this verse, we should expect him at least to add: "and with thee is truth!"

<sup>30</sup> Namely, from Susa. I do not know that any commentator has ever tried to explain the words, "and came to Babylon," in this verse.

<sup>31</sup> See also Marquart, *Fundamente*, pp. 42, 65.

<sup>32</sup> See above, p. 38.

know them to have been; but even so, his life of Zerubbabel is too long, and the scenes in it are much too far apart.<sup>33</sup> But in the interpolated edition of the history, the dramatic unity is as perfect as any one could wish. Zerubbabel, the young Hebrew, is one of the most trusted attendants of the Persian king. Sent by him to Jerusalem with a large company, as a reward for his wise discourse, he restores the Jewish community; builds the altar of burnt-offerings; lays the foundation of the temple; repulses the wicked Samaritans and their allies; is stopped by them in his work, but begins it again almost immediately, before the end of the same "second year;" secures an edict of the king in his favor; and finishes the work in triumph. And all this happens within the space of six years! It is no wonder that this revised version of the history became so popular as to supplant completely the older version. But the interpolator's triumph was a very precarious one, for his improved story of Zerubbabel contained such contradictions as could never stand the test of a critical examination. Either he was not fully aware of these contradictions (interpolators very often fail to see all the consequences of their work), or else he shared the current dislike of erasing the written word, and was willing to rest his fate on popular approval and elastic exegesis. At all events, he allowed such telltale verses as I Esdr. 5:53 *b* (= Ezra 3:7), 68 (= Ezra 4:3), 70 (= Ezra 4:5), and the date in I Esdr. 5:6, to remain in their places. In I Esdr. 5:70, for example, after the narrative which tells how Zerubbabel and his companions, in the second year of their return to Jerusalem (verse 54), in the reign of Darius, began to build the temple, but were stopped by their enemies, we read that these enemies "hindered the completion of the building during all the lifetime of king Cyrus, so that the building was stopped until the reign of king Darius!"<sup>34</sup> Here the only refuge of the interpolator would be in the very lame explanation that the verse was merely a retrospect, its meaning being that these enemies were able to stop the work of building from the time when the foundation was laid by Sheshbazzar down to the time of Darius. Even more troublesome is the verse I Esdr. 5:6, to which allusion has been made.

<sup>33</sup>This was the Chronicler's own fault, to be sure, and the necessary result of his choosing to make Jeshua and Zerubbabel the leaders of his great "return" under king Cyrus. They were already known, from the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, to have flourished under a "Darius," who, from the chronology current among the Jews in the last three centuries B. C., could have been only Darius Nothus.

<sup>34</sup>The text appears to be slightly corrupt here; cf. the Hebrew, and also 6:1 (= Ezra 5:1).

This originally contained the Chronicler's date of the return from the exile: "in the second year of the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, in the month Nisan, on the first day of the month." The interpolator gave this a connection with the mention of Zerubbabel, just preceding, and made out of it: "who spoke wise words before Darius king of Persia, in the second year of his reign, in the month Nisan, on the first day of the month." But even with this alteration, the date is absolutely impossible in the interpolated history. There is no process, however violent, by which it can be brought into agreement with the dates which follow, in 5:46, 55, 6:1. The interpolator may have seen this difficulty and defied it, but it is more likely that it escaped his notice. He was probably not especially interested in chronology, and found it easy to overlook such details as these.

In spite of its glaring contradictions, the interpolated edition of the history became the popular one, thanks to the discourses of the three youths and to the improved story of Zerubbabel, and in a short time had completely supplanted the original form; so completely, in fact, that not a trace of the uninterpolated work has come down to us, whether in manuscript or version, in Jewish or Christian tradition.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup>As was shown above, pp. 3 f., our canonical Ezra is merely a mutilated recension of the interpolated book. This will be further demonstrated in the sequel.



## IV

### THE APPARATUS FOR THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CHRONICLES—EZRA—NEHEMIAH

I did not at first intend to devote a separate chapter to this subject, as I did not wish to take the time and space which would be necessary. But in the process of editing and annotating the portions of the text which are to follow, it became evident that some extended justification of my critical procedure would be indispensable. The original plan of setting forth the most necessary facts in an introductory page or two, to be supplemented by subsequent footnotes, might have left room for the suspicion of arbitrary or hasty methods. Other considerations, moreover, seem to make it especially desirable that I should give here some clear account, however brief and imperfect, of those parts of the apparatus regarding which I feel able to speak with confidence. The chief of these considerations are the following: (1) No critical use has ever been made of the versions of these books, nor even of any one Greek version or recension.<sup>1</sup> (2) No attempt has been made to determine or state the principles of such critical use. (3) The conclusions which I have already reached and stated<sup>2</sup> in regard to some of the versions and recensions of the Ezra history are so revolutionary as to need all the added corroboration of this nature that can be given them.

(4) Many other facts, hitherto unobserved, regarding manuscripts and versions and their characteristics and mutual relations

<sup>1</sup>I do not wish to seem to deal unfairly with those recent publications in which some attempt has been made to emend the massoretic text of the one or the other of these books: Kittel's *Books of Chronicles*, 1895; Guthe-Batten's *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 1901; these being the reconstructed Hebrew-Aramaic text of the *Polychrome Bible*; also Benzinger's *Bücher der Chronik*, 1901; Kittel's *Bücher der Chronik*, 1902; Siegfried's *Ezra, Nehemia und Esther*, 1901; Bertholet's *Ezra und Nehemia*, 1902; and Marti's edition of the Aramaic portions of Ezra in his *Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache*, 1896. But in the following pages sufficient evidence will be given to justify fully the assertion that no one of these attempts, so far as its treatment of text and versions is concerned, deserves to be called "critical." In all of these cases the procedure is without any fixed principles, or any preliminary study of either text or versions with a view to ascertaining their character. Moreover, no one of these scholars shows any approach to thoroughness in his employment of the materials which he actually attempts to use. If in any instance the criticism of the text went so far as to include the careful taking of the testimony of even codex B (ordinarily called "the Septuagint") throughout the whole extent of the book or passage treated, the evidence of this fact at least does not appear, while numerous indications seem to show the contrary.

<sup>2</sup>Especially in chap. ii, *passim*; also in my *Composition of Ezra-Neh.*



are so important as to deserve some treatment here, at least in outline. In particular, the proof of the very momentous fact that Theodotion was the author of our "canonical" Greek version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. ought at last to be rendered.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. NATURE OF THE TEXT-CRITICAL PROBLEM

In our Hebrew-Aramaic tradition of the Chronicler's history, we have a text which is neither one of the well-preserved of those which constitute the Old Testament, nor yet among the very worst. The many lists of names have been carelessly handled, and are in correspondingly bad condition. The narrative portions read smoothly on the whole—smoothly, that is, when their authorship is taken into account—but nevertheless give plain evidence of being corrupt in many places. The trouble lies not merely in single words and phrases, but also in the apparent misplacement of a few long passages, one of which consists of several chapters. There is ground for the suspicion, moreover, that one or more passages of importance have been lost from our massoretic recension. There is good evidence of a gap after Ezra 1:11; something is plainly missing between 6:5 and 6:6; while the presence of the Story of the Youths in I Esdras suggests its own important problems.

When we come to the testimony of the Greek versions, we are confronted with two somewhat widely differing forms of the history. One of them agrees quite closely with MT, and has the same extent and arrangement; the other—obviously a mere fragment—begins near the end of Chronicles and extends not quite through the story of Ezra. During the part of the history covered by the two in common, the difference between them lies in (1) the words and phrases of the narrative, the divergence here (i. e., in the Greek) being very great; (2) the position of extended passages; (3) material of very considerable amount found in the one recension but not in the other. We have in the Greek, moreover, clear testimony to two differing Semitic texts, the differ-

<sup>3</sup> The following discussion of the critical apparatus is only fragmentary, leaving a good many highly important matters either half treated or not touched upon at all. It contains the things in which I have happened to be especially interested, being in the main based upon collations made and facts observed by me twelve years ago, in the course of my study of the literary and historical problems of Ezra-Neh.; and the conclusions are the same, with some slight modification, as those which I then reached. But though the discussion is incomplete, I believe that it will at least lay a sure foundation for further investigation.

ence being such as to suggest either a long history of transmission along independent lines, or else an unusual amount of freedom in the handling of the texts. Of course, both of these causes might have been operative. And finally, each one of the two main forms of the narrative, the "canonical" and the "apocryphal," has come down to us in a double Greek tradition, the one embodied in Lagarde's edition,<sup>4</sup> and the other contained in the most of the existing manuscripts, including the codices (A, B, N) used in Swete's *Old Testament in Greek*. That is, for a portion of the Chronicler's history amounting to about thirteen chapters, we have at every point to compare four Greek texts.

Of other versions, aside from the Latin of Jerome, which was made from our Hebrew-Aramaic recension, we have to take into account three renderings of the I Esdras Greek, namely, the Syriac (the work of Paul of Tellā), the Ethiopic, and the old Latin. The Syriac and Arabic versions of the canonical Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. have long been known to be late and well-nigh worthless—the Arabic absolutely so—and any attempt to make a critical use or "investigation" of them is a waste of time.

It is evident from this statement of the case that the solution of the textual problem is to be gained chiefly from an examination of the Greek recensions. We need to know the relative age—and, if possible, the actual age—of the two (or more) Greek translations; the principles according to which they were made, and the extent to which they can be trusted; their mutual relations; the character and quality of the Semitic text which lies behind the Greek I Esdras. And it is obviously very important (as it is everywhere else in the Old Testament) to inquire minutely into the history of the transmission of the text, finding out how and to what extent the original readings have been accidentally or deliberately changed, and distinguishing carefully the divergent lines of tradition which can be recognized. What is the real significance, for textual criticism, of the two recensions which are contained, respectively, in the editions of Swete and Lagarde? What manuscripts, or families of manuscripts, are especially noteworthy? We have one absolutely sure witness to the "Septuagint" text of Origen, in the Syro-Hexaplar version of I Esdras and a

<sup>4</sup> *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece*, Gottingae, 1883.

part of Nehemiah; which of our Greek MSS stand nearest to this version? In a word: On what principles shall one proceed who wishes to study critically the Hebrew-Aramaic text of these books with the aid of this unusually complicated and unusually interesting apparatus?

These are all questions which must be answered before any satisfactory criticism of the text of any part of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. can be undertaken. Up to the present time, the most of these questions have not even been raised, and not one of them has been answered with any approach to correctness. An unscholarly use of "the LXX" has been, more than any other one thing, the bane of modern Old Testament study; and if there is any portion of the Old Testament in which the consequences have been especially mischievous, that portion is Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. Those who have attempted to emend the Semitic text of these books by the aid of the Greek have been wont to take at random any seemingly useful "reading" of the nearest available text of the canonical Greek, or of I Esdras, choosing in each case either codex B (one of the worst possible MSS, as it happens) or "Lucian," as the need of the occasion may decide, treating all alike, and usually without making any attempt to criticize the Greek itself, or to go behind the text-reading of the edition which happens to be used. Few of those who have dealt at length with Chron., Ezra-Neh., or I Esdras, have attempted to state what conclusions, if any, they have reached in regard to text and versions. A. Klostermann's article "Ezra und Nehemia," in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*<sup>3</sup>, has an account of the several versions of these two "books" which contains a good many acute observations as to details, but does not give much help in matters which are of primary importance. It is remarkable, moreover, that in his whole discussion he should make no mention at all of the I Esdras version. Even a brief examination of this "apocryphon" might have shown him its fundamental significance.

An introductory word in regard to the *Hexapla*. I have already (above, pp. 1-4) touched upon the status of the Chron.-Ezr. books in Origen's great work, and the apparent lack of Hexaplaric material in the MSS which are now known. As for Origen's fifth column, containing his "LXX" text, I shall show in the sequel that we have extremely good information in regard to it. Concerning the other Hexaplaric versions of these books next to

nothing has hitherto been known. Field's *Hexapla* has the appearance of containing some material here, but really gives hardly anything more than a collation of L with the received text. Whether the *plus* of L is Hexaplar, or not, there is nothing to show. Of specific ascriptions there are surprisingly few, and these are confined to the books of Chronicles. Supposed readings of Aquila are noted in I Chron. 15:27; 25:1, 3; 29:25. Marked with the  $\Sigma$  of Symmachus are readings found in I Chron. 5:26; 9:1; 11:5; 15:27; 21:10; 25:1, 3; II Chron. 12:7; 19:11; 23:13; 26:5; 30:5; 32:5; 33:3; 34:22.

The absence of any readings from Theodotion, ordinarily a favorite among the secondary translators and a frequent source of variant Greek readings, is very noticeable. This fact, of itself, might well have suggested to students, long ago, the probability that Theodotion himself was the author of our standard version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. As I have previously remarked (above, pp. 3, 7), no sure trace of the work of Aquila or Symmachus in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah has heretofore been found. I believe that the hand of each of these two translators can be recognized in one or two places, at least, and have no doubt that a careful search would reveal other instances. In all probability, the "Aquila" and "Symmachus" columns of the *Hexapla* were both duly filled, in the canonical Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., the "Theodotion" column alone being vacant. In I Esdras, on the other hand, the "LXX" column alone was filled, all the others remaining unoccupied.

## II. THEODOTION THE AUTHOR OF OUR "CANONICAL" GREEK VERSION OF CHRONICLES-EZRA-NEHEMIAH

I have more than once stated my own conviction that the translation of the Chronicler's history which now stands in our Greek Bible was the work of Theodotion.<sup>5</sup> Others who have held and expressed this view are Grotius (1644), Whiston (1722), Pohlmann (1859), and most recently, Sir Henry Howorth; see above, p. 16. No one of these scholars, however, excepting the first named, has been able to bring forward any direct evidence tending to establish the theory. The manner of the argument has been simply this: 'Our Greek version of the Chronicler's history bears the marks of a late origin, especially when compared with

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, London, 1903, pp. 139 f.; above, pp. 3 f.

the version preserved in "First Esdras." Theodotion's version of Daniel supplanted the older translation, in the Greek Bible; it is therefore a plausible supposition that it was Theodotion who made the later translation of the Chronicler's books.' Grotius, in his annotations to the Old Testament, pointed out an interesting bit of evidence, though in such a way as to leave some doubt as to the conclusion to be drawn from it. In a note on II Chron. 35:6, he says that our Greek version of Chronicles is that of Theodotion, while the two chapters (35 and 36) of II Chron. with which I Esdras begins are "from the Septuagint." He also adds: "*Theodotionis autem interpretationem in Paralipomenis et aliis quibusdam libris recepit Graeca Ecclesia.*" He expresses himself cautiously in this passage, saying nothing either in regard to the remainder of I Esdras or to the canonical Ezr.-Neh., for the obvious reason that the bit of proof which he happens to be using here, namely the rendering of the Hebrew word פִּסֵּס, would be a conspicuous failure in Ezra 6:19 ff. (= I Esdr. 7:10 ff.). "Theodotion," he has just observed, very acutely, "semper vertit φασεκ, non ut alii interpretes πάσχα."<sup>6</sup> The possible value of this observation is apparent when we notice that the form φασεκ (or rather φασεχ) occurs eighteen times in the book

<sup>6</sup>The assertion is a little too sweeping, for some of the "other translators" rendered the Hebrew word in still other ways, though Grotius may not have been aware of the fact. And indeed, from the citations given in Field's *Hexapla* it might seem that the transliteration φασεχ, outside the books of Chronicles, is not the property of Theodotion. It is not only lacking in Field's list (pp. xl f.) of the Theodotion transliterations, but is even attributed to Symmachus in the three passages where its occurrence is noted by him, namely Ex. 12:11, 27; Num. 9:2. But whoever examines carefully the material collected in Field's footnotes in these three places will ascertain the following facts: (1) According to the Syr.-Hex. (by far the most trustworthy witness of those cited) the word פִּסֵּס, in Ex. 12:27, was rendered by "the LXX" πάσχα; by Aquila ὑπέρβασις; by Symmachus פִּסֵּס πάσχα (not φασεχ, as Field gives!), the difference from LXX being in the other words of the clause; and by Theodotion "like the LXX." In 12:11 the renderings are the same, except that Symmachus is said to have had πάσχα (not "φασεχ"! ὑπερμάχησις). (2) Theodoret, whom we should suppose to have had good means of information, says that Theodotion's rendering was φασεχ. (3) According to notes found in a few codices, in Ex. 12:11 and Num. 9:2, the transliteration φασεχ is attributed to Symmachus, or to "Aquila and Symmachus." Such attributions as these last, coming from unknown hands, are notoriously untrustworthy. The ancient copyists, scribblers, and annotators were as careless as our modern ones, which is saying a great deal. False ascriptions abound, and each one is likely to be copied into several other MSS. Hence most of the evidence of "double versions" of Aquila (Field, pp. xxiv ff.) or Symmachus (pp. xxxvi f.). With regard to the rendering of פִּסֵּס, the transliteration is exactly in the manner of Theodotion, and not at all in the manner of Symmachus. Indeed, the use of this barbarism by the latter translator would be altogether inexplicable. The fact is probably this: Theodotion's φασεχ was replaced at a very early date, in most MSS, by πάσχα (cf. the many cases of this kind cited below), and in the Theod. text known to Origen the latter word only was found. The Theodotion version was very well known and much used; then, when the rejected word φασεχ survived in a few MSS, it is natural that it should have been attributed by some to the work of Symmachus, the least known and used of the later Hexaplaric versions.

of Chronicles, but nowhere else in our Greek Old Testament. As for the one passage in Ezr.-Neh. in which the passover is mentioned, namely Ezr. 6:19-21, it is of course easy to suppose that the long familiar word *πάσχα* was substituted at an early date; there were many such substitutions in the early history of the Greek Bible.

The problem of identifying a given translation as the work of Theodotion is in some respects a peculiar one. Whoever makes the search for this translator's own work, with the purpose of setting apart everything that could be called characteristic of him, will probably be surprised to find how little in extent the material really is. We have, it is true, "Theodotion's version" of the whole book of Daniel; but this is in reality merely a revision of the old Greek translation, whose renderings and constructions are generally retained, the alteration consisting mainly in such cutting, shaping, and supplementing as to make it fit closely the later traditional Hebrew text. In the case of the extensive fragments of Theodotion's version of Jeremiah which have been preserved (see Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 44-46) it is not known whether the work is merely a version, or an independent effort. At all events, there is here extremely little that could contribute to any basis of comparison with such a book as the Chronicler's history. The manner of the author, or reviser, in his attempt to hold fast to the Hebrew, is indeed apparent, and it is the same in all three of the versions named: Daniel, Jeremiah, and the Chronicler; but more definite evidence than this is required. The comparison of the diction of our Greek version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. with that of Theodotion's part in Daniel reveals a few striking coincidences, which will be noticed below, as well as the obvious general resemblance. In addition to the material already mentioned, we have, for our knowledge of Theodotion's work, only the scattered renderings of his in various parts of the Old Testament which have been preserved in Hexaplar codices. It might therefore seem to be a very difficult matter to collect material sufficiently extensive, and sufficiently characteristic, to serve as a sure basis for comparison. If we were dealing with ordinary translators, this would be true, and a trustworthy conclusion might be despaired of; but fortunately this translator has one peculiarity so pronounced and so well understood that the proof can be rendered complete.



As students of the Hexaplar versions long ago observed, Theodotion's chief characteristic is his tendency to *transliterate* the difficult or doubtful words of his Hebrew text. See especially Field's *Hexapla*, I, xxxix-xlii, and Swete's *Introduction*, p. 46. Because of his extreme caution, he refuses to decide in cases of uncertainty, but simply writes out the troublesome Hebrew word in Greek letters. The extent to which he has done this is very remarkable. Field gives a list (pp. xl f.) of more than ninety words of this kind, collected from the material already known to us as Theodotion's, including the most of the books of the Old Testament. Doubtless this number could be considerably increased, even from the sources which we already have, if we were better able to criticize them; moreover, it may safely be taken for granted that the ancient collectors of Hexaplaric readings generally disregarded such of Theodotion's transliterations as had resulted from an obviously corrupt and easily corrected text. Even in the MSS, indeed, the tendency to get rid of these unnecessary barbarisms is quite marked; see below. Now, this very same striking peculiarity of transliteration is found in the Greek of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., from the beginning to the end of the work, and with the examples pretty evenly distributed. The fact has not hitherto been observed, and the number and character of the instances will probably prove a surprise to Old Testament scholars. When the comparison is made with the similar instances collected by Field, it will at once be plain that we are dealing with the same translator. I subjoin a list of the transliterations of this kind which occur in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., not claiming that it is complete. It will be seen that it includes examples of all the classes of instances found elsewhere in Theodotion. There are the unusual words, such as כֶּפְפוּר κεφφορ, תַּנְוּרִים θαννουρειμ; words of ambiguous meaning in their context like הכֶּפֶר ακχεχαρ, שֵׁרֶשֶׁרוֹת σερσερωθ; technical terms not capable of exact translation, such as לִלְמוֹת αλημοθ, בְּתוֹן βαθων. Then there are the many cases where the text had become slightly corrupt. In a considerable number of the examples which follow, the difficulty with the word was due solely to the confusion of ו and ם by copyists; thus, γωληλα for גִּיא לִילָה, μεθωσειμ for מִתְהַשִּׁים. In other cases, two of the letters of the Hebrew word had become accidentally transposed; thus αβεδηρειμ for הַדְּבָרִים, μεθαχαβειμ for מִתְחַבְּאִים, αμασειθ for הַשְּׂמִינִת,



γαβης for עַבְיָ.<sup>7</sup> In the most of these cases of text-corruption, the true reading was not hard to find, and almost any translator would have made the emendation for himself. It is eminently characteristic of Theodotion and his method that he refused to take any such responsibility. Then, finally, there are the perfectly well-known words, such as *αιν*, *γαι*, *γαν*, *μαναα*, regarding whose exact meaning or use in certain passages the translator may have been in doubt.<sup>8</sup> Concerning the occasional procedure of Theodotion in such cases, see again Field and Swete, in the places named. One must agree with Field, that there are some instances in which it is impossible for us to find any sufficient excuse for the transliteration.

The following is the list:<sup>9</sup>

1. *αββους* (See no. 37.)
2. *αβεδη* Ezr. 2:58. For עַבְדֵי, "servants." In the phrase עַבְדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, the name Solomon was not recognized: *υιοι αβεδη Σελμα*, hence the עַבְדֵי was cautiously transliterated. It was certainly not thought of as forming part of a proper name. (L has *υιοι των δουλων Σαλομων*: two alterations.)
3. *αβεδηρειμ αθουκειμ* I Chron. 4:22. MT הַדְּבָרִים עֲתִיקִים, "the words are ancient."
4. *αβειρα* Neh. 1:1. הַבְּיָרָה, "the palace." So 7:2, *βειρα*. (L has *βâris* in both places.)
5. *αγγαι* II Chron. 26:9; in the L text only. For הַגֵּיָא, "the valley." See also no. 29, and below, p. 80.
6. *αγουγειμ* II Chron. 9:10; in three cursives only; see below, p. 80. MT אֲלֵגְמִים (but in I Kings 10:11 f. אֲלֵגְמִים), "algum wood."

<sup>7</sup>Of course, such instances as these and the preceding ones would generally *not* be recorded by the ancient collectors of Hexaplaric readings. The fact that they originated in mere blunders was apparent.

<sup>8</sup>In the case of the transliteration *φσα*, for פְּתָרָה, "governor," it may be that Theodotion evaded the translation because he was not quite satisfied with any of the ordinary readings of the word: *στρατηγός*, *ἐπαρχος*, *ἄρχων*, *ἡγεμών*; or because he did not wish to take the responsibility of choosing among them. It is perhaps worthy of remark, in this connection, that in the Greek of Hag. 1:1, 14, the word פְּתָרָה is not rendered at all.

<sup>9</sup>The orthography varies considerably in the MSS, and I record usually only one form, without wasting time over the vain attempt to determine the original. Of course the variations between *ι* and *ει*, *αι* and *ε*, etc., have no significance whatever, and are rarely of any use even in determining groups of manuscripts. Scribes were free to exchange them at pleasure, and did so. As *ει* is used most commonly (though not consistently) for the long *ι* sound in our best-known uncials, I have adopted it. The plural endings *-ειμ* and *-ειν* (the latter apparently later and due to the influence of spoken Aramaic) are also frequently exchanged in the MSS.

7. *αδωρηεμ* Neh. 3:5. MT אֲדוֹרֵיהֶם, "their nobles." (L: *οἱ ἰσχυροὶ αὐτῶν*.)
8. *αθερσαθα* Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65, 70. For אֶתְרֵשָׁתָא (title).
9. *αθουκιεμ* (See no. 3.)
10. *αιλαμ* II Chron. 3:4. MT אֵילָם, "porch."
11. *αιν* Neh. 2:14; 12:37; in the latter passage the MSS have *αἰνεῖν*. For אֵין, "spring." (L has in both cases *τῆς πηγῆς*.)
12. *αλημωθ* I Chron. 15:20. MT אֶלְמוֹת. (L: *περὶ τῶν κρυφίων*, as in the Psalm-superscriptions.)
13. *αμασενειθ* I Chron. 15:21. MT הַשִּׁבְיָתָה. (L: *περὶ τῆς ὁγδόης*; cf. Ps. 6:1; 12:1.)
14. *αραα* I Chron. 2:52. For אֶרְאָה (MT אֶרְאָה, "the seer"). It seems impossible to determine whether Theodotion regarded this as a proper name, or not. The original rendering here seems to have been: <sup>52</sup>*καὶ ἦσαν υἱοὶ τῷ Σωβαλ πατρὶ Καραθιαρειμ αραα εσει Αμμανιωθ*, <sup>53</sup>*υμασφεωθ Καραθιαειρ, Αιθαλειμ, Αιφειθειμ, κ.τ.λ.* See nos. 38 and 63.
15. *αριηλ* I Chron. 11:22. MT אֶרִיאֵל, which Theodotion certainly did not regard as a proper name. (L inserts *υἱοῦς*, from the Greek of II Sam. 23:20.)
16. *ασαφειμ* I Chron. 26:15, 17. MT אֶסְפָּיִם, "stores."
17. *αφφουσωθ* II Chron. 26:21. MT (ketib) הַפְּשׁוּת, "separateness."
18. *αχεχαρ* Neh. 3:22. For אֶחְפָּר, "the circuit." (L: *τοῦ πρωτοτόκου*, corrected from a reading אֶחְפָּר.)
19. *αχουχ* II Chron. 25:18 (twice). For אֶחָזָה, "the thistle."
20. *βααλτααμ* Ezr. 4:8, 9, 17. For אֶבְלָטָא, "reporter of news."
21. *βαθων* (A *βαδων*, L *βατων*) Ezr. 7:22. For אֶבְתָּן, "baths" (the liquid measure).
22. *βακχουρίους* Neh. 13:31. For אֶבְכֹרִים, "firstfruits." (L: *πρωτογενήμασιν*.)
23. *βαμα* I Chron. 16:39; 21:29; II Chron. 1:13. For אֶבְמָה, "high place."
24. *βειρα* (See no. 4.)
25. *βεν-* for בֶּן, "son," in compounds: I Chron. 11:34, *βενε Ασαμ*, for אֶבְנֵי הַשִּׁים (see below, p. 79); see also no. 33.

26. βηθ- for בֵּית, "house," in cases where it is evidently a separate word: Neh. 3:16, βηθ ἀγαβαρειμ בית הגבירים; 3:20 f., βηθ ελιασουβ בית אלישיב (Eliashib named in this very verse as the high priest, and cf. vs. 1); 3:24, βηθ ἀζαρια בית שריה; 3:31, βηθ ἀνναθινειμ בית הנחניים, cf. vs. 26! (In all of these cases, L translates the word בֵּית.)
27. γαβησ I Chron. 4:9. From a reading כַּעֲבֹץ, rendered ὡς γαβησ, where MT has בַּעֲצָב, "in pain." (L: ἐν διαπτώσει.)
28. γαζα Ezr. 5:17; 6:1; 7:20. For גִּזָּא, "treasure."
29. γαι Neh. 2:15, in the L text and the cursive 121; 3:13, in L only. For גַּי, "valley." See also no. 5, and below, p. 80.
30. γαν οζα II Chron. 36:8. For גַּן זְזָא, "the garden of 'Uzza." The passage containing these words is wanting in MT, and also in I Esdras, but certainly stood in the Hebrew text from which Theodotion translated; see further below. The phrase occurs also in II Kings 21:18, 26, where it is rendered (in *all* the Greek texts) ἐν τῷ κήπῳ Οζα.
31. γασβαρηνός Ezr. 1:8. For גַּזְבָּר, "treasurer." The termination -ηνος suggested by γαζαρηνός (for גִּזָּר), Dan. 5:7, 11, 15, etc.?
32. γεδδουρ I Chron. 12:21. For גִּדּוּר, "troop." (The same transliteration—origin unknown—in one of the texts of I Sam. 30:8. It may well be doubted whether the ascription, by the cursive 243, of the rendering συστρέματος to Theodotion, in I Sam. 30:8, is correct. Notice the similar mistake—this time concerning Aquila—recorded in Field's *Hexapla* on II Sam. 3:22, in regard to this same word. May not the transliteration be Theodotion's in all these places?)
33. γη βεν εννομ II Chron. 28:3; 33:6. For גֵּיא בֶן הַחֲנוֹם, "the valley of the son of Hinnom." Cf. no. 25; also nos. 5 and 29. (L has ἐν φάραγγι Βενεννομ.)
34. γωλαθ II Chron. 4:12, 13. MT גִּלְוֹת, "bowl-capitals." (L: τὰς βάσεις.)
35. γωληλα Neh. 2:13. MT לַיְלָה לְיֵצֵא (הוּ), ("and I went out through the gate of the) valley by night." (L has γωληλα νυκτός.)

36. *δαβειρ* II Chron. 3:16; 4:20; 5:7, 9. For דביר, the “innermost sanctuary” of Solomon’s temple. This transliteration is used by others than Theodotion.
37. *εβδαθ αββους* I Chron. 4:21. For עבדת הביוץ, “manufacture of fine linen.”
38. *εσει* I Chron. 2:52. For השׁי, “half.” Immediately below, in vs. 54, the word is translated; cf. no. 63. (The passage is lacking in the L text, which omits—because of homoeoteleuton—the last three words of vs. 52 and the first three words of vs. 53. In both A and B the passage is badly miswritten; see no. 14.)
39. *εφουδ* I Chron. 15:27. For עפוד, “ephod.” (L: ἐν στολῇ βυσσίνῃ.) The transliteration occurs outside of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.
40. *ζακχω* I Chron. 28:11, 20. MT, in vs. 11, בניצני,<sup>10</sup> “its treasuries.” (L, in both verses: τῶν ἀποθηκῶν αὐτοῦ.) In MT the word and its context are missing in vs. 20, though they must have stood there originally—a fact which seems to have been generally overlooked. Neither in his *Polychrome Chronicles* (1895) nor in his *Bücher der Chronik* (1902) does Kittel discover that our Hebrew text has accidentally lost a considerable passage (more than a dozen words) at this point. Benzinger (1901) does no better. This is a good illustration of the way in which “the Septuagint” is commonly used. The passage in the Greek, in its original form, reads as follows: καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ ζακχω αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὑπερῶα καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας τὰς ἐσωτέρας καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἰλασμοῦ, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα οἴκου Κυρίου. The necessity of this to its context is apparent from vs. 21 compared with vss. 11–13. The omission in the Hebrew of MT was caused by homoeoteleuton, the passage being preceded by עבדת בית יהוה and ending with תבנית בית יהוה. The translator, then, actually wrote this word ζακχω twice.
41. *θανουρειμ* Neh. 3:11; 12:38. For תנורים, “furnaces.” Neh. 12:38 is wanting in the codices A B S, but is present in many cursives and in the L text, and was included in Theodotion’s translation. See further below.

<sup>10</sup>It is possible that the original transliteration was γαζακχω, and that the first syllable was corrupted to τῶν (as in cod. B in vs. 11), which was subsequently dropped.

42. *θεραφεῖμ* II Chron. 35:19. For תרפים, "teraphim"—but the Hebrew original of this passage is now lost; see no. 44. This transliteration is used by others than Theodotion.
43. *θωδαθα* (most MSS, including all the uncials, *θωλαθα*; an early blunder, Λ for Δ) Neh. 12:27. For תודות, "thanksgivings." (L: (ἐν) ἀγαλλιάσει.)
44. *καδησεῖμ* (? So cod. 121; the others have *καρσεῖμ*<sup>11</sup>) II Chron. 35:19. For קדשׁים, "temple-prostitutes." The passage, which is a highly important one for the history of our Hebrew text, is found neither in MT nor in I Esdras. See below, p. 88. Observe that Theodotion has the transliteration *καδησεῖμ* in Judg. 5:21.
45. *κεφφουρη* I Chron. 28:17; Ezr. 1:10; 8:27. For כפורה, "cups."
46. *κοθωνοί* Ezr. 2:69. For כתנות, "robes." (L: *στολὰς ἱερατικὰς*.) See also no. 69.
47. *λαμ(μ)αανε* II Chron. 22:1. All our Greek texts are corrupt here. For לַמְחָנָה, "for a raid."<sup>12</sup> Some justification for Theodotion's transliteration here may be found in the ambiguity of the expression, which I believe to have been mistranslated by every modern scholar as well as in the ancient versions. This strange word, *λαμ(μ)αανε*, immediately following οἱ Ἀραβες, was of course supposed to be a proper name, and was accordingly made, by some copyist, to end with a *ς*. *αλαμαανες* became *αλαμαζονες*, a form attested by several MSS. A and B have [οἱ Ἀραβες οἱ] *αλιμαζονεις*.<sup>13</sup> (L: *καὶ τῶν Ἀμαζονειμ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ*, a characteristic specimen of the crimes committed by this recension.)

<sup>11</sup>The Greek letters δ and ρ are frequently confused by scribes; some other examples will be given in the sequel. There is therefore room for doubt as to the original form of this transliteration. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, on II Chron. 35:19, prints: "καρ(α)σειμ = קדשׁים" (*sic*); but in this he is certainly mistaken.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. לָצַבֵּא, "for war," "to give battle," the use of the verb חָנָה, "to attack," in Ps. 53:6; I Macc. 5:49 f., etc., and of מִחָנָה in II Chron. 18:33 = I Kings 22:34, etc.

<sup>13</sup>Hence in 14:14 (15) the gloss, τοὺς Ἀμαζονεῖς (!), derived solely from the passage 22:1, has come into the Greek text (all recensions). Benzinger, *Commentary on Chron.*, would emend the Hebrew text of 14:13 f. accordingly. But there is no excuse for "emending;" the context shows, as plainly as a context can show anything, that עָרִים is right as it stands. The connection between the two passages would be made by any reader; the enemies of Israel in both cases are the Philistines and the neighboring Arabs.

48. *μαναα* II Chron. 7:7; Neh. 13:5, 9. For מִנְחָה, "meal offering." (L substitutes in each case the word *θυσία*.) Observe that in Dan. 2:46 Theodotion has *substituted* this transliteration for the older translation *θυσίας*.
49. *μασαναι* II Chron. 34:22. For מִשְׁנֵה, "the second (district)."
50. *μεθαχαβειμ* (the correct reading in codd. 56, 121) I Chron. 21:20. For מִתְחַבְּאִים, "hiding themselves." (L: *πορευομένους*, a reading which evidently originated in a corruption of the *κρυβόμενοι* which most MSS have here.)
51. *μεθωσειμ* Ezr. 2:62. For מִתְחַשְׁבִּים, "listed by genealogy." (L: *γενεαλογούντες*.)
52. *μετεβααθ* (?) I Chron. 18:8. For מִתְּבַחַת, "from Tībhat" (name of a city). It is evident from the way in which the following word is translated that Theodotion did not regard this as a proper name. L has *ἐκ τῆς ταβααθ*, translating the preposition; and this translation (evidently secondary) has also found its way into the Egyptian text: A, *ἐκ τῆς ματεβεθ*; B, *ἐκ τῆς μεταβηχας*.<sup>14</sup>
53. *μεχωνωθ* II Chron. 4:14, twice. For מִכּוֹנֹת, "bases." Observe that Theodotion gives us this same transliteration in Jer. 27:19 (Greek 34:15).
54. *ναχαλη* I Chron. 11:32. For נַחֲלֵי, "wadys" (?).
55. *οφαλ* II Chron. 27:3; 33:14; Neh. 3:26, 27; 11:21. For הַצֶּלֶל (ה), the "hill" in Jerusalem.
56. *σαβαχωθ* II Chron. 4:12; only in the cursives 56 and 121; see below, p. 80. For שִׁבְבוֹת, "nets."
57. *σαχωλ* (? A *σαχων*, B *σαχωχ*. The reading of the cod. Basiliano-Vaticanus, N [XI in H. and P.] is given as *ασιβιβασαχωλ* (!); the first part of this being probably the proper name *Ασεβεια*, from the beginning of vs. 19?) Ezr. 8:18. For שִׁבְלֵ, "prudence." (L has [ἀνήρ]συνετός.)
58. *σερσερωθ* II Chron. 3:16. For שִׁרְשֻׁרוֹת, "chains." (L: *άλυσιδωτά*.)
59. *σοομ* I Chron. 29:2. For שִׁתְּמֵ, name of a stone. (L: [λίθους] ὄνυχος.)
60. *σωφαρ* I Chron. 15:28. For שׁוֹפָר, "trumpet."
61. *σωφ[ε]ρειμ* I Chron. 2:55; in the L text only; see below. For סוֹפְרִים, "scribes."

<sup>14</sup>It is a mistake to suppose that the χ of this form is the transliteration of ת. It is merely one of the customary blunders of codex B. *μετεβααθ* was miswritten *μεταβηαθ* (χ for α, several other examples are given in the sequel), and so on.

62. *τεκχειμ* II Chron. 9:21; in the L text only; see below. For **תְּכַיִּים**, "peacocks."
63. *υμασφεωθ* I Chron. 2:53. For **וּמִשְׁפְּחֹתָי**, "and the families (of)." The same word is translated in vs. 55, just below—the context there being so plain as to leave even Theodotion no room for doubt! (The L text has accidentally lost the first words of vs. 53; see Nos. 14 and 38. Both A and B are corrupt here.)
64. *φασεχ* II Chron. 30:1, and often. For **פֶּסַח**, "passover." The *old* Greek version of the Chronicler's history had *πάσχα*; see II Chron. 35:1, 6–13, 16–18, in I Esdras (1:1, 6 ff., 16–19). The large number of occurrences of the word in these two chapters of the Theodotion version was what kept it from being changed, even in the L recension. See also above, p. 67, note.
65. *φεα* (?) Neh. 5:14, 15, 18; in the Egyptian text only. For **פֶּהָה**, "governor." The word occurs four times in these three verses, and appears at first sight to have been transliterated three times and translated once. This would be a truly Theodotionic proceeding; still, it is perhaps more likely that the word was originally transliterated in all four cases. At present, through accidental corruption and attempted correction, the forms originally written have been nearly obliterated; only close scrutiny can find the trace of them. The Egyptian text of the verses in question now reads: <sup>14</sup>Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐνετείλατό μοι εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν (**פֶּהָה**) . . . ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου βίαν αὐτῶν (**הַפְּהָה הַחֵם**) οὐκ ἔφαγον, <sup>15</sup>καὶ τὰς βίας (**הַפְּהָה**) τὰς πρώτας ἃς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐβάρυναν ἐπ' αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ. . . . <sup>18</sup> . . . καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἄρτους τῆς βίας (**הַפְּהָה הַחֵם**) οὐκ ἐζήτησα. The Greek yields in each of these clauses a passable sense, the word *βία* meaning "extortion" or "fruit of extortion." But the latter phrase would be a singularly free rendering (!) even of **הַחֵם הַפְּהָה**, especially for Theodotion; and at the beginning of vs. 15 and the end of vs. 18 it is quite plain that *βία* stands simply as the equivalent of **פֶּהָה**.<sup>15</sup> Beyond question, Theodotion wrote *φεα* in these three

<sup>15</sup>So it is given, in fact, in both Schleusner and Tromm. Klostermann, among modern scholars, has recognized the fact of a transliteration.



cases (at least); by one of the most common of scribal errors this became *βεα*; the rest followed naturally. The original readings were presumably: in vs. 14, *ἄρτον τοῦ φεα*, instead of *βίαν αὐτῶν*;<sup>16</sup> vs. 15, *φεωθ* instead of *βίας*; vs. 18, *ἄρτον τοῦ φεα* instead of *ἄρτον τῆς βίας*. (The L text has substituted translations in each of the three cases: *ἄρτον τῆς ἡγεμονίας* in vss. 14 and 18, and *ἄρχοντες* in vs. 15.)

66. *χαμανειμ* Ezr. 8:27. The source of this is the word **לְחָרַמַיִם** (MT. **לְאֲדָרְכַיִם**), "in drachmas," which was divided **לְחָרַמַיִם** and characteristically rendered *εἰς τὴν ὄδον χαμανειμ*. (In cod. A this has been improved to *ε. τ. ὁ. δραχμωνειν*; while in the L text the correction has gone still farther, changing the last word to *δραχμάς*.)
67. *χερουβειμ* II Chron. 3:8 ff., and elsewhere. For **כְּרִיבִים**, "cherubim." This transliteration is not peculiar to Theodotion.
68. *χεχαρ* (?) I Chron. 16:3; only in the L text, which reads *χελχαρ*, presumably because of a common scribal error in the Greek. For **כֶּפֶר**, "loaf." A and B have *ἄρτον*. Cf. No. 18, where the same word (meaning "circuit"), written with the article, is transliterated by *αχεχαρ*.
69. *κοθωνωθ* Neh. 7:70, 72. For **כְּתֹנֹת**, "robes." Very likely the *κοθωνοί* (?) of Ezr. 2:69 (above, No. 46) originated in this same transliteration. (L, in all three cases, *στολὰς ἱερατικὰς*.)
70. *χωθαρεθ* (-ωθ?) II Chron. 4:12 (twice), 13. For **כְּתָרֹת**, "capitals."

The regularity with which these words are distributed through the history is worthy of notice. Leaving out of account the repetition of such frequently used words as *φασεχ* and *χερουβειμ*, the number of occurrences in I Chron. is 28; in II Chron. 32; in Ezra 16; and in Neh. 30.

To those who have examined Theodotion's transliterations in connection with the other extant traces of his work, this list will be conclusive. The large number of these words, and their characteristics in detail, added to the facts which have already been noticed, place the matter quite beyond the reach of doubt. It is to be remarked also that a few of the words in the list are already known

<sup>16</sup>How easy the corruption of *ἄρτον* to *αὐτῶν* would be may be seen from vs. 15, where codex A has *αὐτοῖς* for *ἄρτους*.

from other sources to have been used by this translator; such are *καθησειμ*, *μαναα*, *μεχωνωθ*, *φασεχ*, and probably *γεδδουρ*. To make the demonstration still more complete, it is further to be observed that in the few points of contact between the Theodotion element in Daniel and our Greek translation of the Chronicler's work there are some striking instances of identical usage. One of these is the case of the word *μαναα*, noticed above. Another is the use of *λίψ* (a favorite word with Theodotion) as the rendering of *לִיץ*; found only in II Chron. 32:30; 33:14; Dan. 8:5; in the last-named passage substituted for the *ἀπὸ δυσμῶν* of the older version, which certainly needed no correction! Equally striking is the substitution of *εὐόδαι*, as the rendering of *וְיָדוּדַי*, in Ezr. 6:10 and Dan. 2:46; in both cases correcting the *σπόνδαι* of the older translation. Notice also the peculiar rendering *ἀπὸ μέρους* for *מִצָּרְפָּת*, only in Dan. 1:2 and Neh. 7:70; the use of the verb *συνετί-ζειν*, and that of the noun *ἐγκαίτια*. Undoubtedly other examples of the kind can be found; I have made no thorough search.

In the case of gentile names, it is Theodotion's custom to transliterate exactly, instead of using the Greek adjective endings. The latter, however, have been substituted later in a good many instances, sometimes in the Egyptian text and very often in L. Thus, in Neh. 2:19 the original rendering had *ὁ Ἀρωνει*, *ὁ Ἀμμωνει*, and *ὁ Ἀραβει*; where L offers *ὁ Ὠρωνίτης*, *ὁ Ἀμμωνίτης*, and *ὁ Ἀραψ*. An example of a passage in which nearly all the Greek texts have made the change is Ezr. 3:7, where for "Sidonians and Tyrians" cod. 121 has *Σιδανιμ* and *Σωριμ* (probably almost exactly what Theodotion wrote); B has *Σηδαμειν* and *Σωρειν*; all the other MSS have substituted the Greek adjective forms. Many other instances of the kind could be given.

In some cases where Theodotion was in doubt whether the word before him was a gentile name or not, he cautiously reproduced the Hebrew article by the Greek *ἀ*. In such cases it was inevitable that those who cared for the Greek text should often have taken the further step of substituting the Greek article. For example, in Ezr. 2:57 Theodotion wrote *υἱὸι Φασ(ε)ραθ* (or *Φαχεραθ*?) *ασεβωειμ* (*אַשְׁבֻזַּיִם*), as is attested by the Egyptian Greek tradition. But in the L text we find *υἱὸι Φακεραθ τῶν Σαβωειμ*. Of course accidental corruption of these unfamiliar forms took place from time to time. Thus, in I Chron. 18:17 *τοῦ Χερηθι* was Theodotion's rendering. I was miswritten for X,

as occasionally elsewhere, and in a cursive manuscript  $\theta$  became  $\omega$ , as in a great many other places. Hence the  $\tau\omega\nu$  *ιερῶν* in both L and the ordinary Egyptian text (but not in A).

It remains to be said in general, regarding Theodotion's transliterations (and especially those of ordinary nouns), that in all probability some of them, and perhaps a considerable number, have been lost. Of course, in a version which came into common use as a part of the Greek Bible, these uncouth words were very soon felt to be seriously disturbing, especially in the many cases where the Hebrew word and its meaning were perfectly well known. We should therefore suppose that the process of removing these peculiar creations of Theodotion would have begun almost immediately. We can see the process going on in the texts which are known to us. In the Lagarde recension, it is the rule (not systematically carried through, to be sure) that these transliterations are replaced by translations; and we can see the same tendency actively at work even in the most conservative group of manuscripts. Observe, for example, what has taken place in I Chron. 28:17, where the unusual word (\*) **נְשׂוּר** occurs six times. The L recension (!) has preserved Theodotion's *κεφ-φουρ*( $\eta$ ) in three places; cod. A has it once; cod. B has dropped it altogether. Similarly, in Ezr. 7:22 *βαθων* "baths" (liquid measure) has been replaced in B by *ἀποθηκῶν*, but not in A; in Ezr. 2:69 *κοθωνοι* (so B) becomes in A *χιτῶνας*. Or to take the case of a still more common word: in I Chron. 11:34 **בְּנֵי הַיָּשִׁים** is rendered by Theodotion *βεν(ν)αι ασαμ*; this becomes in A and L (but not in  $\aleph$  B) *υἱοὶ α'*. Many other examples might be given.<sup>17</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that this process had already begun before the period represented by the earliest manuscript testimony which we have. A few of the rejected words, after having been actually dropped from all the texts in common use, were preserved in stray cursives, or rescued again by the L recension (thanks to its conflating tendency).<sup>18</sup> An excellent example is

<sup>17</sup> In I Chron. 26:16 it seems to be the case that A has preserved the original rendering,  $\tau\psi$  *Σφιεμ*, for **לְשָׁפִים**, while the improvement *εἰς δεύτερον* (from a late reading **לְשִׁים**) has been adopted not only by the MSS of the L recension but also by the most of the "Egyptian" MSS, including B. The supposition that A's is the corrected text here would be far less plausible, judging from what has taken place elsewhere in the MSS of these books. L's double rendering here contains an obvious correction according to MT, **לְשָׁפִים** being translated by *τοῖς προθύραις*.

<sup>18</sup> Hence, presumably, the presence of the word *εναλεμ* in I Chron. 9:18, only in L. Whence it comes I do not know, but it is probably a corrupt form of one of Theodotion's transliterations. The *ενα* is pretty certainly a reproduction of the **הַנָּה** which stands here

the rendering of the phrase נִבְנֶה שַׁרְיָה “valley gate” in Neh. 2:15. Here the L text presents both *καὶ ἤμην ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς φάραγγος* and *καὶ διήλθον διὰ τῆς πύλης γαι*, the position of the latter clause showing that in this recension it was inserted later. Something very similar has taken place in II Chron. 26:9, where (in the L text) *αγγαι* and *τῆς φάραγγος* form a doublet, though in this case it is the translation which seems to be secondary. No one but Theodotion would be likely to transliterate in such a case as this; and that it was actually he that did it appears to be rendered certain by Neh. 3:13, where L gives for the same phrase *οὐκ ἐστὶν τὴν πύλιν γαι*. But in all three of these passages the word *γαι* has quite disappeared from the manuscripts of the standard text! A case in which the L text has retained a transliteration which has already been dropped by all the MSS of the “Egyptian” group, with the single exception of codex 121, is the word *σωφῆρειμ*,<sup>19</sup> I Chron. 2:55. In the ordinary text it has been rendered by *γραμματέων*. Another example is the word *χεχχαρ*, I Chron. 16:3. Other words of this nature which have narrowly missed oblivion are *τεκχειμ*, II Chron. 9:21, preserved in L; *αγουγειμ*, II Chron. 9:10, found in one L MS, 93, and (in the form *γουγειμ*) in the cursives 56 and 121; and *σαβαχωθ*, II Chron. 4:12, preserved only by 56 and 121. These words are given by Field in his list (*loc. cit.*, pp. xl f.) as of “anonymous” origin; but it must now be evident, I think, that they are survivals from Theodotion’s version.

In other parts of the Old Testament, moreover, traces of Theodotion’s transliteration, hitherto unrecognized as his, are undoubtedly to be found. His version must have been felt to be an indispensable one, meeting a greater variety of needs than any other, and its influence upon the standard Greek text was probably much greater than we ordinarily suppose. Its readings must have supplanted the other renderings in many places,<sup>20</sup> and as an inevitable result, the ascription of “Theodotion” readings to “LXX,” and *vice versa*, was not infrequent. This happened even in the Hebrew; the remainder may be due to dittography of some sort, involving the following *ἐν*. No one of the commentators on Chronicles appears to have noticed it.

<sup>19</sup> It appears in various forms: *σωφῆρειμ* in 93, 108, and 121; *σωφῆρειμ*, in 19; *σωπεριμ* in the retransliteration from an Armenian codex given in H. & P. Lagarde edits *σωφῆρειμ*.

<sup>20</sup> To take a single example from the Prophets—the one which happens to occur to me at the moment: in Isa. 44:8 we can see the process at work; the phrase *μηδὲ πλανᾶσθε* has been taken over from Theod. into the text of cod. B, but is not in the older text of this verse represented by codd. A<sup>8</sup>Q, etc. Fortunately the Hexaplar MSS here make the matter perfectly plain.

the case of transliterations, passages containing them having been taken over into the current version at an early date, particularly in the books Sam.-Kings, in which the textual tradition made so many difficulties. One example of the kind has already been given; see above, on *γεδδουρ*. Precisely similar in their history, as I believe, are the four other renderings given by Field (*loc. cit.*, p. xlii) as cases in which "LXX" transliterates while Theodotion translates. One of these, for example, is II Sam. 17:19 **הרפוח**, rendered "LXX *αραφωθ*, Theod. *παλάθας*." Another is II Kings 16:17 **בולנות**, rendered "LXX *μεχωνωθ*, Theod. *ὑποστηρίγματα*." See the note on this latter word in the list above. From the evidence which we already have, it seems to me that we are fully justified in reversing these ascriptions, assuming that in these cases, at least, the later version had contaminated the earlier.

The important question, whether in preparing his version of the Chronicler's history Theodotion was revising an older translation, or not, should probably be answered in the negative. We have as our guide his proceeding in the case of Daniel; and what he does there is to retain to a remarkable degree the wording of his predecessor, in spite of extensive alterations in the form of the text. A comparison of I Esdras with the corresponding part of Theodotion does not show any such close resemblance. The coincidences of rendering seem to be only such as would be expected in two translations of the same Hebrew text, while the differences are so many and so great as to argue strongly against any dependence upon, or even acquaintance with, the older version.<sup>21</sup> We know of no translation of Chr.-Ezr.-Neh. before the time of Theodotion, other than the one represented by our I Esdras, and it is not likely that there was another. Our last witness to the existence of this version in its completeness comes from Josephus. After his day, so far as I am aware, we meet with it only in the "I Esdras" fragment. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, in all probability, the old Greek version of the Chronicler's history disappeared from the face of the earth, with the exception of the one fragment which happened to be rescued from a single codex (see above, p. 36). This fragment may have escaped Theodotion's notice altogether, or he may not have thought it of importance for his purpose. At all events, when he put forth his

<sup>21</sup> Why, to take a single instance, should Theodotion have rendered the word **אשר** (MT **אשר**) in Ezr. 5:3 by the senseless *χορηγίαν*, if he had known that it had already been rendered (I Esdr. 6:4) by the obviously suitable *στέγην*?

own translation, it had a clear field; and as a matter of course, it was soon adopted as a part of "the Septuagint" and its authorship was quite forgotten. If it is indeed an independent translation of these books, as I believe, it is doubly important as the one great example of the methods of this interpreter, this time not a mere reviser, but free to work in his own way.

### III. THE TWO MAIN TYPES OF THE TEXT

#### 1. *First Esdras*

I have described briefly in one of the preceding essays (above, pp. 31-36) the two differing "editions" of the Chronicler's history which are known to us, giving some account of their origin. Since an interval of 300 years lay between them, and the later edition was, generally speaking, independent of the former one, the comparison of them is obviously a matter of great importance for purposes of textual criticism. But before they can be thus used in any satisfactory way, it is necessary to know to a considerable extent the history of their transmission; the state of preservation of the various texts; the age, the character, and the trustworthiness of the translations; the relative excellence and mutual relations of manuscripts. The following observations will serve as a beginning.

The old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was made not long before the middle of the second century B. C. The direct evidence of this is found in the quotation from the Greek historian Eupolemus, in a work composed about 150 B. C. (see Schürer, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, III, 351 f.). The historian is telling of the building of Solomon's temple, and quotes from the letter of Hiram, king of Tyre, in the form of it which is found only in II Chron., chap. 2. The text of the passage, corresponding to II Chron. 2:12 ff., is given in Swete's *Introduction*, p. 370, and reads as follows: *εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, ὃς εἴλετο ἀνθρώπων χρηστὸν ἐκ χρηστοῦ ἀνδρός . . . καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονά σοι ἀπέσταλκα ἀνθρώπων Τύριον ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δάν.* Here is, beyond all question, a somewhat free citation from a Greek version of Chronicles. There is every reason to believe, and no reason to doubt, that this translation was the same one of which a part has survived in the "I Esdras" fragment.<sup>22</sup> All the evidence

<sup>22</sup> It might seem useless to attempt to argue from the wording of so free a citation as this one evidently is. But the opening phrase, "Blessed be the God who made heaven and



which we have seems to show that the I Esdras translation was made as early as the second century B. C. Some of the indications of this nature have already been mentioned; others will appear in the sequel.

The home of the translation may well have been Egypt. There is one interesting fact, at least, which seems to show that the translator lived among people to whom the geography and history of Syria were somewhat unfamiliar. The technical term עבר הנהר (Aram. נהריה), "the district beyond (west of) the river (Euphrates)," is in every instance—14 times in all—rendered by *Κόλλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη*, "Coele-Syria and Phoenicia," a rendering which occurs nowhere else.<sup>23</sup> The term "beyond the river" was one which had long been familiar throughout Palestine and Syria, and Theodotus's rendering, *πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ*, would have been understood anywhere between Judea and Persia. But in Egypt the phrase was not so well known.

From the materials which we have, we are well able to judge as to the character of the translation. It is a faithful rendering, of the kind to which we are accustomed in the older parts of the Greek Old Testament. The translator has a wide knowledge of Greek, uses a large vocabulary, and very often chooses Greek idioms instead of simply copying the Semitic forms of speech. In rendering two verbs connected by "and," for example, he frequently employs the participle for one of the two, where Theodotus and his kind would follow the original. On the other hand, he generally sticks desperately to a corrupt text, hesitating at no nonsense in

earth," seems to have been transferred verbatim, and it is at least interesting to observe that we have here one of the characteristic marks of difference between the rendering of Theodotus and that of the old Greek version. Theodotus has the phrase before him in this passage and in Neh. 9:6, and both times renders by *ὑποίησεν* (Heb. עשה). In I Esdr., the words are found only in 6:12, and the rendering there, as here, is by *κτιζεν* (a form of the Aramaic verb עבר being read).

<sup>23</sup> It is important to observe that this is the old and official terminology used by the Greek historians and geographers from the fourth century onward. "Coele-Syria and Phoenicia," or even "Coele-Syria" alone, included the whole Syrian province west of the Euphratus, i. e., exactly עבר הנהר. An Alexandrian translator of the second century B. C. would have been sure to use it; see II Macc. 3:5, 8; 4:4 for a striking illustration; and cf. also I Macc. 10:69, and the numerous passages in Polybius cited by Hölseher, "Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit," in Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Heft 5 (1903), pp. 7 f. Notice also that "Coele-Syria and Phoenicia" is the term used in the petition of Onias to Ptolemy Philometor, Josephus, *Antt.*, xiii, 3, 1. This terminology went out of general use before the beginning of the Christian era. Strabo, xvi, 2, 2, notes that according to a nomenclature which some (*ἱναι δὲ*) had used, "Coele-Syria" included the territory of the Jews, Edomites, and Philistines. His testimony shows that in the last century B. C. and thereafter "Coele-Syria" was ordinarily applied only to the district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Thus Hölseher, p. 12. His conclusion is the same one which I had myself reached.



“translating” it. His performances in really difficult places—and in many that are not difficult at all—are like those of a modern schoolboy, and we may expect to find at least a few stupid blunders (so they seem to us) on every page. This is fortunate, for it enables us, here as elsewhere, to see what Semitic words and phrases the Greek was trying to render. One who is thoroughly familiar with Hebrew and Aramaic and also with the habits of these translators will generally be able to see what text lay behind this version—after he has once determined the original form of the Greek.

The Semitic text thus rendered seems to have been not particularly good, but one which had suffered considerably from careless copyists. In many cases, indeed, its readings are manifestly superior to those of our massoretic text, and there is no place in which its help can safely be dispensed with; but on the whole, the type of text which it represents is inferior to that represented by our canonical books. Aside from all the accidental corruption which it has suffered through careless transmission, it seems now and then to have been deliberately “revised,” as, for example, in the opening verses of the section dealing with the official correspondence in the time of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, I Esdr. 2:15. Wherever the probabilities are otherwise evenly balanced, in the conflict of I Esdras readings with those of our canonical recension, the latter has the presumption in its favor. Some instances of the occasional wide divergence of the I Esdras text from that which later became the standard will be given below.

Several scholars have called attention to a certain resemblance between the Greek of I Esdras and that of the old (“LXX”) version of Daniel. See Swete’s *Introduction*, pp. 48 f., and Lupton’s preface to his *First Esdras*, in the *Speaker’s Commentary*. Most noticeable is the occurrence of the same phrase, *καὶ ἀπηρείστατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλίῳ αὐτοῦ*, in both I Esdr. 2:9 and Dan. 1:2, as has been observed. I add one or two other noteworthy examples.<sup>24</sup> The phrase “his house shall be made a rubbish-heap (רִבְלִי),” which occurs in Ezr. 6:11; Dan. 2:5; 3:29, is interpreted by the *old* version in all three places to mean “his house shall be confiscated.” In I Esdr. 6:31 the rendering is: *καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι βασιλικά*, and in Dan. 2:5: *καὶ*

<sup>24</sup> I give only those which I happen to have noticed and remembered; I have made no search for them.

ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. In Dan. 3:96 he writes: ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται, which means the same.<sup>25</sup> Again, in Dan. 3:2 we have in the old version (but not in Theodotion) the same list of officers, σατράπας, στρατηγούς, τοπάρχας καὶ ὑπάτους, which appears in the same order in I Esdr. 3:14; as also, lacking the last member, in 3:2. Since the Greek words are by no means the settled equivalents of the Aramaic terms, this coincidence can hardly be accidental. Notice also the use of the word *μανιάκης*, "golden chain," in I Esdr. 3:6; Dan. 5:7, 29; the frequent occurrence of *μεγιστᾶνες*, "magnates," in both I Esdras and Daniel; the phrase *ἐποίησε δοχὴν μεγάλην*, I Esdr. 3:1; Dan. 5:1 (not in Theodotion). In Swete's list (*Introduction*, pp. 310 f.) of the unusual Greek words which are found in certain books of the Old Testament, the following also are mentioned as occurring in both I Esdras and the old translation of Daniel: *ἀναπλήρωσις*, *δογματίζειν*, *μεγαλειότης*, *πειθαρχεῖν*.

These instances seem to render one of two conclusions certain: either the old Greek translation of the Chronicler's history strongly influenced that of the book of Daniel; or else both were the work of one and the same translator.<sup>26</sup> The latter is the more probable supposition; notice, for instance, how the two passages Dan. 2:5; 3:29, compared with I Esdr. 6:31, prove that the translator worked independently, and was not simply following an older version.

It is not likely that this translation ever circulated widely. The Chronicler's history in its original Semitic form seems to have been little known, and was certainly very little esteemed, in any part of the Jewish world for two or three centuries after the date of its composition.<sup>27</sup> From the time when the Story of the Youths was seen to be secondary, and the abridged recension made its appearance, the older, unabridged texts and versions lost ground;

<sup>25</sup> So far as I know, the important testimony which these translations (or mistranslations) give to the existence of a Syro-Palestinian root  $\text{נָל}$ , corresponding to the Arabic *نال*, *ينال*, "take, obtain," has never been noticed. It is the same root whose verb ( $\text{نَزَّل}$ , jussive) occurs in the last line of the Tabnit inscription, as I hope to show more fully elsewhere.

<sup>26</sup> In that case, the translation of Daniel was probably made soon after the publication of the original, inasmuch as the Chronicler's history was translated *before* the middle of the second century B. C. An early date for the old Greek Daniel is also rendered probable by the Greek version of I Macc. 1:54, in which dependence on the Greek translation of Daniel is certain, as well as the fact that the words quoted had long been familiar.

<sup>27</sup> Very likely its true character was well understood, at the first. If that were the case, it would not be surprising that even its one valuable part, the story of Nehemiah, should have made little impression.

and finally, when the official text was created, this old Greek version, already near to extinction, passed out of sight. There is no evidence that any secondary version was ever made from it, in its entire state, and we know it only from the fragment which survived under the name "First Esdras." The history of the transmission of this fragment, in manuscripts and versions, is unlike that of any other part of the Greek Old Testament, though the old Greek Daniel offers a close parallel in many respects. It has, of course, been far less influenced, in its transmission, by the Hebrew-Aramaic text than its canonical fellows. Their presence beside it has generally saved it from editorial "correction" since the establishment of a standard text, and it is not at all likely to have suffered from such correction before that time. Accordingly, the Hebrew-Aramaic that can be shown to lie behind our I Esdras may generally be accepted as representing a text which existed before the middle of the second century B. C. On the other hand, there is evidence that the Greek text of this translation was somewhat carelessly handled during the first centuries of its existence, and it is easy to be too confident in arguing from the Greek to the Semitic. In dealing with the plus and minus of I Esdras, especially, great caution is necessary.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, ever since "*First Esdras*" and "*Second Esdras*" were first placed side by side in manuscripts of the Greek Bible, the danger of contamination, in either direction, has been present; it is remarkable, indeed, that the better types of text should show so little evidence of such corruption. It is only in the L text (see below) that this is a serious matter; there, the contamination of I Esdras has gone so far as to render the text all but useless for critical purposes.

The text of I Esdras, like that of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, is known to us in two principal recensions, which will be described below. The one of these may conveniently be called "Egyptian," and the other "Syro-Palestinian." Of the secondary versions made from the I Esdras Greek, the Syriac, the Ethiopic, and the Latin are the only ones requiring mention here. The Syriac, made

<sup>28</sup> Not a few of the German scholars who have dealt with I Esdras have relied on the text of Fritzsche (*Libri Vet. Test. apocryphi graece*, 1871). But Fritzsche's eclectic text is built on no sound principles, and his apparatus is untrustworthy at every point. Those very marks—including not only misspellings but also erratic readings—which give the surest critical guidance are habitually omitted by him; while many of the readings of codices A, B, N, and others, which he fails to record at all are beyond question the original ones. Those who read the Greek Apocrypha for pastime will find Fritzsche's text comparatively smooth and agreeable; but those who are engaged in exact studies can make no use of it.

by Paul of Tellā, and the Ethiopic represent the Egyptian recension, and are of considerable value; the Latin, derived from a Syrian text, has also some critical importance. These will receive further mention in the sequel.

2. *The Standard Text of the Second Century A. D.*

The text of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah which was taken as the official one seems to have been carefully selected. It was one from which the Story of the Youths had been cut out, and in which the three wandering chapters of the Ezra narrative were allowed to remain in the book of Nehemiah (above, pp. 30 ff.). It was presumably one which bore evidence of being more trustworthy in details than the most of its fellows. So far as we are able to judge, it was, indeed, comparatively "sound," especially in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah; though differing considerably from what the Chronicler originally wrote. The separation of Ezra-Nehemiah from Chronicles had either taken place already, or else was accomplished at this time. When Theodotion made his translation, the division was already effected.

As witnesses to the readings of this "standard" recension we have: (1) the massoretic text; (2) the Greek of Theodotion; (3) the Latin of Jerome. We have the great good fortune to know the habits of each of these two translators, and can thus reason from version to original with an assurance which would not otherwise be possible. As Jerome made his translation near the end of the fourth century, its value for text-critical purposes is very small; it almost everywhere agrees verbatim with our massoretic text. Theodotion's Greek, on the other hand, bears interesting witness to the fact that the massoretic text is by no means identical with the "standard" text of the second century A. D. The manner in which even an official recension can become corrupted, even within a short time, is well illustrated here. The text rendered by Theodotion has suffered many accidental changes, and a few which look like deliberate revision; so also has that of the massoretic. One example of the kind has already been pointed out (above, p. 73); in I Chron. 28:20, Theodotion's Hebrew contained a passage of considerable length which has been lost, by a mere copyist's error, from our MT.

Another instance, and one of especial interest, is the long passage which in our Greek Bible is appended to II Chron. 35:19

(see above, p. 74). Examination shows<sup>29</sup> that this was taken bodily from II Kings 23:24-27; but no one seems to have observed that the borrowing did not take place in the Greek version, but in the Hebrew original. Theodotion had all this before him, in the text which he rendered; moreover, the word  $\text{קִדְּשֵׁי}$ , which he transliterated by *καδησειμ* (?), is not attested in II Kings 23:24 by MT or any version, though it appears to be the older reading as contrasted with the  $\text{שִׁקְצֵי}$  which is given there. What adds materially to the interest of the case is the fact that the *old* Greek version bears witness to still another Hebrew text at this point. The passage in I Esdras (1:21 ff.) reads as follows: [<sup>21</sup>καὶ ὠρθώθη τὰ ἔργα Ἰωσείου ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει εὐσεβείας. <sup>22</sup>καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, περὶ . . . τῶν ἡμαρτηκῶτων καὶ ἡσεβηκῶτων εἰς τὸν κύριον παρὰ πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐλύπησαν αὐτὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ οἱ λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου ἀνέστησαν ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ. <sup>23</sup>Καὶ μετὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πράξιν ταύτην Ἰωσείου] συνέβη Φαραῶ βασιλεύει κτλ., the end of the bracketed section being the point at which agreement with the other texts begins. The first glance at this Greek version makes the whole matter plain. We have here what the Chronicler himself originally wrote, but in mutilated form, a passage of some length having been lost from the Hebrew by accident at the point where I have inserted the four periods. The Greek translator rendered as well as he could; but the passage was hopelessly spoiled, and indeed made even worse than useless, for as it now reads it seems to class Josiah among the most wicked of kings! Hence the bold measure of cutting out the entire passage from Hebrew texts. In the copy which lay before Theodotion this had been done, and the resulting gap had been filled from II Kings. In our massoretic text the excision has been made and the gap left unfilled; but certain tell-tale words are added which not only testify eloquently to the fact of the lacuna, but even hint at the nature of the missing passage. When our Hebrew text proceeds (vs. 30):  $\text{אחרי כן וזאת אשר הכין יאשיהו את הבית}$  [עלה נכו מלך מצרים וגו', comparison with the two Greek versions shows beyond all question what was meant by the words: "After all this work which Josiah did *in setting the temple in order.*" The allusion is to

<sup>29</sup> I am not sure to whom it shows anything. Our modern commentators, whether on Chronicles or Esdras, seem to have failed to notice the matter.

some such passage as the one translated by Theodotion, which immediately preceded these words. And finally, it is to be observed that the "standard text" of the second century A. D. must either have been identical here with Theodotion's, or else have resembled the fragmentary one preserved in I Esdras. The phenomena can be explained on either supposition, but the latter is evidently the more probable one.

A third example of these more important variations in the tradition is found in II Chron. 36:8, another passage in which we are able to compare I Esdras. Here, after the statement that 'the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim are written in the book of Kings,' Theodotion proceeds: [καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακείμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ,<sup>30</sup> καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν γαν οὔζα μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ.] καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν κτλ. The bracketed passage is wanting in both MT and I Esdras, but was certainly in the Hebrew text of Chronicles which lay before Theodotion (see above, p. 72). Whatever we may think of its origin—and especially, of the statement regarding "the garden of Uzza"—the fact of its existence ought at least to be made known in our commentaries and "critical" editions of the Hebrew text.

Another example, of a somewhat different character. In the list of returning exiles, found in I Esdr., chap. 5, Ezr., chap. 2, Neh., chap. 7, there is one point at which the accidental omission of two or more names is made especially easy by the proximity of similar or nearly identical forms:  $\text{אגבא}$  *Agaβa* and  $\text{אגב}$  *Agaβ*,  $\text{אגב}$  and  $\text{אגב}$  (?). In I Esdr. 5:29 f. we have the passage in what seems to be its original form, with the names *Agaβa*, *Akouβ*, *Oυta*, *Khtaβ*, *Agaβ*. In Ezr. 2:46 the names *Oυta*, *Khtaβ*, are wanting in all the texts known, and therefore presumably were not found at this point in the official text of the second century A. D., their loss being due to the carelessness of a copyist. In Neh. 7:48 the most of the Greek manuscripts, including codices A and S, contain all the names; in MT, and also in a few Greek codices, including B, the last four names of those mentioned above have fallen out accidentally for the obvious reason just given. The names *Oυta* and *Khtaβ*, therefore, which are now not represented anywhere in the Hebrew Old Testament, were present in the Hebrew rendered by Theodotion. It cannot be held that they

<sup>30</sup> This clause is found also in II Kings 24:6; and it is customary in both Kings and Chronicles to use this formula in speaking of any king who dies a natural death while occupying the throne.



were inserted from I Esdras, in the Greek translation, because (1) such an insertion is altogether unlikely; (2) if made, it would certainly have been in Ezra, chap. 2, not in Neh., chap. 7; (3) the only form attested by any I Esdras text is *Κηταβ*, while in the Theodotion texts we have everywhere *Κηταρ*. It is remarkable that our commentators and critics of the Hebrew text should not notice the testimony of the Greek in Neh. 7:48. All, apparently, omit even to look at the footnote in Swete; codex B is "the Septuagint."<sup>31</sup>

These illustrations will suffice. The "official" text differed in some important particulars from that of our massorettes and also from the text of Theodotion, although both were derived from it. A satisfactory restoration of it is generally possible, however, by the use of these two, with occasional aid from other sources. Of course the numerous minor variations, due to the usual accidents of transmission and defects of translation, are taken for granted. Sometimes Theodotion, and sometimes MT, has preserved the better reading. The latter deserves the preference, on the whole. The restoration of Theodotion's Hebrew-Aramaic text is in theory a comparatively easy matter, since we know how close a rendering he was wont to make, and since, because of the late date of his work and the nearness of our oldest manuscripts to his time, we can put unusual confidence in the traditional Greek. In fact, however, a good deal of close study is often needed in order to find out what "the traditional Greek" is. And when it has once been found, the danger of blundering in constructing from it a new Semitic text is very great, even under these most favorable circumstances.

#### IV. NOTES ON MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS

Fortunately, the history of the transmission of the three "books," Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, is one and the same history, generally speaking. They have stood side by side, from the first, sharing the same fate, whether in translation or in manuscript tradition. Especially in the Greek codices which contain these books, it can be seen that they all, including I Esdras, have come down to us through the same lines of descent. That which is seen to be true of codex A, or of codex B, or of the

<sup>31</sup> It is quite characteristic of the L recension that it should expunge these two names both in I Esdras and in Nehemiah—since nothing in the Hebrew corresponds to them!



grouping of certain cursives, in I Chronicles, for example, will be found to hold good for I Esdras or Nehemiah. That which can be proved regarding a translation, or a recension, in one part of the history will be true, speaking broadly, in every other part.

*1. The Superiority of the A Manuscripts to those of the B Group*

Theodotion's translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was not made until (at least) the middle of the second century A. D. Our oldest Greek codices date from a time only two or three centuries later than this, and some one or more among them might easily have been copied from manuscripts belonging to the translator's own time. Moreover, these books were already a part of "Sacred Scripture" at the time when the version was made, and the need of a careful tradition of the Greek text was already beginning to be keenly felt. We should therefore expect to find Theodotion's Greek pretty well preserved, in general; and to be able to recognize in some manuscript, or group of manuscripts, a text closely approximating to that which came from the translator's own hands. And in fact, both of these expectations are realized. Thanks to the multitude of proper names in every part of the Chronicler's history, the grouping of manuscripts is relatively easy; and because of Theodotion's many peculiar transliterations, which subsequent editors liked to get rid of, it is often possible to distinguish at a glance the original reading from the later one.

Among the Greek manuscripts, those which contain the L text form a very conspicuous group by themselves. These are the cursives 19, 93, 108, with the occasional addition of others.<sup>32</sup> This peculiar recension will be described below, and may be passed over here.

All the other manuscripts may be divided roughly into two main groups. The one of these has for its constant members the uncials B, S, and N,<sup>33</sup> the cursive 55 (almost an exact duplicate of B), and is supported by the Syro-Hexaplar and Ethiopic versions. The other group is led by the uncial A, and may be said to include all of the remaining cursives, though it must not be

<sup>32</sup> I use, of course, the notation of Holmes and Parsons, wherever the contrary is not expressly stated.

<sup>33</sup> The codex Basiliano-Vaticanus, numbered XI by Holmes and Parsons. It is hardly correct to speak of this manuscript as a "constant" member of the group, to be sure, for in Chronicles and I Esdras it seems to occupy a peculiar position; see below.

inferred from this that the group is homogeneous.<sup>34</sup> The characteristic of the manuscripts and versions of the B group is the remarkable fidelity with which they reproduce the archetype from which they all were derived. They carry us back—and evidently not very far back—to a single codex, whose multitudinous errors, including even the most glaring blunders of copyists, are everywhere faithfully repeated. Among these half-dozen witnesses, the best text is given by codex **N**, so far as it is preserved; that of codex B is the worst. As for the MSS of the “A group,” they present no such uniform type, but differ among themselves after the usual manner of O. T. Greek MSS, though in relatively slight degree. That is, we find in them just the variety which we should expect to find in a group of codices derived from Theodotion’s translation. The best text in this group is that of codex A.

The current (and, so far as I know, unchallenged) opinion as to the best Greek text of the books Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is that expressed by Kittel, *Bücher der Chronik*, p. 24, middle: “B hat nun trotz vieler Schreibfehler doch im ganzen den besseren Text, auch bei den Namen, während A sich fast durchweg Angleichung an den MT zu Schulden kommen lässt.” But this view is altogether mistaken. Codex A, in these books, has *not* been conformed to MT; and as for the misguided worship of codex B, it has nowhere so little justification as here. B generally yields an inferior text in the Old Testament, and in this case it is at its very worst.

First, as to codex A. It makes the impression of being surprisingly “correct,” as contrasted with B. It reads smoothly, as a rule, stands generally pretty close to our massoretic Hebrew, and (what is especially noticeable) does not give in its proper names the monstrosities which are the rule in the other uncials, but rather presents what appears to be a mere transliteration of the MT forms. But this does not show, by any means, that A’s is a corrected text. We are not dealing here with the Pentateuch, or the books of Samuel, or with a translation made in the third century B. C. Theodotion had before him a Hebrew text which very closely resembled our MT; he rendered it exactly, and transliterated very carefully; and we happen to

<sup>34</sup> Certain subdivisions of this main group are obvious enough, but I pass them over here as unimportant for my purposes.

have in codex A a pretty old and unusually trustworthy copy of the original version. That is all. The theory that A has been extensively corrected can be shown on every page and in every chapter to be untenable. The codex contains a great many ancient errors of which the correction is perfectly obvious, but the erroneous readings have in almost all cases been allowed to stand. Take, for example, the numerous transliterations described above (p. 69), where Theodotion dealt timidly with corrupted words which were easily emendable, and which appear in their correct form in MT. Any "edited" text would correct these forms—as they are corrected in L, for example. But in A they remain unchanged. A good illustration, again, from I Esdras is the ancient corruption of the name "Megiddo," in 1:27, where the original Greek reading *Μαγεδδω(ν)* was very early altered, through accidents of a familiar type, to *Μεγαεδδως* and *Μεταεδδους*. Everyone knew what the correct reading was, and in L (but not in A) it was of course substituted. Moreover, in the part of I Esdras which was least of all subject to correction or alteration, the 'Story of the Youths, the text of A shows the same superiority to that of B as elsewhere. A typical example is furnished by the proper name *Ἰδουμαῖοι*, "Edomites," in 4:45, 50. In both places A gives it correctly, while B has in the first instance *Ἰουδαῖοι*, and in the second *Χαλδαῖοι*.<sup>35</sup>

In Ezr. 8:10 it is obvious that cod. A and a small group of allied MSS have preserved an ancient reading which stood in the text of Theodotion, but is wanting in MT, L, and the B group alike. MT reads *גַּבְרֵי שְׁלוֹמֹנִית*; the B and L groups have *ἀπὸ νιῶν Σαλειμουθ*, or its equivalent. But A and its fellows have *ἀπὸ νιῶν Βα[α]νι, Σελειμουθ*, which is certainly correct. The name was dropped from the L recension and from the MSS of the B group because (on comparison with MT) the *βανι* was taken for an unnecessary doublet of *νιῶν*.

It must always be remembered that A stands in no sense alone. Its text is usually that of the great majority of our MSS.

But what is much more important still is the fact, which is quite obvious in every part of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. and I Esdras, that the cause of the considerable variation in the Greek texts is not correction, but corruption; and that the corrupt forms of proper names, which are especially characteristic of the B group

<sup>35</sup> This is a mere correction for *Ἰουδαῖοι*; cf. codex 55 and the Ethiopic version.

of MSS, were derived directly from the very same (and far more correct) forms which appear in A and its nearest associates. In other words: we have in our MSS the offspring of *only one Greek version* of the three canonical books, namely that of Theodotion; at a short distance from the original, but already considerably disfigured by accidents of transmission, stands A; farther on in the same direction, and with the disfigurement very much increased, follow the MSS of the B group.

The great inferiority of codex B, together with the fact that it represents in general a mere corruption of the A text, may be illustrated here by a few typical examples; others will be given below.

II Chron. 34:22, A *Θακοναθ*, B *Καθουαλ*. A's reading agrees neither with MT nor with II Kings 22:14, but undoubtedly represents Theodotion's rendering of תְּקִיחָה, as also appears from a comparison of the *qerē* with the *ketib* in our MT.

I Chron. 36:8, the transliteration *γανοζα*, mentioned above. A and most MSS have *γανοζαν* (the *ν* from the following letter *μ*, in an uncial text), B *γανοζαη*, with the familiar corruption of N to H.

I Chron. 5:6, 26, for תְּגִלָּה פְּלִנְסָר, A has both times *Θαγλαθ-φαλνασαρ*; B, in vs. 6 *Θαλγαβανασαρ*, and in vs. 26 *Θαγναφαρασαρ*. This is a fair sample of the difference between A and B throughout the four Chron.-Ezr. books.

I Chron. 1:54 (and Gen. 36:43) for the name עִירָם A has *Ηραμ*, B *Zαφωειν*! The scribal blunders, mostly made in copying a cursive text, are only those which the B scribes are constantly making. The original transliteration was *αιραμ*. The Z came from the final N of the preceding word; *ιρ = φ*, as very often; the confusion of *a* with *ω* can be found on almost every page of B; *μ* becomes *ιν*, *υ*, etc. very frequently.

I Chron. 2:47, for the name גִּישָׁי, A has *Γηρσωμ*, B *Σωγαρ*. Neither agrees with MT, and the B reading is a corruption from that of A, as usual.

I Chron. 4:5, for נִשְׁהָרָר, A *Ασχουρ*, B *Σαρα* (A for X, see below on Neh. 3:2).

I Chron. 4:21, the translit. *εβδαθ αββους*, given correctly in A and in other codices. B has *εφραθ αβακ*. This does not mean at all that B has been corrected according to a reading עֲבֹתָ; on the contrary, the confusion of the letters *δ* and *ρ* is a rather common thing in B or its nearest ancestors. Another example of the kind is Ezr. 8:27 *καφουδηθ* (the transliteration, according

to B), where A and most of the others have *καφουρη* or its equivalent. In both of these cases, and in others of the same nature, the testimony of the other MSS of the B group shows that we have to do merely with corruption in the Greek text.

Neh. 3:2, B reads *Zαβαουρ* for MT *צַבִּי*. This certainly seems at first sight to point to a variant Hebrew reading, but it does not in fact. The other MSS of the B group (Σ, V) show that the reading of their archetype was *Zακχουρ*. The two scribal blunders, B for K and A for X, have each many examples in codex B.

II Chron. 27:3; 33:14. Theodotion's transliteration *οφαλ* was corrupted by one of the very first copyists into *οφλα* (so A and the best of the others); B has in both cases *ὄπλα*, "arms."

Such examples as these could be given by the hundred. And they are simply typical of what is the case in every part of the four books now under discussion.<sup>36</sup> Attention should be called, too, to the large number of omissions in codex B, due simply to incredible carelessness. A good example is the very first verse of Ezra, in which three words absolutely necessary to the sense are dropped out. Phrases and whole sentences are lost with surprising frequency; see, for example, in Ezr.-Neh. alone, Ezr. 1:3; 2:10, 39; 3:3; 6:5; 8:5; Neh. 3:4; 7:26 f., 48.

This will suffice to show the character of the manuscript. In Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. and I Esdras, the best uncial, by far, is A; and the worst, by far, is B. It would be hard to find, among the more pretentious MSS of the Greek Old Testament, any other such miserable specimen of textual tradition as that which codex B offers in these particular books. On the other hand, it represents a text which has suffered comparatively little editorial correction. Of course, all of our MSS have been more or less "improved" by the rectification of obvious errors and the substi-

<sup>36</sup> If there is any kind of blunder, or confusion of Greek letters, which the transcriber of B (and perhaps also, of its nearest ancestor) did not make repeatedly, I do not know what it is. It is to be hoped that the time may soon come when the authors and editors of works dealing with the Old Testament will cease to load their pages with the textual absurdities of this codex. At present, the custom is all but universal. It might be added, in general, that the recording of obvious blunders in spelling, and of the orthographic habits of unknown scribes (similar habits and peculiarities being already well known) is not a matter of the least scientific interest. The editors of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, for instance, have made their work the repository of thousands of absolutely worthless "variants;" as though it were useful to note the occurrence of both *Αδιν* and *Αδεν*, or as though there could be any text-critical or other value even in the fact that while one codex reads *Βεκτιλεθ* another reads *Βακτελαιθ* (the pronunciation being exactly the same in the two cases); to say nothing of recording such rubbish as B's *Χθααδ*, from *Ελλαδ* (all ordinary blunders, even the X; cf. the reading of Σ in Neh. 7:40, etc.) in I Chron. 11:30, or its *Βαγαδιηλ*, for *Βεθβαγων*, in Josh. 15:41, or *πολέμων*, for *πόλεων*, in I Chron. 18:8, or hundreds of others even worse than these!

tution of translations for the more disturbing transliterations. Examples of such correction in both A and B have already been given; it has taken place less often in B than in A.

## 2. *Hexaplar MSS of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.*

As has already been said (above, p. 3), Hexaplar Greek texts of these Old Testament books, Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. and I Esdras, have heretofore been quite unknown. We have the Syro-Hexaplar version of I Esdras, however; and in the first of these essays I have published for the first time the extant fragments of the same version of Nehemiah.<sup>37</sup> We therefore have direct access to the "Septuagint" column of Origen's *Hexapla*, not only in I Esdras but also in Nehemiah. Through the general neglect and misunderstanding of I Esdras it has happened that no one has ascertained what Greek MSS are most nearly related to the Syriac, though this can be done with the greatest ease and certainty, thanks to the abundance of proper names. Nestle's astonishing assertion that the Syriac I Esdras was derived "from the Lucian text" (!) has already been noticed. Comparison shows, on the contrary, that the Hexaplar Syriac of both I Esdras and Neh. clings closely at every point to the peculiar text of the B group, which has just been described. That is, *the MSS of the B group are Hexaplar MSS.* This conclusion is confirmed by the much misunderstood note appended to the book of Nehemiah in codex  $\aleph$ , written apparently by the original hand.<sup>38</sup> The note states that the codex had been care-

<sup>37</sup> I might have added there, in giving the evidence that this is really the Syro-Hexaplar version, that its transcriber himself explains exactly what is meant by the recurring phrase, "according to the tradition of the Seventy." In a note at the end of the extracts from the book of Daniel (MS Brit. Mus. Add. 12.168, fol. 161b) he says that the version from which all these excerpts are made is that of Paul of Tellā.

<sup>38</sup> Thus Swete, in his edition; and the probability seems to me to be strongly supported by the attendant facts. Of course, the task of distinguishing the work of the successive hands in codex  $\aleph$  is one of notorious difficulty—often quite hopeless. The matter is further complicated by the considerable additions to the text which have been made by the "second" corrector ( $\aleph^c$ ), of the seventh century, whose work has been quite generally supposed to be that which is referred to in the note; see Tischendorf's *Vetus Testamentum Graece* (1887), Vol. I, Prolegomena, p. 63; Nestle, *Einführung in das griechische NT*, p. 51; and compare also the note appended (this time by  $\aleph^c$ , a?) to the book of Esther in codex  $\aleph$ . But the additions of this corrector are of a quite different type. They include: (1) the *plus* of the Hebrew (on which see below); also (2) corrections from the A text, such as those in Neh. 2:16; 7:70, and elsewhere; (3) extensive insertions, mostly worthless doublet readings, from the *Recension*, such as those in Neh. 1:9, 11; 2:5, 6, 8, etc.; and (4) corrections from still other sources, such as the name of the month in Neh. 1:1, and the word *ἐνοῦχος* in 1:11. It would be plain, even without direct proof, that this variegated material was not derived from Origen's "LXX" column; and the witness of the Syro-Hex. version in 2:5-8 shows conclusively that it was not. This version of Paul of Tellā, it is to be remembered, included everything—even the asterisked matter—which stood in the fifth column of the *Hexapla*. The note at the end of Neh. in  $\aleph$  then, if it tells the truth, has nothing to do with the work of the corrector  $\aleph^c$ .



fully collated with one of the oldest and most correct of all existing Hexaplar MSS. But there is in the MS itself no evidence of any considerable diorthosis to which this note could refer. The corrections in the original hand are few and unimportant. The necessary conclusion is, that at least in the book of Ezr.-Neh. codex **N** is, and from the first was known to be, a Hexaplar codex; and that care was taken to make it as faithful a replica of Origen's text as possible.<sup>39</sup>

We can say then with certainty that in both "*First Esdras*" and "*Second Esdras*" (Ezra-Nehemiah) the manuscripts **N**,<sup>40</sup> **B**, 55 represent more or less faithful transcripts of the fifth column of the *Hexapla*, and that codex **N**<sup>41</sup> is Hexaplar at least in Ezr.-Neh. It is important to notice, further, that the asterisked passages (Origen's insertions from the *plus* of the Hebrew) are omitted. This fact appears plainly from a comparison of the Greek with the surviving fragments of the Syro-Hexaplar Nehemiah, which contain the *plus*. The **B** MSS coincide exactly with the Syriac except in this one particular.<sup>42</sup>

In regard to the **B** group in Chronicles it is necessary to speak with more caution; but it is hardly to be doubted that here also these same MSS contain the Hexaplar text. The codices **N**, **B**, and 55, at all events, have the very same character here, and bear the same relation to one another and to the **A** group, as in the Ezra-Nehemiah books. I have not satisfied myself, thus far, that the same is true of codex **N**; for this, in the majority of the

<sup>39</sup> One must of course bear in mind the fact of the remarkable displacement of a portion of codex **N**, and of the MS from which it was copied (the origin of the circumstance having been, probably, the accidental transposition of a single quire), in these very books; and also the possibility that the above-mentioned note was simply transcribed from an older codex. But no one of all these uncertainties can affect the conclusion that **N** is here a Hexaplar MS. That fact is absolutely certain.

<sup>40</sup> In codex **N**, which is incomplete, I Esdras is now lacking, to be sure. The fact that in certain other books of the *Old Testament* codex **B** contains, or has affinities with, a Hexaplar text is well known; see Swete's *Introd.*, pp. 487 f.; Cornill, *Einführung*, p. 335.

<sup>41</sup> According to Swete's *Introduction*, pp. 132, 202, this codex does not contain *I Esdras*. What the ground of this statement is, I do not know, and nothing in the literature to which I have access has yielded any explanation. According to Holmes and Parsons, nearly the whole of the last chapter of the book is missing in the codex (**XI**), but their apparatus includes readings from every other part.

The relation of the text of **N** to that of the *Hexapla* is not a simple one. In Ezr.-Neh. it is plainly based on Origen's; in I Esdras and Chron., on the other hand, it differs so widely as to make one of two suppositions necessary: either it represents an intermediate stage between the older and more correct text of **A** and the type selected by Origen; or else, it is eclectic. It usually contains old and relatively correct readings, but is plainly related everywhere to the Origen text in a way that is not true of cod. **A** and its nearest relatives. I have not made any thorough examination, and so cannot speak with confidence.

<sup>42</sup> In codex **N**, the "second" corrector (**N** c. a.), of the seventh century, has introduced these passages, as well as considerable other material of varied character. See the description of his work in a preceding note.



points at which I have tested it, has seemed to abandon its companions of the B group and to conform to the text of A and its fellows; see above. The investigation is rendered more difficult by the fact that **Σ** is wanting in nearly the whole of Chronicles, while the help of the Syriac and Ethiopic versions is no longer to be had, and the text of B is so corrupt as to render it unfit to be a basis of comparison.

The following passages will serve to show both the relatively poor quality of the Hexaplar text in these books (Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, I Esdras) and also the relative amount of corruption in the several MSS which compose the Hexaplar group. It is often possible to recognize successive stages of degeneration, and in such cases it is almost invariably codex B which occupies the last stage.

Ezr. 10:23, where A and nearly all of the MSS of its "group" have the correct reading:

A, *Κωλιτας και Φεθεια και Ιουδας*

**Σ**, *Κωλιταν κ. Φααια κ. Ιεδομ*

N, *Κωλιετ κ. Φαδαια κ. Ναδομ*

B, *Κωλιεν κ. Φαδαια κ. Ιοδομ*

Neh. 1:1, A, *Χασσηλου*; **Σ** and N, *Σεχεηλ*; B, *Σεχειλου*.

I Chron. 11:12, A (correctly), *Αχωχι*; **Σ**, *Αχωνει*; B, *Αρχωνει*.

I Chron. 11:33 f., Theodotion's original transliteration must have been:

*Ελιαβα ο Σαλαβωνι, βενε Ασαμ ο Γουνι*

A, *Ελιαβα ο Σαλαβωνι, υιοι*<sup>43</sup> *Ασαμ ο Γουνι*

**Σ**, *Εαμαβα ο Σωμει, Βεννας ο Σομογεννουνιν*<sup>44</sup>

B, *Σαμαβα ο Ομει, Βενναιας ο Σομολογεννουνειν*

The variations of **Σ** and B from the original text are due here, as in the other cases, merely to copyist's blunders in the Greek.

I Chron. 12:27, A and N, *Ιωαδαε*; **Σ**, *Τωαδαε*; B, *Τωαδας*.

I Chron. 15:9, A, *Ελιηλ*; **Σ**, *Ενηλ*; B, *Ενηρ*.<sup>45</sup>

Neh. 7:70, 72, A, *χοθωνωθ*; **Σ** and B, in both places, *μεχωνωθ*.

<sup>43</sup>Such harmless correction of Theodotion's unnecessary transliteration occurs sporadically in all of the MSS. Thus in I Chron. 2:53 B has *πόλις Ιαερ*, while A retains *Καριαθιαερ*.

<sup>44</sup>Presumably *εν* from *ω*, as occasionally elsewhere.

<sup>45</sup>How it is possible for a scholar who has both commented on the books of Chronicles and edited their Hebrew text to say (as quoted above): "B hat . . . im ganzen den besseren Text, auch bei den Namen," when it is everywhere as clear as daylight that the difference between the readings of A and B, in Swete's apparatus, is a difference due simply to inner-Greek corruption, and that A has, or approximates to, the very forms from which those of B were corrupted, passes my comprehension.

I Esdr. 5:66, A, *Ασβασαρεθ*, the original (corrupt) reading of the I Esdr. fragment; B, N, *Ασβακαφαθ*; and this still more corrupt form stood in the *Hexapla*, as is shown by the Syriac and Ethiopic versions.

I Esdr. 8:7, A, *Εξρας*; B, *Αψαρας* (!); so also the Syr.-Hex. and the Eth. (with a slight variation). Cf. the form found in B in 9:46.

I Esdr. 8:31. For *Φααθμωαβ* (or *Π'*), given in all the MSS which are not Hexaplar, B, Syriac, and Ethiopic have *Μααθμωαβ*.

I Esdr. 8:33. The Hebrew (Ezr. 8:7) has: *מִבְּנֵי עֵלָם יִשְׁתִּיעַ*. This was correctly rendered in the I Esdras text, as A and its associates show: *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ελαμ, Ἰεσσίας*. In the text of Origen's LXX column, the first letter of each of the two proper names was missing; B has *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λαμ, Ἰεσσίας*, and with this the Ethiopic agrees, though combining the two proper names into one; Syriac has *ܠܡܘܠܐܘܢܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܘܢܐ*, i. e. the same text, but reading MAA in place of AAM.

These examples, which are truly representative, could be vastly multiplied. And they all tell the same story. It is an interesting question, but one which we hardly have the means of answering, how Origen happened to choose this inferior text for his "Septuagint." Possibly some old and venerated codex led him astray; or it may be that he made the same mistake which modern scholars have made. Not knowing that Theodotion was the author of this version—and we may be sure (see above, p. 4) that he did not know it—he may have looked with suspicion on the Greek text that agreed closely with MT, and have preferred the one that showed somewhat more divergence. Even the latter stood nearer to the Hebrew (leaving proper names out of account) than was the case with the Greek versions of most of the Old Testament books.

### 3. *The Versions Made from Origen's "Septuagint"*

The main facts regarding the *Syriac* translation, made by Paul of Tellā, I have already set forth (above, pp. 1 ff.). It is most unfortunate that just this portion of the Maes codex, which contained Chronicles, First Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah, should have perished utterly, leaving no trace behind. In other manuscripts I Esdras has been preserved entire; and a single MS—published by me above, pp. 7-10—gives us a few extracts from Nehemiah.

We know that this version was made from the fifth column of

the *Hexapla*, and that it was very exact. In the attempt to determine its relation to the existing Hexaplar MSS of the Chron.-Ezra books we are at a great disadvantage, because of the scantiness of the material. Codex **N** lacks I Esdras; and **N**, as has already been observed, either occupies an intermediate position or else yields an eclectic text, and cannot be trusted as a witness to Origen's readings. Throughout I Esdras the Syriac stands pretty close to codex **B**, but represents in general a text somewhat less disfigured by the blunders of scribes. The same is true in the Nehemiah extracts. Here, where we are at last able to compare **N**, the portion of the text is too small in extent to give a satisfactory basis of comparison. The Syriac agrees very noticeably with **B** in reproducing the clerical blunder *Χελκεια* (ܟܠܟܝܐ) in 1:1, and in retaining *ἐκτετιναγμένων* (ܐܟܬܬܝܢܐܓܡܝܢܘܢ) instead of *ἐκτεταγμένων*, in 4:16(10); in the former case against all other witnesses, and in the latter against all but the faithful codex 55. On the other hand, the Syriac agrees with **N** against **B** in the passages 8:2, *καὶ ἔως*; 8:9, *οἱ συνετίζοντες*; *ibid.*, *ἤκουσεν*; 8:10, *μερίδας*. I have not made any careful comparison, however.

The Greek of Origen's fifth column contained his selected text expanded by the insertion of translations of the *plus* of MT, these additions being marked in each case by an asterisk and a metobelus. The early Greek transcripts of this column, made by those who wished the "true Septuagint text," omitted the asterisked portions, as we have seen. Paul of Tellā translated the whole column, retaining the signs.<sup>46</sup> Subsequent copyists of his version generally retained the whole text, but omitted the signs. This is true of the Nehemiah extracts in our single surviving manuscript; the *plus* of the Hebrew is there, but not distinguished in any way. See for illustration 2:1, 8; 8:18.

Of an *Ethiopic* version of Origen's "LXX," only I Esdras has thus far been published. It has not heretofore been recognized as Hexaplar in its origin. Whether a similar version of any other of the Chron.-Ezra books was made, is not known. The text was edited, from five manuscripts, by Dillmann in his *Vet. Test. Aethiopici Tom. V, Libri Apocryphi*, Berlin, 1894. He himself remarks concerning this version (p. 219) that it was made at an early date, from a Greek text which it renders very faithfully, and that it has been well preserved.

<sup>46</sup> The text of I Esdras of course did not contain any of these asterisked passages.

Examination of this version shows that it is a valuable witness to the Hexaplar text. It must have been made with unusual care, from a comparatively trustworthy codex. The Greek which can be restored from it coincides throughout with that obtained from the Syr.-Hex., B, 55, and (frequently) N, in sharp distinction from the other and more common type of text represented by A and the army of cursives. Some striking examples of this coincidence have already been given, and a great many more could be added if it were necessary. Ethiopic versions of Old Testament books are usually of very little consequence, and it is therefore most refreshing to find one that is really useful.

It is interesting to see what indisputable evidence is furnished of the corrupt state of the manuscript which Origen selected. Thus, in 5:18, where the old "Egyptian" reading was *Βαιθασμωθ*, the stupid doublet *Βαιθασμων ζαμμωθ* is faithfully reproduced by the Ethiopic and B (Syriac is wanting here); and in 8:29, where the ordinary text had *Φινεας, Γερσων· ἀπὸ*, the monstrous reading *Φορος, Ταροσοτομος* (think of pinning our faith to such transcribers as these!) is attested by B, Syriac, and Ethiopic alike. Another good illustration is found in 9:25. Here, instead of *θυρωρῶν*, "doorkeepers," Origen's text had *θυγατέρων*, "daughters" (!), and this nonsense is transmitted, as usual, by B, Ethiopic, and Paul of Tellā. That we are ultimately dealing in these cases merely with a single very corrupt manuscript is proved conclusively—as also in a hundred similar cases—by the fact that *both* the Syrian text (preserved in L) and the ordinary Egyptian text (given by the great majority of the MSS) testify only to the correct reading.

The Ethiopic will generally be found, then, to agree with codex B. In many passages it differs, however, its distance from B being, on the whole, about the same as that of the Syriac, with which, in turn, it frequently fails to coincide.

#### 4. *The Two Main Branches of the Greek Tradition*

In the case of the Chron.-Ezr. books, the fact of a double tradition of the Greek text can be especially well observed. The one branch may be called the Syrian, inasmuch as it forms the basis of the Lucianic recension; the other I have termed Egyptian, and this designation, though probably not exact, is at least convenient.

In the I Esdras fragment, and especially in the Story of the Youths, where there is no complication from successive translations, conformation to a Semitic text, and the like, the phenomenon of the two slightly differing types of text is seen in its simplest form. A typical case is that of the proper name in 4:29, which I have elsewhere discussed (above, p. 43). Here, the form Βαζακου is attested by a formidable array of witnesses, including Josephus; while the more familiar form, Βαρτακου, goes back to a period considerably earlier than Origen, as is shown by the fact that it is attested by *all* our Greek MSS, excepting the few which constitute the L group. Throughout the whole of I Esdras, something similar to this can be observed. There are plainly two distinct traditions of the Greek text, differing from each other slightly, on the whole, including both the spelling of the proper names and the wording of the narrative. The variation is not at all such as to suggest two translations, but consists rather in those occasional differences which inevitably arise in the course of time, through the ordinary accidents of transmission, when documents are handed down through separate lines or families of manuscripts. The one "family" includes the text adopted by Origen, and also nearly all of the extant MSS; and we may therefore regard Alexandria as its proper home, even though it was in current use far beyond the borders of Egypt. Of the text belonging to the other line of transmission we know that it formed the basis of the one which came to be regarded as authoritative in Syria, at least in and after the fourth century A. D. (Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 80-86). It is thus presumably the text which had been handed down in Syria and Palestine from an early date. Its influence also extended far to the north and west. The MSS containing it are few (those of the L recension), but it is also embodied in the old Latin version of I Esdras. This same type of text—plainly belonging to the same tradition as that of I Esdras—is found in other parts of the Old Testament, as is well known. A. Mez, in a pamphlet<sup>47</sup> published in 1895, showed that the Greek text followed by Josephus in his *Antiquities*, for the part of the Old Testament which includes Joshua, Judges, and the two books of Samuel, was usually the same which underlies the L recension. I had already, in my own investigation of the text of I Esdras, conducted in that

<sup>47</sup> *Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Bücher, v.-vii. der Archäol.*, Basel. See also Swete's *Introduction*, p. 379.

same year, made a similar comparison for this book, and reached a result somewhat resembling that of Mez. In this case, however, Josephus' text does not correspond to the nucleus of L; nor, on the other hand, does it agree throughout with any form of the "Egyptian" tradition; it seems rather to occupy an intermediate position, giving now the reading of the one, now of the other. The cases in which Josephus coincides with L, against the ordinary I Esdras text, while not many in number, are worthy of notice. Examples are: I Esdr. 1:9, cf. Jos. x, 71, the numbers of the sheep and bullocks. I Esdr. 4:29, cf. Jos. xi, 54, the name of the father of Apama, already mentioned as an example. Ezra. 4:10 (the passage now missing in our I Esdr. 2:16 [13]), cf. Jos. xi, 19, the name of the king, Šalmanassar. Inasmuch as all the Greek texts of I Esdras came from a single MS, the beginning of the two diverging lines of tradition, Egyptian and Syrian, lies not very far back, presumably a good while after the time of Josephus. It follows that the coincidence of his text with either one of the two (in cases where we cannot suspect correction or contamination) gives us the original reading of the I Esdras fragment.

From what has been said thus far, it might be supposed that the L text embodies merely the Syro-Palestinian tradition of the I Esdras Greek in the same way that the MSS of the A and B groups embody the Egyptian tradition. This is by no means true, as will be shown below. The L text is everywhere contaminated, conflated, and arbitrarily altered, even in the Story of the Three Youths; and this unfortunate redaction—the only form in which we know the text—was undertaken at a late date.

In the canonical Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., again, we can observe the same phenomenon of a Syrian text differing slightly (in its primitive form) but unmistakably from the Egyptian text. The differentiation did not begin in this case until after the middle of the second century A. D., since it is in Theodotion's version that it takes place. We should therefore expect the variation to be relatively small, and this it is in fact; but the distinction between "Syrian" text and "Egyptian" text is a real and important one, nevertheless. No better illustration is needed than that which has already been given, above, in recording occasional instances in which the Syrian tradition preserves Theodotion's characteristic transliteration—directly against the whole tendency of



the L recension—while the Egyptian emends by translating. It often happens, of course, that the L MSS contain a synonym of the word which is found in all the other codices. This is in many cases not the mere result of a somewhat free transmission, however, but rather of a deliberate revision; see below. There are not a few instances, finally, of addition, subtraction, or alteration in the Egyptian text, where L has preserved the original form. A good example is furnished by I Chron. 26:16–18, where in the whole array of MSS of the A and B groups vs. 18 contains a secondary rendering<sup>48</sup> which was evidently unknown in Syria, as it is wanting in L. Such revision as this is rare in the Egyptian text, however, while in L it is the rule. An example of a later Egyptian alteration, whose influence has not proceeded quite so far, is II Chron. 33:14, where MT reads: **וּלְבוֹא בְשַׁעַר הַדְּגַיִם לְעִבְדָּם לְעִבְדָּם**. Theodotion rendered this: [Μετὰ ταῦτα ἠκοδόμησεν . . . ] καὶ ἐκπορευομένων τὴν πύλην τὴν ἰχθυικὴν κυκλόθεν (reading **סביב**) εἰς τὸ οφθαλ. In this text, through the blunders of a copyist or two and the influence of the Greek in 27:3, the word ἰχθυικὴν was lost and εἰς τὸ οφθαλ became εἰς αὐτὸ οφθα (B, al. ὄπλα). A revising hand added, presumably in the margin of a MS, a new rendering of the passage: κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς πύλης τῆς ἰχθυικῆς καὶ περιεκύκλωσεν (=MT) τὸ ἄδυτον.<sup>49</sup> This then found its way as a doublet reading into the text of an important group of codices, including A, and into the margin of B. A single one of these changes, that of ΟΦΑΛ into ΟΦΛΑ, antedates the branching-off of the Syrian tradition; in other respects L has here kept the original reading.

In general, the best MSS of the Egyptian family present a homogeneous text which has been very little revised. By comparing them among themselves, with the help of the massoretic Hebrew, we can usually find our way back to the very words of Theodotion. The aid of L can never be dispensed with, however, and in a good many cases it is our sole Greek witness to the true reading. It is sometimes the case, to be sure, that even with the testimony of both recensions before us we are at a loss to find the

<sup>48</sup> Based on a slightly different Hebrew text? The *τρεῖς* suggests **שלכת + שלשת**; the word **ב]מסלה** is apparently in another place; **העולה** is not translated in either version. This added rendering makes it still more certain, by the way, that in the first clause of vs. 17 the original reading was **לירם**, and not **הלירם** (the **ה** came from the last letter of the preceding word). Our modern translators, editors, and commentators appear not to have noticed this.

<sup>49</sup> On the possibility that this was the translation of Symmachus, see below.



original. With L alone, on the other hand, we should be very badly off. Unless it is constantly controlled by the Egyptian text it is very difficult to put it to any critical use. Along both of these main lines of tradition there has been a good deal of accidental corruption of the text, the greater part of which is easy to trace. The only type of text in which this corruption has gone very far is, as has been shown, Origen's own "Septuagint." The relation of the A group to the B group is in all other respects a close one: see, for an illustration, Neh. 12:37b-38, where a long passage is wanting in ABS, though present in many cursives as well as in the L text. It formed a part of the Theodotion version, as the *θαννουρειμ* shows (cf. 3:11). That is, the codex which was the ancestor of both A and the MS which Origen took as the basis of his text had accidentally lost this passage. Among the cursives of the Egyptian family which deserve close attention, cod. 56 and (especially) the Aldine MS 121<sup>50</sup> are conspicuous for the extent to which they have preserved the original readings of the Theodotion version.

##### 5. *The Syrian Tradition, the Lucian Recension, and our L Text*

How wide an influence the Syro-Palestinian text exerted during its early history, while it represented merely a divergent form of the Greek tradition, we do not know. We do not even know whether it was ever a relatively correct text.<sup>51</sup> We know simply that it preserved a good many old readings which were lost or changed in the more widely current version. It presumably deteriorated gradually, like its fellows, until the time when it was made the basis of that thoroughgoing recension which has survived to the present day.

Near the end of the third century A. D., Lucian of Antioch undertook a revision of the Greek Old Testament. The few facts which are known in regard to this Syrian editor have often been rehearsed; and the reasons why our L text is commonly supposed (and doubtless rightly) to be identical with Lucian's recension are also familiar.<sup>52</sup> Even the bare comparison of the citations from Theodoret, given in Holmes and Parsons, would lead one to the

<sup>50</sup> This codex sometimes shows a close affinity with the L MSS, it is to be observed.

<sup>51</sup> The old Latin translation of I Esdras gives us some information on this point, to be sure; see below.

<sup>52</sup> See Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 80-86.

conclusion that L is an Antiochian text; while the fact that it represents not a growth but an arbitrary revision is patent enough.

Occasionally in descriptions, and commonly in actual use, our L text is treated as though it were identical, or nearly identical, with the text of the Syro-Palestinian tradition. Thus Swete (*Introduction*, p. 379), in dealing with the Old Testament text used by Josephus, speaks of a probability that in certain of the historical books "the Greek Bible of Palestine during the second half of the first century presented a text not very remote from that of the recension which emanated from Antioch early in the fourth." But this is by no means the true state of the case. The version as reconstructed by Lucian bears about the same relation to the one on which it was based as a thoroughly remodeled, renewed, and enlarged house bears to its smaller original. In every part of the structure, a great many of the old beams, boards, stones, and other materials have been replaced by new ones, new fabric has everywhere been superadded to the old, and the fashion of the whole has been changed. The following classes of alterations characterize the Lucian recension:

1. The text has been extensively conformed to the massoretic Hebrew. (a) The *plus* of MT is freely inserted; not consistently—nothing is done consistently in the L recension—but as a rule. Thus I Chron. 26:16, 17; Ezr. 9:13; 10:3; Neh. 2:1, 8; 8:9; 11:23; these being merely single examples of what takes place in every chapter. (b) The Greek text is very frequently corrected according to the Hebrew. The original reading of the Greek is changed from singular to plural, or vice versa, in order to conform to MT. Words which appear to be out of agreement with the Hebrew are often dropped, and their places are taken by translations of MT. So, for instance, in Ezr. 9:3, 5.

2. The Greek has been very much contaminated from other Greek texts. These include: (a) The parallel or duplicate accounts. Thus, a great many of the original readings of the L I Esdras have been discarded, their places being filled by the readings of the canonical version. In like manner, the readings of the parallel passages in the other historical books are adopted whenever they happen to be preferred. That is, for example, the reader of the L version of Chronicles must everywhere be prepared to find that the word or phrase with which he is dealing has simply been transplanted thither from Genesis, or Samuel, or Kings.

(b) Readings found in any part of the Old Testament may be substituted for those of Theodotion in the interest of the harmonistic tendency. (c) Harmonizing alterations on the basis of the immediate context, usually very mischievous, are frequently made. Thus in I Esdr. 5:5 instead of *ὁ τοῦ Ζοροβαβελ* L offers *ὁ καὶ Ζοροβαβελ*.

3. One constant feature of the L recension is its conflation from various sources. Side by side with Theodotion's rendering, in these books, we very often have that of some other translator, or an extract from a parallel passage. Some of these secondary renderings are derived from the other Hexaplar versions; some are doubtless the work of Lucian himself; still others are of unknown origin. For characteristic examples see I Chron. 22:3; Ezr. 9:13; Neh. 4:10 (2), 27 (17); 6:10. Often a correction stands beside the word it was intended to correct, as in I Chron. 4:22. Occasionally a long passage is repeated in varying form, as in I Esdr. 1:9b-13, where the I Esdras and Chronicles accounts are put side by side. Not infrequently the translation of our MT is accompanied by the rendering of a manifest corruption of it, as in Neh. 2:6, 8.

It would be interesting to search for traces of the work of Aquila and Symmachus among these double renderings, whether they are found in L or in other recensions or manuscripts of these books. Sometimes, though probably not often, the identification would be possible. In Neh. 5:13 (L), *Οὕτως ἐκτινάξαι ὁ θεὸς σὺν πάντα ἄνδρα ὃς οὐ στήσει σὺν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον κ.τ.λ.*, where the *σὺν . . . σὺν*, representing **סס . . . סס**, is not in the ordinary Greek, it seems certain that we have an extract from the translation of Aquila. In 13:25 (L) the verb *ἐμαδάρωσα* (otherwise unknown) looks like an imitation of the Hebrew **מַדְרִיס** (not rendered here by Theodotion) on the basis of the verb *μαδίζειν*, "make bald." If this is really its origin, it is presumably a coinage of Aquila, whose fondness for such new creations is well known.<sup>53</sup>

The hand of Symmachus is pretty certainly to be seen in the double rendering of **מַדְרִיס** in the Hexaplar text (**Σ**, **Β**, but not the Syr.-Hex.) of Neh. 1:3. *ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν τῇ πόλει*.

<sup>53</sup> On the basis of this verb-form in Neh. 13:25, Klostermann (*Realencycl.*, *loc. cit.*) would emend the impossible "ἐπαλλόμεν" in Ezr. 9:3, 5 to *ἐμαδαρώμεν*! On the contrary, the Hebrew word which corresponds there is **מַדְרִיס**, "my outer garment," and we must read in both verses *τὸ πάλαιόν μου*.

We know that Symmachus would have been likely to substitute *πόλις* for the older rendering *χώρα*, for he makes this very same correction in I Kings 20:14 and Dan. 8:2. The secondary translation in II Chron. 33:14 (the passage already discussed above), where **לְעַשְׂתִּי** is rendered by *τὸ ἄδυστον*—the doublet this time also occurring not in L but in certain Egyptian MSS—suggests Symmachus, though I do not know that it is possible to say more than this. In I Sam. 5:9 Symmachus renders **עֲשֵׂה** by *κρυπτά*, and he is the only one of the translators to interpret the root **עֲשֵׂה** in this way. In Neh. 3:15, where MT has **הִלְשָׁה**, and the ordinary Egyptian text reads *τῶν κωδίων*,<sup>54</sup> codex **N** has, instead, *θε τοῦ Σιλωαμ*. This certainly appears to be an ascription to Theodotion, as Klostermann has observed. Whether it is a correct ascription or not is another question, but the possibility can hardly be denied. In that case we should have to suppose that a rendering corresponding to our MT has supplanted the original one here.

4. Alterations merely in the interest of literary quality and completeness, or to suit the editor's dogmatic or other preferences, are everywhere abundant. These include: (a) The removal (usual, but not invariable) of Theodotion's transliterations, which are accordingly replaced by translations. For examples, see the list above. (b) The free revision of difficult phrases, often to the extent of changing their meaning and completely obscuring their relation to the original Semitic. A characteristic example is I Esdr. 4:39, where instead of the exactly rendered, but disturbing, Aramaic idiom, *τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων*, "she executes judgment on all the wicked," the L text has *δίκαια ποιεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπέχεται*. So in 5:6 L alters *τοῦ πρώτου μηνός* (for *τῆ πρώτῃ τοῦ μηνός*) into *τῷ πρώτῳ μηνί*. Or in 2:17 (14) where the ordinary text has *ναὸν ὑποβάλλονται*—in MT **וַיִּבְנוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ**—L has "improved" the reading to *ναὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα θεμελιοῦσιν*. Or in II Chron. 2:12 (13), *τὸν παῖδά μου* substituted for *τὸν πατέρα μου*. (c) Supplementary and interpretative additions, composed freely *ad hoc*. These are also very numerous, and every one of them is a trap for the unwary text-critic who wishes to advance science by giving new Hebrew

<sup>54</sup> This word is a veritable translation of **הִלְשָׁה** (cf. the Aramaic **אֶתְהַלְשָׁה**, "hide"), and is by no means to be altered into *βολεύων*, as Klostermann proposes on the basis of the rendering in 4:17 (11).

readings from "Lucian." For example, in II Chron. 18:19 the narrative runs as follows: 'Yahwè said to his heavenly retainers, Who will mislead Ahab? One proposed one thing, and another another.' At this point L adds: *καὶ εἶπεν, Οὕτως οὐ δυνήσκει;*<sup>55</sup> "But Yahwè said, You will not succeed in this way." Compare vs. 21. In Neh. 4:8*b* (vs. 18 in the L Greek) just after the word *בְּפִנְיָהוּ*, L has *καὶ ὄρκισα αὐτοὺς κύριον λέγων*, a purely arbitrary insertion in the Greek. There are many such examples, besides a good many cases in which the addition of a word or two has been made with interpretative intent. Thus, the words "to Jerusalem," Neh. 8:1; "of Benjamin," 11:8; the name "Ezra" in 8:18; see also I Esdr. 4:13, 48, 61; 5:5; Neh. 12:1, etc. Such interjected vocatives as "O king!" I Esdr. 4:43; "O Lord!" 4:60, are of course to be expected. And finally, a characteristic example is afforded by the close of I Esdras. In the original fragment, the end was reached in the middle of a sentence; but in the L text this inelegant conclusion is improved by the addition of a verse (Neh. 8:13) from the canonical version. (d) The substitution of synonyms. This well-known and comparatively harmless peculiarity of the L recension needs no illustration.

So much for the deliberate alterations undertaken by the Lucianic revision. As for the accidental corruption which the Syro-Palestinian Greek text had already undergone in the process of its transmission, before suffering this very extensive editorial transformation, it is sufficient to say that it does not appear to have been different, in kind or degree, from that which befell the standard Egyptian text. In general, the amount of this accidental corruption is much underestimated by those who have made use of Lagarde's edition.<sup>56</sup> Klostermann (*loc. cit.*, p. 508) even finds in some of it the evidence of differing dialects: "Wenigstens ist es kein Zufall, wenn die dentale Tenuis durch Sibilans ersetzt

<sup>55</sup> Lagarde edits — wrongly, as I believe — *καὶ εἶπεν οὕτως Οὐ δυνήσκει*.

<sup>56</sup> It is true, in general, of the modern use of the Greek Bible for text-critical purposes that recourse is had far too often to the hypothesis of divergent Hebrew texts, while there is far too little appreciation of the extent to which the Greek texts themselves have been corrupted in transmission. It is generally taken for granted, moreover (see, e. g., Benzinger's remark on the Greek MSS of Kings, in the introduction to his *Comm.*) that the text which diverges most from MT is the oldest and most important. But this is a criterion which has no value unless it is supplemented by exact information as to the quality of individual MSS and the nature of translations and recensions. Codex B and the L text, for instance, usually show the greatest divergence from MT, and in both cases the divergence means, as a rule, merely perversion of the older readings, which (more nearly agreeing with MT) are found in other MSS.

wird, wie *απιτα* (שׁוֹטָה), *ατηρ*, *τελμων*, bei Luc, durch *αζιζα*, *αζηρ*, *σελμων*." But this is a mistake. These are scribal blunders of a very common order, which abound also in the MSS of the ordinary text, and especially (of course) in B and its fellows.

These facts make it plain that the Greek published by Lagarde is not at all "the old Greek Bible of Palestine," and often bears little resemblance to it. It is in part a mixed text which is the result of an eclectic process, and in part a text arbitrarily constructed *de novo*; besides all the accidental deterioration which it has suffered. The fact cannot be emphasized too strongly that L in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., when it differs from the ordinary Greek, *usually does not represent another Hebrew text*. It is mainly, of course, a translation of the Hebrew which lay before Theodotion. But this Heb. text almost everywhere agreed with our MT; moreover, the translation is very well preserved in the Egyptian MSS, and it is only rarely that L can improve upon their readings. It would presumably almost never be the case that a correct reading preserved only in L would happen also to represent a divergence in Theodotion's Hebrew. The doublet readings in L, whether Hexaplaric or not, are, as a rule, derived either from our MT or from a manifestly corrupt form of it. Really helpful corrections of MT are extremely rare. One is to be found in Neh. 11:17, *τοῦ αἰνου* for *התהלה*; undoubtedly derived from another Hebrew text, since Jerome's Latin makes the same correction. But in the most of the cases where L presents variant readings which sound plausible, we are not by any means at liberty to suppose that these were derived from a Hebrew text; on the contrary, they are pretty certain to be arbitrary improvements, of one kind or another, in the Greek itself. It follows, that emendation of MT on the basis of L alone is almost never permissible in these books; never, in fact, except for the strongest reasons.

All this is obvious enough; and yet our Old Testament scholars, in using the L text of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., treat it habitually as though it represented a Hebrew text of its own. Thus Kittel,<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kittel, in his *Biblia Hebraica*, recently published, constantly includes in his notes at the foot of the page Hebrew readings given on the sole authority of L. If these "variant readings" are to have any significance at all in his apparatus, they must be supposed actually to have stood in a Hebrew text and to have been rendered by this Greek. But of the great majority of them this is not true. They are mere excrescences on the Greek, due either to the irresponsible reviser or else to obvious errors of Greek transcribers. Nothing corresponding to them ever stood in any Hebrew text of the Chronicler's work. I have observed one case, Neh. 11:8, in which MT can be emended in accordance with a reading peculiar to L; but even here it may be that the *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ* came from a happy con-



in his several works on Chron.; Benzinger,<sup>58</sup> in his commentary on Chronicles; Bertholet, *Comm.* on *Ezr.-Neh.*, and others. Siegfried, *Comm.* on *Ezr.-Neh.*, does not pay much attention to the examination of the text.

Allied to the Lagarde text, but plainly not belonging to it, is the old Latin translation of I Esdras. This was made from the Syro-Palestinian Greek some time before the Lucianic revision; presumably in the second century A. D., since it is cited by Cyprian. In this version we really have a representative of the old Syro-Palestinian text, and the aid which it gives is important. The many additions, corrections, and confections introduced by Lucian do not appear in it.<sup>59</sup> Its text has come down to us in several slightly differing forms, which need to be re-examined.

The L Greek text, then, is an instrument only to be used with the utmost caution. It is true that even in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. it contains a good deal of valuable material, not found elsewhere; but this is much less in amount, and far more difficult to secure, than is commonly supposed. The quest of it is not quite the search for two grains of wheat in two bushels of chaff, for in this case the material in which it is imbedded has also a certain value of its own—but only when its origin and true character are understood. The folly of “criticizing” our MT by the use of a Greek text which has itself not been criticized at all is nowhere more striking than in the present-day use of Lagarde’s edition. The rule usually adopted appears to be: Take any Greek reading

jecture and not from any real Hebrew reading. For examples of this mistaken use, see his notes on I Chron. 4:41 (where the Greek must originally have been τὰς πηγὰς ἃς εὐρον ἐκεῖ, and its Heb. = exactly our MT), 5:20 (of course either ἰβου[θη]σαν or ἰβου[θηθη]σαν), 9:37; 12:24; 13:1 (two places); 16:30 (the second half-verse transferred bodily from the Greek of Ps. 96:10!); 21:20 (see below); 24:24 (contamination from 23:20); II Chron. 7:20; 9:29 (!); 18:2, 29 (both of these conformed to the parallels in Kings); 22:6; 25:1; 27:4; 33:2; Ezra 4:23; 10:3, 24; Neh. 9:6, 32 (!); 13:1, 9.

In general, the apparatus of this *Biblia Hebraica* in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. consists largely of information which is quite worthless for its intended purpose. The “LXX” notes have rarely any significance for the Hebrew text. In the L version of I Chron. 9:31, for instance, we have a bit of corrupt Greek side by side with its correct original. Why include such stuff here? Or why print in II Chron. 2:13 “LXX + καὶ ὑφαίνεν,” when it is obvious at the first glance that the verb had its origin in a blundering dittography of the first letters of the following Hebrew word? Plain blunders of Greek copyists are also recorded, as in I Chron. 7:8 (twice). The apparatus of a Hebrew Bible (and a reprint of MT at that!) is not the place to study the performances of third-rate Greek scribes, interesting as the study might be under other circumstances.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, his comments on I Chron. 2:18 f.; 3:22; 11:1, 8 (περιβίωσα τὸ; cf. Ex. 22:18), 11 (contamination from II Sam. 23:8), 22; 15:13 (!); II Chron. 2:12; 35:3.

<sup>59</sup> Such as those in 1:9-12; 2:17 (18); 4:13, 39, 43, 48, 60, 61; 5:5—to give only the examples which have already been mentioned. The incomplete sentence at the end of the I Esdras fragment is filled out in the Latin, but not in the same way as in the Lucian Greek.

which seems useful, no matter whence it comes. Thus it happens that words due simply to copyists' blunders in the Greek, others which plainly resulted from a corrupt form of our MT, and readings which a closer scrutiny would have shown to be merely later doublet renderings of the same text, are all laid under contribution, and new and strange Hebrew phrases, said to correspond to them, are forthwith constructed.<sup>60</sup> Since the conglomerate L text offers so much that is not found elsewhere, it is naturally a mine for those who are not over particular. Klostermann, in the introduction to his commentary on the books of Samuel, quoted in Driver, *Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. lii, has expressed himself as follows: "Let him who would advance science . . . . accustom himself above all things to the use of . . . . Lagarde's edition of the recension of Lucian." Theoretically, this has some justification—though it would be better to advise students to begin by learning to make a scientific use of the ordinary Greek text; in practice, there has thus far been little use made of the L text in any part of the Old Testament which has tended noticeably to advance science. Not one in twenty of all the "emendations" of the Hebrew text hitherto made on the basis of Lucian readings will survive any critical examination. And the opportunities of doing harm through uncritical methods are much more numerous here than elsewhere. I would suggest instead this maxim: Let him who would advance science keep away as far as possible from

<sup>60</sup>To give a few characteristic examples: In I Chron. 21:20 the Chronicler wrote **מתהבאים**, as is attested both by MT and by Theodotion's transliteration (see above). The Hebrew word presents no difficulty whatever in its context. Theodotion's transliteration was replaced (as usual) in some MSS by the translation *κρυβόμενοι*. In L this was corrupted (possibly under the influence of the Greek of II Sam. 24:20, *διαπορευομένων*, = **עברים**, though the word there stands in an altogether different clause, and refers to other persons) to *πορευόμενοι*. On the basis of this reading Klostermann emends to **מתהלכים** (! not an equivalent of *πορευόμενοι*, nor graphically similar to MT, nor at all suited to this context), which is approved by Kittel, *Polychrome Bible and Comm.* In Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* there is a note: "Read with L and II Sam. **עברים**," a specimen of textual criticism which could hardly be surpassed.

One of the first emendations made by Guthe, in his *Polychrome Ezra and Nehemiah*, is an insertion in the text of Ezr. 1:3, on the sole basis of a reading in the Lucian I Esdras. But no one who is well acquainted with the L recension could doubt for a moment that its *ὡς προθυμείται τοῦ πορευθῆναι* (2:3) is a free editorial insertion in the Greek.

In Neh. 4:17, where the Hebrew reads **איש שלחו המים** (a corruption of **בדרך** cf. II Chron. 23:10), the L Greek has a characteristic double translation *καὶ ἀνδρα ὃν ἀπέστειλον ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀνὴρ καὶ ὄπλον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ*. Guthe actually turns this two-fold nonsense into Hebrew, inserting also an **אשר** and the two prepositions **על** and **אל**, and substitutes it for MT! Kittel also prints this newly made Hebrew in his critical apparatus, and Bertholet (*Comm.*) mentions it with respect.

These are merely typical instances, of three different kinds, one from each of the three books. The list could be extended to include nearly all of the modern "critical" use of L in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.

critical operations with the Lucian recension until he has learned what it is and how to use it.

There is one purpose, however, for which the attention of scholars really needs to be directed to the L text at once, and that is, for the study of the Greek itself. There is doubtless much to be learned from it as to the history of both Hebrew original and the Greek versions, especially the Hexaplar, as well as in regard to the primitive readings of the Syro-Palestinian recension. And one of the first important undertakings of the criticism of the Greek Old Testament should be the reconstruction, so far as it is possible, of Theodotion's translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.

#### V. THE CRITICAL PROCESS IN RESTORING THE SEMITIC TEXT

In investigating the Hebrew-Aramaic text of these books, in the part of the history covered by I Esdras, the process (after making sure of the traditional reading) must always be the following.

1. Ascertain the Egyptian Greek text of *the canonical recension*. Swete's edition usually (though not always) suffices for this purpose; and when it is used, the reading of codex A must always be given the presumption of superiority over that of codices B and S.

2. Compare the Syrian text (Lagarde's edition) of the same book, bearing in mind its treacherous character. By the comparison we can reach approximately the original reading of Theodotion's version.

3. By comparing (*a*) the reading thus gained with (*b*) the Latin version of Jerome, and then with (*c*) the massoretic text, we can approximate to—and in most cases reach with certainty—the Heb.-Aram. text which was selected, edited,<sup>61</sup> and made normative by the Jewish scholars at the beginning of the second century A. D.

4. Ascertain the reading of the Egyptian Greek text of *I Esdras*, using for this purpose (*a*) the text of A and the allied cursives, with which must be compared the witnesses to the Hexaplar Greek, including (*b*) codex B, (*c*) the Syriac of Paul of Tellā, and (*d*) the Ethiopic version.

5. Compare the Syro-Palestinian I Esdras, using (*a*) Lagarde's Greek (with the greatest caution, since this particular recension

<sup>61</sup> See above, pp. 34 and 83.

has not only suffered the usual "Lucianic" alterations, but has also been very extensively contaminated from the canonical Ezra), (b) the old Latin version, and (c) the text preserved by Josephus in his *Antiquities*. By thus comparing the Syrian with the Egyptian readings of I Esdras it is usually possible to gain the true text of the old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., which was probably made shortly before the middle of the second century B. C.

6. Regain the Heb.-Aram. text from which this translation was made; and attempt, through comparison of this with the text of the second century A. D., to restore the words originally written by the Chronicler, or found by him in the sources which he used. In reasoning from the old Greek version to the Semitic text which lay behind it, one must bear in mind that this translation, while truly a "close" one, is considerably more free than the later renderings; also, that the Greek text has been much longer exposed to accidental corruption than that of Theodotion's version. Many readings which seem to point to variation in the Semitic original are really due to changes which have taken place in the Greek itself. And finally, in comparing the two parent Semitic texts with each other, some account must be taken of their relative correctness, so far as any general estimate is possible.

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF EZRA IN ITS ORIGINAL  
FORM AND SETTING

I have shown in one of the previous chapters (see above, pp. 26 ff., 33 f.) that our canonical book of Ezra is a mutilated recension, made by cutting out the (interpolated) Story of the Three Youths *together with a part of the Chronicler's own narrative* which had been so firmly welded to it by a redactor as now to seem inseparable from it. I have also given (above, pp. 50-56) a translation of the Story of the Three Youths in its primitive form, and also of the two small "patches" which were composed by the interpolator (pp. 57, 59); it now remains to restore this portion of the Chronicler's history to its original condition, printing it as it stood in the latter part of the third century B. C., before the story was interpolated.

The complete accomplishment of this task involves the retranslation, from Greek into Hebrew, of an extended passage which is now extant only in our "First Esdras." Such retranslations are rarely worth while, for they can never reproduce the exact wording of the original, and hardly ever give much real assistance in the cases where there is *no* Semitic text by which they can be controlled. The present case is peculiar, however, in that the Chronicler is the writer, and the matters with which he is dealing are nearly all such as he has dealt with repeatedly elsewhere. No other writer in all the Old Testament shows so little variation, in his choice of material and in his literary style, as the Chronicler; his mannerisms, stock phrases, lexical and grammatical peculiarities, and favorite subjects, are everywhere conspicuous and easily recognized. That is, we do have in this case original Semitic texts by which the translation can be controlled. Nearly everything which stands in this Greek fragment can be more or less easily paralleled from other parts of the Chronicler's work. When to this is added the fact that the Greek here is well preserved and its meaning nowhere obscure, while we know it to be in general a faithful rendering, it will be seen that a Hebrew text can be restored concerning which it is possible to feel some con-

vidence that it everywhere stands near to what the Chronicler himself wrote. For this reason, and also for the sake of demonstrating in this most tangible way that I Esdr. 4:47b-56, 62—5:9 is a rendering from the Hebrew, and from the Hebrew of the Chronicler, I have undertaken the retranslation. Without this last step, my demonstration, as such, would be defective.

The portion of the Chronicler's history here printed and translated includes II Chron. 36:20, 21; Ezra 1:1-11; I Esdras 4:47b-56, 62, 63; 5:1-6; Ezra 2:1-3*a*. This all I believe to be the work of the Chronicler's own hand, written originally in this order, and substantially in the form here presented. Evidence of this, beyond what has already been given, will appear in the notes appended to the Hebrew text. There is no break in the narrative, nor does anything appear to be missing—unless possibly the subject of the verb in I Esdr. 4:62.

The proof of the Chronicler's authorship of the sections now extant only in I Esdr. is abundant and of every variety, including the constant emphasis laid upon those things which the Chronicler alone, of all O. T. writers, makes prominent; the recurrence of his favorite phrases, in just the forms which he habitually employs; the use of words and constructions found elsewhere only in his writings; and the plain traces of his unique style, seen even in this Greek disguise. Moreover, the manner in which this section fills the gap between the first two chapters of Ezra is proof of the strongest kind, as I have shown in detail elsewhere (above, pp. 25-28).

I have made the extract begin at II Chron. 36:20, instead of vs. 22, for two reasons. In the first place, vs. 22 (= Ezra 1:1) contains a reference to the quotation in vs. 21, which ought therefore to be included, together with vs. 20, which introduces it. And in the second place, the end of II Chron. and the beginning of Ezra, originally written in one piece without any break, have never been printed continuously, so far as I know; and it is highly desirable that this portion of the Chronicler's history should for once appear in its primitive form. Most scholars now profess to believe that Ezra, chap. 1 was written by the Chronicler in continuation of II Chron., chap. 36, but in their mode of dealing with the two "books" they persistently deny the fact.<sup>1</sup> It very rarely happens that the same man writes a commentary on both Chronicles

<sup>1</sup>In Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*, the fact that the order of the Hebrew canon is followed is no sufficient excuse for printing Ezra *before* Chronicles.



and Ezra-Nehemiah, or even makes a careful study of *both* of these divisions of the history. The commentator on Ezra-Nehemiah finishes his work without troubling himself to examine I and II Chron., and vice versa—as though one should comment on half of the book of Ezekiel without closely examining the other half. The present misunderstanding of Ezr.-Neh. is due in no small measure to this traditional blunder of method. The occurrence of the passage Ezr. 1:1–3a in two places is recognized as the result of an arbitrary rearrangement of the history, made long after the Chronicler's day;<sup>2</sup> but one scholar after another treats the passage, in either place, as though he had a lingering feeling that it was actually written twice over by its author, or else, that it was "taken over" from one book into another. The climax, in this regard, seems to me to be reached by Kittel, in his edition of the Hebrew text of Chronicles for the *Polychrome Bible*, where he *prints this passage in light red* (the color used for sections "derived from passages preserved in our present O. T.!!"), thus obscuring as completely as possible the true state of the case. It will hardly be superfluous, therefore, to print the verses for once in their original context.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>The verses in question were not, as the textbooks say, "added to the end of Chronicles" (as though the book had ever had another ending!). Whoever first cut off the Ezr.-Neh. portion made it begin at II Chron. 36:22 because with this verse Cyrus and the new era were introduced. Then, when the preceding portion of the history was also set apart as a book by itself, it was made to overlap the other by a few sentences; not "in order to provide for the book an auspicious ending," but *either* in order to preserve evidence of the fact that the two "books" were originally parts of the same whole, and that this was the point of their juncture, or else merely as the result of a copyist's carelessness. In the history of ancient literature there are some striking parallels of this latter kind. Thus Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 1875, p. 200, speaking of the MS tradition of the works of Eusebius: "Wenn aber am Ende des ersten und zweiten Buches der *praep.* die langen Einleitungen zum zweiten und dritten Buche abgeschrieben, an erster Stelle sogar mitten im Satze abgebrochen werden, so wird man eine solche Plumpeheit nicht Eusebios, sondern seinen Abschreibern zur Last legen. Sie ist aber in alle Handschriften eingedrungen, weil alle Abschriften eines Urcodex sind." The reason why II Chron. ends with the word *וַיִּבֶן*, without finishing the sentence, may be either that this is the first possible stopping-place after the mention of Cyrus, or else that this word happened to end the line, or the page, in the manuscript which first made the separation.

<sup>3</sup>To illustrate further the current misinterpretation of the double occurrence of the two verses in question: Kittel, *Bücher der Chronik* (in Nowack's *Handkommentar*), p. 178, on II Chron. 36:22 f., writes: "Die Worte finden sich wörtlich auch als Anfang des kanonischen Buchs Esr. 1:1–3a. Einheit des Verfassers beider Bücher . . . folgt daraus noch nicht. Wie beliebt diese Worte . . . waren, zeigt auch III Esr. 2:1 ff., ohne dass man daraus weitergehende Schlüsse ziehen darf. Seine ursprüngliche Stelle hat das Stück (wie das Abbrechen mitten im Satze Esras durch den Chronisten zeigt) bei Esra, mag es nun durch den Chronisten selbst oder einen Späteren hierher gekommen sein."

And in the Introduction, p. vi: "Immerhin kann es als bedeutsam angesehen werden, dass diese alten Ergänzungen sich für ihren Zweck [viz. the purpose of giving the book of Chron. a propitious ending] gerade *an das Buch Esra wandten*" (the italics are mine). It would be difficult to give more misinformation in this amount of space. I have quoted the passages somewhat fully because they represent a view which is widely held.

A word in regard to the punctuation of the Hebrew text which here follows. Punctuation is as indispensable in Semitic as in English or any other language, and it is time that some usable system were adopted for our editions of Old Testament writings. Unpointed and unpunctuated Hebrew selections are occasionally useful—just as unpointed Greek texts are often used—for pedagogic purposes; but when the books of the Old Testament are intended not for classroom drill, but for the multitude who read them for the sake of their contents, to leave them without punctuation is to leave them half edited. So long as the massoretic text is left untouched, one can make a shift of using the division of clauses and phrases made by the “accents;” since these, though always inexact and often misleading, may be used as a poor substitute for a system of punctuation. But the accents are not always correctly placed; and, what is worse, it is not possible to rearrange them at pleasure. It occasionally happens, for example, that the massoretic verse-division is incorrect. This does not, however, justify any modern scholar in moving the *sōf pāsūq* (‡) to another place. The *sōf pāsūq* belongs to a complicated and very carefully wrought *system*, in which the disarrangement of any one part affects the rest. A Hebrew text in which the verse-dividers are shifted, while the remaining massoretic accents are left as they were before, is a monstrosity. The same is true of the attempt to shift the other accents. It often happens that the chief pause within the verse, marked in the traditional punctuation by the *athnachta* (⋈), has been wrongly indicated, through misunderstanding of the text. But moving the *athnachta* to another place is like altering music by moving an occasional bar one or two notes forward or back. The massoretic notation was made for all time, and ought not to be tampered with. To endeavor to make use of it in our modern emended texts of the Old Testament is to attempt the impossible—and the undesirable.

It would be an ill-advised proceeding, moreover, to retain a few of these signs (such as the *sōf pāsūq*, the *athnachta*, and the *zāqēf*), using them in the place of modern punctuation marks; first, because they are not at all adapted to such use, and second, because they already have a distinct use of their own, for which it is important that they should be kept.<sup>4</sup> They are historically

<sup>4</sup>The *athnachta*, for example, properly belongs in the middle of Gen. 1:1; but there is no place there for punctuation in our sense of the term.

of real value, and—like the rest of the massoretic notation—will continue to be useful for purposes of reference.<sup>5</sup> But they ought to be an occasional help, not a perpetual encumbrance. Next to a Hebrew grammar constructed on modern scientific principles, the chief desideratum of Old Testament studies at the present day is an O. T. text printed and punctuated in a way suited to the needs of modern readers and scholars. Not primarily an *emended* text, or at least, not altered from the massoretic except in the comparatively small number of cases where both the corruption and the remedy are practically certain; but one in which the page is freed from the mass of bewildering and unnecessary “points” and “accents,” and some use, in the way of punctuation, is made of the Hebrew studies which have been pursued since the early Middle Ages.<sup>6</sup>

Since the Old Testament writings are now, and presumably always will be, cited by chapter and verse; and since these compositions are, in fact, made up of comparatively short sentences, with which the present “verses” are generally intended to correspond; it is important that the end of the verse should be very distinctly marked. I have therefore chosen the sign © for this purpose. The simple period (.) can then be used for the full stop within the verse, wherever this is necessary. For the division of the sentence into its component parts, the reversed comma (·) and semicolon (;) will usually suffice.

<sup>5</sup>To be sure, their original and proper use, as a system of musical notation, is now not understood at all. As for their serving to divide clauses and phrases, it must be admitted that they do it very poorly; indeed, they are in their nature incompatible with any strict division according to the requirements of sense and rhetoric. For instance, they divide as a rule dichotomously, whether the sentence is thus constructed or not. Punctuation marks should show to the eye the logical relation of the members of the sentence or period; this the massoretic notes rarely can do. If one should set the first chapter of Genesis to music, and then print the English text without punctuation proper, but use for that purpose the bars and double-bars of the music printed above each line, the result would be much like what we have throughout our O. T.

<sup>6</sup>The *Biblia Hebraica* recently edited by a number of scholars under the general supervision of Professor R. Kittel shows a curious mixture of the obsolete with the modern. It is half Massoretic Bible, and half something else. It very properly leaves the last two words of I Sam. 10:27, for example, where they are instead of making them the beginning of 11:1, as no one doubts that they originally were. And yet in every part of the O. T. which now happens to be recognized by these editors as poetry a separation into lines is made, such as would certainly have astonished the massorettes. This division is based on individual judgment, which is of course now and then mistaken; the separation of lines being made in the wrong place, or passages originally written as poetry (such as Isa. 44:9-20) being here invidiously set apart as prose. All the bewildering rubbish of “accents” is retained, and yet in the footnotes frequent proposals are made to shift these signs to other places, treating them as punctuation marks. If it was thought desirable to print the Massoretic Bible once more, would it not have been better to do simply that, leaving modern ideas and scholarship to be embodied in an edition of another sort, such as would be made in the case of any Greek classic?

THE CHRONICLER'S NARRATIVE OF THE RETURN  
FROM THE EXILE

36<sup>20</sup> וַיִּגְלַל (מֶלֶךְ כַּשְׂדִּים)<sup>a</sup> הַשְּׂאִרִית מִן הַחֶרֶב אֶל בָּבֶל<sup>b</sup>, וַיְהִי לֹו  
וּלְבָנָיו לְעַבְדִּים עַד מֶלֶךְ מִלְכּוֹת פָּרַס ◊<sup>21</sup> לְמִלְאוֹת דְּבַר יְהוָה בְּפִי  
יְרֵמְיָהוּ, עַד רָצַחַה הָאָרֶץ אֶת שְׂבַח־וֹתֶיהָ, כֹּל יְמֵי הַשְּׁמָיָה שְׁבַתָּהּ,  
לְמִלְאוֹת שִׁבְעִים שָׁנָה<sup>d</sup> ◊

1<sup>1</sup> וּבְשֵׁנִית אַחַת לְכוֹרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס, לְגַלוֹת דְּבַר יְהוָה בְּפִי יְרֵמְיָהוּ,  
הַעֲזָר יְהוָה אֶת רוּחַ כְּרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס; וַיַּעֲבֵר קוֹל בְּנֵל מִלְכּוֹתוֹ וְגַם  
בְּמִסְתָּב לֵאמֹר ◊<sup>2</sup> כֹּה אָמַר כְּרֶשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס: כֹּל מִמִּלְכּוֹת הָאָרֶץ  
נָתַן לִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְהוּא פָקַד עָלַי לְבָנוֹת לוֹ בֵּית

<sup>a</sup>I have inserted the words מֶלֶךְ כַּשְׂדִּים here, from the preceding context, merely for convenience.

<sup>b</sup>בָּבֶל is of course the country Babylonia, not the city Babylon.

<sup>c</sup>The quotation from "Jeremiah" evidently includes the whole of the rest of the verse, not merely the next clause, or the next two clauses (as in Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*). The part relating to the "70 years" is found in Jer. 25:12; 29:10, while the remainder occurs in our Bible only in Lev. 26:34 f.; cf. vs. 43. It is possible, but not probable, that the Book of Jeremiah in the form known to the Chronicler actually contained all this. What is much more likely is, that he made up the citation freely, without caring to be exact. The identity of the prediction in Leviticus with that in Jeremiah would seem to any exegete of his school to be assured by the designation of the period of exile as a "Sabbath," coupled with the significant four-fold repetition of the number *seven* in vss. 18, 21, 24, and 28. Thus it would be quite natural to combine the two passages in a single loose "quotation," which was not intended to be direct, as the past tenses show.

<sup>d</sup>On the computation of the "seventy years," see Note A, at the end of this chapter.

<sup>e</sup>The evidence, including MT in II Chron. 36:22, strongly favors בְּפִי instead of בְּיַד.

<sup>f</sup>Our massoretic text has the original reading here, that of I Esdr. is inferior. The Chronicler is especially fond of making these foreign kings apply to Yahwè the simple title "God of Heaven;" thus, for example, 6:9, 10 (Darius II); 7:12, 21, 23 (Artaxerxes II). See also the note on the last words of vs. 3.

בירושלם אשר ביהודה ◊ <sup>3</sup> בני בנם מכל עמו<sup>g</sup>, יהו אלהו עמו  
 ויעל<sup>h</sup> לירושלם אשר ביהודה, ויבן את בית יהוה אלהו ישראל,  
 הוא האלהים אשר בירושלם<sup>i</sup> ◊ 'וכל הקשָׁר, מכל המקומות אשר  
 הוא גַר שָׁם, יִשְׁאָרוּ אֲשֵׁי מִקְוֵו כְּנֶסֶס וּבְזֹהָב וּבְרִמּוֹשׁ<sup>k</sup> וּבְבַהֲמֵי,  
 עִם הַמִּדְבָּה לְבֵית הָאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלַם ◊ <sup>5</sup> וַיִּקְרְבוּ רָאֲשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת  
 לַיהוּדָה וּבְנוֹתָם וְהַמִּזְבֵּיחַ וְהַלְוִיִּם, לְכֹל הַעֵד הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת רוּחֹו.

<sup>g</sup>The L text of I Esdr. adds at this point *ὅς προθυμείται τοῦ πορευθῆναι*, i. e., the interpretative expansion which is so eminently characteristic of this particular recension. See above, pp. 108, 112. Guthe, in the *Polychrome Bible*, translates the words into Hebrew and inserts them in his text; a strange proceeding.

<sup>h</sup>At this point the book II Chron. ends.

<sup>i</sup>Guthe (*op. cit.*) says of these last four words that they "give *prima facie* the impression of a gloss." One wonders to whom they could give such an impression, and what manner of man it could be who would append such a "gloss" as this. No one could be so likely to write these words as the Chronicler himself. The comparison of these verses, 2 and 3, with the beginning of the letter of Artaxerxes II. *Ezr.* 7:12-15, is interesting. There, also, the king is made by the Chronicler to employ first the term "God of Heaven," and then on the next occasion to vary this with "the God of Israel, whose dwelling is in Jerusalem."

<sup>k</sup>"goods" is of course not to be "emended" to רִכְשָׁ, merely because I Esdr. happens to mistranslate it in vs. 6 (here in vs. 4 there is a double rendering). רִכְשָׁ is a favorite word with the Chronicler, and is exactly what is needed here, between the "silver and gold" and the "beasts" (which here meant riding-beasts, cf. *Neh.* 2:12, 14).

<sup>l</sup>The characteristic use of the preposition לְ (= "namely") in לְכֹל ought not to be misunderstood. It is *exactly* the same use which we find in classical Arabic (Wright, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, II, 151 C), and is closely allied to its use with the object of the verb in the Aramaic dialects, and to the construction which is employed in 7:14 (see the note there). The meaning "with reference to" lies at the root of all these uses and those allied to them. This extended use of the preposition לְ, in a considerable variety of ways, is one of the most marked characteristics of the Chronicler's

לְעֹלֹת לְבָנוֹת אֶת בֵּית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלַם ◦ וְכֹל סְבִיבֹתֵיהֶם  
 הִזְקֹק יָדֵיהֶם<sup>m</sup> בְּכֹל בְּנִסָּה<sup>n</sup> בְּזָחַב בְּרָכּוֹשׁ וּבְבַחֲמוֹהָ וּבְמַנְהֵגוֹת  
 לָרֶב<sup>o</sup>, עַל כָּל־הַתְּנָב ◦  
 וְהַמְלִיךְ כּוֹרֵשׁ הוֹצִיא אֶת כָּל־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הָבִיא<sup>q</sup> בְּבוֹדֵנָצֵר

style; see my *Composition of Ezra-Neh.*, pp. 16, 18 (below), 21 (top). The attempt of Haupt, *Polychrome Bible*, to explain the ל, here and in vs. 11, as an "emphatic particle" is a mistaken one.

The omission of the relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר here, after כָּל, is another mark of the Chronicler's hand. Cf. the end of vs. 6.

<sup>m</sup>MT הִזְקֹק בִּידֵיהֶם, "they assisted *with their hands*," a reading which is possible, but improbable. The familiar idiom "strengthened their hands," הִזְקֹק יָדֵיהֶם, is almost certainly what was intended (cf. e. g. Ezr. 6:22), and in this idiom the presence of the preposition ב is forbidden by usage and analogy. The reading of MT is merely the result of a copyist's carelessness.

<sup>n</sup>In this verse the list given in vs. 4 is repeated, the words standing in the same order; and the use of the article with each noun in the second list leads us to suppose that the two were intended to be identical. This fact, coupled with the testimony of I Esdr. (*ἐν πάσιν, ἐν ἀργυρίῳ καὶ κτέ*) makes it certain that we should read בְּכֹל בְּנִסָּה in place of בְּכֹל נִסָּה. Similarly Guthe.

<sup>o</sup>The emendation of לָרֶב to לָרֶב (very often used by the Chronicler), following I Esdr. *ὡς πλείσταις*,<sup>7</sup> has already been made by Klostermann (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 229) and others, and is indispensable. The verse needs no other emendation, beyond changing the massoretic "punctuation." Guthe makes three other alterations, no one of which can be permitted. That the "costly presents" (*בִּיגְדוֹת*, cf. II Chron. 32:23) constituted the "free-will offering" mentioned in vs. 4 is made as plain as possible by the verb.

<sup>q</sup>The relative pronoun is again omitted after כָּל; see the comment on vs. 5.

<sup>r</sup>MT has הוֹצִיא here also, as well as at the beginning of the verse. It is very probable, however, that we should read הָבִיא,

<sup>7</sup>The *εὐθύς* in the L text, at the end of the verse, is merely the result of dittography of the preceding *ὁ τοῦς*.



מִיְהוֹשֵׁלִים נְתַנָּם בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵיוּ \* וַיּוֹצִיאֵם כּוֹרֵשׁ מֶלֶךְ פָּרַס עַל יַד  
 מְתִיחָת הַגְּזָבָר; וַיִּסְפְּרוּ לְשֵׁשׁ־בַּזָּר \* הַנְּשִׂיא לַיהוּדָה \* \* וְאֵלֶּה מִסְפָּרֵם :  
 אֲנִישֵׁי \* וְהֵב אֱלֹהֵי \* אֲנִישֵׁי כֶּסֶף אֱלֹהֵי \* מִלְּקַחְתֵּם \* תִּשְׁעָה וְעֶשְׂרִים \* \*

since this is the verb which the Chronicler regularly uses in speaking of this event (II Chron. 36:7, 18), and the one which seems to have been rendered here by the old Greek version (I Esdr. 2:9 *μετήνεγκεν*,<sup>8</sup> cf. 1:39 *ἀπενέγκας* = II Chron. 36:7 *הִבֵּן*, and 1:51 *ἀπήνεγκαν* = the same in II Chron. 36:18. Cf. also 6:25 = Ezr. 5:14, and 8:59 = Ezr. 8:30). I can see no justification for the reading *הִסִּיר*, which Guthe proposes here.

*עַל יַד* means "by the hand of," or "under the direction of;" so I Chron. 25:2 *עַל יַד אֲסָפָה*, "under the direction of Asaph;" cf. II Chron. 26:13, etc. There is no "ellipsis" here, and the text is sound. I Esdr. has *παρέδωκεν αὐτὰ Μιθριδάτη*, and Batten (*Polychrome Bible*, Ezra, p. 57) asserts that "in Ezr. 8:26, 33 *παρέδωκεν* stands for *שָׁקַל*," and emends accordingly. Bertholet, *Ezra und Nehemia*, quotes this with hesitating approval. But the statement is true in neither one of the passages cited; in the former (I Esdr. 8:56) the equivalent of the verb *שָׁקַל* is *στήσας*, and in the other (I Esdr. 8:61) its equivalent is *σταθέν*. The complementary verb (*παρέδωκεν, παρεδόθη*) is merely added by the translator, as happens over and over again in this version.

<sup>8</sup>On the name "Sheshbazzar," and its rival forms, especially "Sanabassar," see Note B, at the end of this chapter.

The noun *אֲנִישֵׁי* is a loan-word from the Greek, as is quite generally recognized. It is probably not, however, from *κάρταλλος*, "basket," which is quite unsuitable here (the only place of its occurrence), but from *κρατήρ*, "bowl."

\*MT *שְׁלִשִׁים*; see Note C.

\*MT *מִהַלְבָּים* is evidently corrupt. The word is otherwise unknown, and the only suggested meaning, "knives," is not suited to this context. Theodotion had the same reading before him, but did not know what it meant; he simply follows the root-meaning of the verb *הִלֵּה* in his *παρηλλαγμένα*. The old Greek version, preserved in I Esdr., renders by *θύσσαι*, which is else-

<sup>8</sup>The *μετήγαγεν* of Cod. B is of course a mere copyist's blunder.



4<sup>47b</sup>] ויכתב לו כרש<sup>b</sup> המלך אגרות על<sup>c</sup> כל האהשדרפנים<sup>d</sup>  
 והפתרות<sup>e</sup> השורים<sup>f</sup> והסגנים<sup>g</sup>, אשר<sup>h</sup> ישלחו אתו ואת כל הללים עמו  
 לבנות ירושלים. \* ולכל<sup>i</sup> פהרות עבר הנחר<sup>k</sup> ולאשר בלבנון כתב  
 אגרות, להביא עצי אדום מן הלבנון<sup>l</sup> אל ירושלים, וכי יבנו עמו<sup>m</sup>  
 את העיר. \* ויכתב לכל היהודים הללים מן המלכות<sup>n</sup> אל יהודה על

I Esdr.  
4:47b-5:6

<sup>b</sup>The interpolator changed this to דרוש, besides making the other slight alterations which were necessary; see above, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>c</sup>As in II Chron. 30:1; Neh. 2:7, etc. Cf. also Ezr. 4:7, 11, 17, 18, etc.

<sup>d</sup>Rendered by *οικονόμος* by this same translator in I Esdr. 8:64 (= Ezr. 8:36).

<sup>e</sup>Rendered by *τοπάρχης* also Dan. 3:2 f. (same translator); cf. also vs. 48 in this chapter. The most common rendering is *ἐπαρχος*, I Esdr. 8:64; 6:3, 7, etc. But there is a good deal of freedom in the translation of these titles, and the textual tradition of a succession of them is likely to be untrustworthy. Certainty is impossible.

<sup>f</sup>שׂר is often translated by *στρατηγός*; so Dan. 10:13, 20 (twice); cf. also II Chron. 32:21, etc.

<sup>g</sup>Cf. Dan. 2:48 (Theod.) and the Heb. of Ezr. 9:2. Possibly these last two titles should be transposed. If the original Hebrew text of the verse really contained four such nouns (as seems highly probable from vs. 49, where they appear in the contrary order), then it is pretty certain that these which I have given were the four.

<sup>h</sup>Often used thus by the Chronicler; cf. II Chron. 2:7; Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65; 8:14, 15; 10:31; 13:1, 19, 22. In Neh. 2:7 we have a very close parallel to this passage.

<sup>i</sup>The Chronicler's favorite and characteristic way of continuing, with the use of the substituted ל. Cf. for example Ezr. 7:28: "before the king and his counselors and before all (ולכל) the officers," etc. So also 7:14.

<sup>k</sup>See my remarks on the rendering of this phrase in I Esdras, above, p. 83.

<sup>l</sup>These words are quoted in Ezr. 3:7.

<sup>m</sup>Cf. Ezr. 6:8; I Esdr. 6:27.

<sup>n</sup>As in Ezr. 1:1, and commonly in the latest O. T. books in speaking of the Persian kingdom.

הַיְהוֹרֹרֹ, כל שְׁלִיטָה<sup>p</sup> וְסִגְן וְפָחָה וְאַחַשְׁדָּרְפָּן<sup>q</sup> לֹא יָבוֹא אֶל־ שְׁעָרֵיהֶם<sup>o</sup>  
 50 וְכָל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יֵאָחֲזוּ תְהִיָה לָהֶם בְּלֹא מִנְהָה; וְכִי יַעֲזְבוּ  
 הָאֲדוּמִים אֶת הַמְּצָרִים<sup>r</sup> אֲשֶׁר אָחֲזוּ בֵּין הַיְהוּדָיִם<sup>o</sup> וְלִתְּתָ לְבִנְיָן<sup>y</sup>  
 בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים<sup>v</sup> כְּפָרִים<sup>x</sup> עֲשָׂרִים שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה<sup>y</sup> עַד אֲשֶׁר יִבְנֶה<sup>z</sup>  
 52 וְלָקְהָלוֹת<sup>a</sup> עֹלֹת עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ יוֹם בְּיוֹם<sup>b</sup>, כְּמִצְוָה<sup>c</sup> עֲלֵיהֶם לְהִקְרִיב<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>o</sup>This word does not happen to be used by the Chronicler outside this chapter; it is pretty certainly the one employed by him here, however.

<sup>p</sup>Cf. Dan. 2:10 (*δυναστῆς*), 15; also Ezr. 4:20, etc.

<sup>q</sup>Cf. with these titles the list in vs. 47, and see the notes there.

<sup>r</sup>More likely than על, as the meaning is "enter with authority," rather than "attack" as an enemy.

<sup>s</sup>Cf. the use of the same verb, rendered by *διακρατοῦσιν*, in the second half of the verse.

<sup>t</sup>With this clause cf. Ezr. 7:24 = I Esdr. 8:22, a passage also composed by the Chronicler.

<sup>u</sup>I Chron. 27:25; cf. also Neh. 6:2.

<sup>v</sup>Undoubtedly the verbal noun which was used, though it is not found elsewhere in the Chronicler's writings.

<sup>w</sup>In I Esdr. *τὸ ἱερόν* is the standing equivalent of בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים; see for examples 1:8 (II Chron. 35:8); 7:7 (Ezr. 6:17); 8:13, 17, 22 (= Ezr. 7:16, 19, 24); 8:59, 64 (= Ezr. 8:30, 36); 8:78, 88 (= Ezr. 9:9; 10:1); 9:1, 6 (= Ezr. 10:6, 9). The equivalent of הַיְהוֹרֹרֹ in I Esdr. is usually *ναός*.

<sup>x</sup>So also 8:19 (Ezr. 7:22), and cf. especially I Chron. 29:7.

<sup>y</sup>Cf. Neh. 10:35, 36, etc.; and see the note on יוֹם בְּיוֹם, etc., in my *Comp. of Ezr.-Neh.*, p. 25. For the trans., cf. I Esdr. 5:50; 6:29, καθ' ἡμέραν.

<sup>z</sup>The construction עַד לְהַבְנִיחַ is also possible—for the Chronicler, but for no other O. T. writer. See Driver's list (in his *Introd.*) of constructions characteristic of the Chronicler, no. 38. But the finite verb—the usual construction—is more probable.

<sup>a</sup>The Greek translator misunderstood this infinitive. He supposed it to be a continuation of וְלִתְּתָ, vs. 51, and to be governed by וַיִּכְתֹּב, vs. 49; whereas it is, on the contrary, a continuation of לְבִנְיָן, and dependent on לָתֵת. The mistake was made all the easier by the position of the infinitive לְהִקְרִיב, which the translator seems to have connected with the following words; see below. With *καρποῦσθαι* as the rendering of הַעֲלוֹת, cf. the

כִּנְיָרִים אֲחִיזָהוֹת עֶשְׂרִי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה<sup>53</sup> וְאִשְׁרָא יְהוּדָה דְרָגָרָה<sup>h</sup> לְכַל

translation of עֶשְׂרִי שָׁנָה by *κάρπωμα*, Exod. 30:9; 40:6, 10, etc., and by *κάρπωσις*, Lev. 4:10, 18; Job 42:8. The Syr.-Hex. renders here by *سحلم*.

<sup>b</sup>See the note on *שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה* in vs. 51. One of the Chronicler's favorite phrases.

<sup>c</sup>Another word which the Chronicler is fond of using, and *ἐντολή* is one of the usual equivalents. Cf. Neh. 10:33; 11:23; 13:5; II Chron. 29:25, etc. This idea of the ritual as definitely prescribed by divine law is always made prominent by the Chronicler; cf. also II Chron. 35:12 f.; Neh. 8:15, 18; 10:35, 37, etc. The construction with *עַל* here, as in Neh. 11:23.

<sup>d</sup>The usual equivalent of *προσφέρειν*; cf. e. g. 1:10 (II Chron. 35:12); 6:30 (Ezr. 6:10); 8:63 (Ezr. 8:35).

<sup>e</sup>It is generally supposed that this verse speaks of a commandment of seventeen (!) daily offerings on the altar. Commentators usually content themselves with wondering whence the writer of the passage obtained his information; so e. g., Fritzsche, *Comm.*, echoed by Guthe in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen*. But the *ἐπτὰ καὶ δέκα* is found only in the Egyptian Greek and the versions made from it,<sup>9</sup> and it is not present in either the Lucian recension or the earlier Syrian Greek represented by the Latin version. It therefore plainly originated in some clerical blunder in an early Egyptian Greek MS. The original translation was, in all probability, *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ὀλοκαντώματα καρποῦσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν, καθὰ ἔχουσιν ἐντολήν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ προσφέρειν ἄλλα τάλαντα δέκα κατ' ἐναντόν*. This would account for both the Syrian and the Egyptian readings, since the *προσφέρειν*, wrongly used by the translator (see the note above), was sure to be connected soon with *ἐντολήν*, whereupon the corruption of *ἔτι δὲ καὶ* to *ἐπτὰ καὶ δέκα* would be very easy. Observe that the Lucian text inserts *προσφέρειν* a second time, besides making other stylistic alterations in the usual manner.

<sup>f</sup>See the note on the same phrase in vs. 51.

<sup>g</sup>More likely than *לְהַיָּד*. This is a construction often substituted for the infinitive by the Chronicler: see, e. g., Neh. 2:8; 10:31; 13:1.

<sup>h</sup>As in Jer. 34:8. See further the note on vs. 49, above.

<sup>9</sup>It is found in the Hexaplar Syriac, though not in Lagarde's edition; see the reading of the MS which I have published above, p. 5. It is also in the Ethiopic.

העֹלִים<sup>1</sup> מִבְּבַל לְבֵנוֹת הָעִיר, לֶחֶם וְלִבְיָוֶהָם<sup>k</sup> ◦ וְלִנְלֵל הַחֵהָנִים  
 הָעֹלִים<sup>(54)</sup> קָתַב מִנְתָּה<sup>1</sup> וּכְתָבֵת הַחֵהָנִים<sup>m</sup> אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה מִשְׁוֹרְתֵיהֶם<sup>n</sup> בָּהּ ◦  
<sup>55</sup> וְלִלְוִיִּם כָּתַב לִתֵּת מִנְתָּהֶם<sup>o</sup>, עַד הַיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר<sup>p</sup> יִנְלָה<sup>q</sup> הַבַּיִת וַיְרוּשְׁלַם  
 לְהַבְנוֹת<sup>r</sup> ◦ וְלִנְלֵל הַשְּׂמֵרִים<sup>s</sup> אֵת הָעִיר כָּתַב לִתֵּת לֵהֶם הַלְקָיִם<sup>t</sup>  
 וְיִנְוֹת<sup>u</sup> ◦

<sup>i</sup> *Προσβαίνειν* for עלה; cf. 8:1 (Ezr. 7:1, 6), and *πρόσβασις* for מעלה, Josh. 15:7.

<sup>k</sup> This is of course the place for the verse-division.

<sup>1</sup> This verse and the following verses are taken up with the Chronicler's own pet interests. מִנְתָּה here exactly as in II Chron. 31:4, where the whole passage (vss. 2-4) affords a close parallel. Cf. also Neh. 12:44, 47; 13:10. The Greek rendering *χορηγία*, "wage," is an excellent one.

<sup>m</sup> These "priestly robes" were very important in the eye of the Chronicler. Cf. Ezr. 2:69; Neh. 7:69, 71. The form of the phrase here can hardly have been other than the one which I have written. For the Greek rendering cf. I Esdr. 5:44.

<sup>n</sup> Cf. Ezr. 8:17; Neh. 10:37; II Chron. 31:2, etc.

<sup>o</sup> Cf. especially Neh. 13:10, and see the note on the preceding verse.

<sup>p</sup> For this form of words cf. II Chron. 6:5.

<sup>q</sup> The Chronicler uses both the *qal* (I Chron. 28:20; II Chron. 8:16, etc.) and the *piel* (II Chron. 31:7) of כָּלָה.

<sup>r</sup> The *niphāl* infinitive, as in Hag. 1:2; Zech. 8:9. Cf. also I Chron. 22:19; Ezr. 1:11, and the *hophāl* infin. in Ezr. 3:11.

<sup>s</sup> Cf. Neh. 11:19; 13:22. The Chronicler intends here his Levitical "gate-keepers;" see also II Chron. 23:4-7; Neh. 7:1; 12:25, etc., and the following note. For him, the Levites are the first in war as well as in peace. Josephus (xi, 3, 8) interprets correctly: *τοῖς φύλαξι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ*.

<sup>t</sup> The most likely equivalent of *κλήρους* on general grounds; see also especially Lev. 6:10 (17); Deut. 18:8, where the same word is used and the same thing is meant, namely the allotment made to the Levites.

<sup>u</sup> *Ὀψώνια*, "wages," is too general a term to give any certainty in retranslating. מִנְוֹת is perhaps as good as anything, see II Chron. 31:19; but מִנְוֹת (Neh. 12:44, 47; 13:10) or מִצְוֹת



- 62 וַיְבָרְכוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם<sup>w</sup>, כִּי נָתַן לָהֶם רוּחָהּ וְהִנֵּהתָהּ<sup>x</sup>,  
 63 לְעֹלֹת וּלְבָנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם וּבֵית הָאֱלֹהִים<sup>y</sup> אֲשֶׁר נִקְרָא שֵׁמוֹ עֲלוֹרָה<sup>z</sup>.  
 וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ<sup>a</sup> בְּשִׁירִים וּבְחִדְוָה<sup>b</sup> שִׁבְעַת יָמִים<sup>c</sup>  
 5<sup>d</sup> וְאַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה<sup>d</sup> נִבְחָרוּ רָאשֵׁי בֵית אֲבוֹתָם<sup>e</sup> לְשִׁבְטֵיהֶם<sup>f</sup>  
 לְעֹלֹת, וּנְשִׂיהֶם וּבָנֵיהֶם וּבָנוֹתֵיהֶם וְעַבְדֵיהֶם וְאִמְהוּלֵיהֶם וּבְהֵמָתָם<sup>g</sup>

(Neh. 13:5, cf. 10:33, and the rabbinical use of the word) would also do very well.

At this point the interpolator made his second insertion, vss. 57-61; see above, pp. 58 f.

<sup>v</sup> It is of course possible that the subject of the verb (such as כל העם, or כל בני הגולה) originally followed here, but was removed by the interpolator. This supposition is not necessary, however.

<sup>w</sup> As so often in the writings of the Chronicler. This clause has a close parallel in I Chron. 29:20, וַיְבָרְכוּ כָל הַקָּהָל לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם, cf. Ezr. 7:27, etc.

<sup>x</sup> This phrase does not occur elsewhere, and my rendering is merely tentative. Ἀφεσις = הִנֵּהתָהּ in Esth. 2:18, and Symmachus translates רַחֲמֵהָ by ἀνεσις in Ex. 8:11 (15). The Latin has *remissionem et refrigerium*.

<sup>y</sup> See the note on vs. 51.

<sup>z</sup> As in II Chron. 6:33; 7:14, etc.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐκωθονίζοντο (elsewhere in the O. T. only Esth. 3:15) is plainly one of the free renderings so often found in this version. The Hebrew verb must have been וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ, cf. II Chron. 29:9, 36; 30:25; Neh. 12:43 f., etc.

<sup>b</sup> For this combination, "songs and rejoicing," see Neh. 12:27; II Chron. 23:18, etc. הִדְרוּ in I Chron. 16:27; Neh. 8:10; Ezr. 6:16 (written by the Chronicler).

<sup>c</sup> So very frequently in the Chronicler; e. g., II Chron. 7:9; 30:21; 35:17; Ezr. 6:22; Neh. 8:18.

<sup>d</sup> Thus for example Ezr. 7:1.

<sup>e</sup> One of the favorite phrases of this writer. Cf. Ezr. 2:59; 7:28; 8:1; 10:16, and for this form of the words I Chron. 7:7, 40; 24:4.

<sup>f</sup> For the use of the preposition (Greek κατά) cf. I Esdr. 1:5 (= II Chron. 35:5), etc.

<sup>g</sup> For the servants and the cattle cf. Ezr. 2:65 (same Greek words in I Esdr. 5:41) and Ezr. 1:4, 6.

² וַיִּשְׁלַח כֹּרֶשׁ<sup>h</sup> עִמָּם פָּרְשִׁים אֲלֵהָ, עַד לְהָשִׁיב<sup>k</sup> אֹתָם לִירוּשָׁלַם<sup>l</sup>  
 בְּשָׁלוֹם<sup>m</sup> ◊<sup>o</sup> וְכָל אֲחֵיהֶם מְשַׁחֲקִים בְּשִׁירִים<sup>n</sup> וּבְתַפִּים וּבְמִצְלָתַיִם ◊<sup>p</sup>  
 וְשִׁלְּחֵם אִתָּם בְּעֹלֹתָם ◊

<sup>h</sup> Changed by the interpolator to "Darius;" see the note on 4:47.

<sup>i</sup> The numeral following the noun, after the manner so common in the Chronicler; Ges.-Kautzsch § 134, c. The "horsemen" as in Ezr. 8:22 (Chr.); Neh. 2:9.

<sup>k</sup> The characteristic לָּ, so sure a mark of the Chronicler's hand; see my *Composition of Ezra-Neh.*, p. 19. For ἀποκατασῆσαι = הַשִּׁיב, cf. 6:25 (Ezr. 6:5).

<sup>l</sup> The preposition לָּ as in Ezr. 2:1, etc.

<sup>m</sup> It is obvious that the Heb. text here was slightly corrupt; vs. 2 should end at this point. The Chronicler hardly meant to say that King Cyrus sent a military band of musicians along with the returning exiles; those who played the instruments were the children of Israel, as usual. Παίζειν is of course שָׁחַק; and this verb in the sense "play upon" a musical instrument is construed with בָּ. The source of the text-corruption is thus evident: The eye of the copyist strayed from בְּשָׁלוֹם to בְּשִׁירִים, etc., just below; he accordingly added these three nouns, and then returned and wrote the remainder of the clause. Cf. I Chron. 13:8 (II Sam. 6:5); 15:29; 25:6 f.; II Chron. 23:18; 29:28; Neh. 12:27. The Chronicler's especial fondness for this musical pageant is well known.

<sup>n</sup> Generally used in these lists of instruments just as though שִׁיר were the name of one of them. Μουσικῶν also in 5:57 (59), but there שִׁיר is not found in our Hebrew.

<sup>o</sup> Ἀλόγος for צִלְצָלִים also in II Sam. 6:5. The Chronicler is so fond of the instrument מִצְלָתַיִם that it was probably not missing here.

<sup>p</sup> The Greek has: καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς συναναβῆναι μετ' ἐκείνων, which is nonsense, and a particularly good example of mis-translation. The Greek translator read וְשִׁלְּחֵם אִתָּם, "and he sent them with them," instead of the correct וְשִׁלְּחֵם אִתָּם, "and sending them" (on their way). The piel of שִׁלַּח is the stem elsewhere used with this meaning, and that fact may have misled him. Josephus, it is to be noticed, emends the clause rightly.

‘ואלה שמות האנשים העלילים,<sup>א</sup> לבית אבותם<sup>ב</sup> לשבטיהם<sup>ג</sup>  
 להתנחשם<sup>ד</sup> ◦<sup>ה</sup> מיהלנהים<sup>ו</sup> בני פינחס בני אהרן. ישוע בן יוזבב  
 בן שררה; ונקם בן זרובבל בן שאלתאיאל. מבית דוד ממשפחת  
 פדון מושבט יהודה ◦<sup>ז</sup> בשנה השנית<sup>ח</sup> למלכות כורש מלך פרס.<sup>ט</sup>  
 בהדש יסון באחד להדש<sup>י</sup> ◦]

<sup>א</sup> Cf. Ezr. 2:1; 8:1; Neh. 7:4-6; 12:1, etc.

<sup>ב</sup> Thus (*πατριαι*) our translator renders this same expression in the two other cases where it came before him: 5:37 (= Ezr. 2:59) and 9:16 (= Ezr. 10:16). The Chronicler is fond of the phrase, using it in II Chron. 31:17 and more than a dozen other passages.

<sup>ג</sup> See the note on vs. 1.

<sup>ד</sup> This translator uses *μεριдарχία* for *התיהש* also in 8:28 (= Ezr. 8:1), and this Hebrew word is the only one to expect here. The Chronicler is the only O. T. writer to use it; and this particular form (*hithpael* infin. with third plur. suffix) occurs also in I Chron. 4:33; 7:5, 7, 9, 40; 9:22; II Chron. 31:16; Ezr. 8:1. A striking instance.

<sup>ה</sup> Greek simply *οἱ ἱερείς*; but the preposition probably stood in the original, and was dropped by accident because of the ׀ just preceding. It is characteristic of the Chronicler that he should mention Jeshua, the representative of the priests, before Zerubabel, on this occasion when they are first introduced.

<sup>ו</sup> Greek, *καὶ Ἰωακειμ ὁ τοῦ Ζοροβαβελ* (the L text, characteristically, *ὁ καὶ Ζοροβαβελ!*). The corruption of the Hebrew underlying this was very slight: the last two letters of the name “Seraiah” were dittographed; and then, of necessity, the *בן* was read *בן שריה*. . . . The text thus became *ישוע . . . בן שריה* (יה) *וינקם* (ן) *זרובבל*. For the *וינקם*—which must, in any case, have been the origin of this *Ἰωακειμ*—cf. Ezr. 1:5. For this use of the preposition (almost a “ב of accompaniment”) cf. II Chron. 22:1, *בְּעֶרְבֵי־בָם* = “bringing the Arabs with them,” cf. 21:16. If it were not for this exact parallel—and for the fact that the Chronicler is notoriously a law unto himself in the use of prepositions—I should have emended in some other way; for example, *וינקם היא זרובבל*.

<sup>ז</sup> So, e. g., Ezr. 3:8. In this verse the hand of the interpolator appears for the last time: see above, p. 61.

<sup>ח</sup> The phrase used so often by the Chronicler.

<sup>י</sup> Greek, *τοῦ πρώτου μηνός* (arbitrarily revised in L). This is

Ezr. 2:1-3 <sup>2</sup> ואלה בני המדינה העלים משבי הגולה. אשר הגלה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל לבבל; וישבו לירושלם ויהודה. איש לעירו <sup>2</sup> אשר באו עם זרובבל ישוע נחמיה <sup>2</sup> עזריה רעמיה נחמני <sup>2</sup> מרדכי בלשן מספרת <sup>3</sup> בגי רחום בענה <sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup> מספר אנשי עם ישראל: <sup>(3)</sup> בני פרעש, וגו'.

not the result of mistranslation, but of corruption of the Greek. The original reading was *τη πρότη του μνησός*. The *τη* before *του* was dropped by accident, and the article was then made to agree.

The reason why the excision of the interpolation was made at just this point is obvious; see also the statement of the case above, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup>These three names are given correctly in Neh. 7:7, as the comparison of I Esdr. shows.

<sup>a</sup>Corrected according to Neh. and I Esdr.

<sup>b</sup>The interpretative addition in I Esdr. 5:8, *τῶν προηγούμενων αὐτῶν*, probably had no Hebrew original. Cf. the similar addition in vs. 9.

The verse must end at this point, not after the following clause.

#### TRANSLATION

II Chron. 36:20, 21 **36**<sup>20</sup> And (the Chaldean king) carried away to Babylonia those left from the sword, and they were servants to him and his sons until the rise of the kingdom of Persia, <sup>21</sup>in fulfilment of the word of Yahwè by the mouth of Jeremiah, 'until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; all the days that she lay waste she rested, to the completion of seventy years.'

Ezr. 1:1-11 **1**<sup>1</sup> But in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, in fulfilment of the word of Yahwè by the mouth of Jeremiah, Yahwè stirred the heart<sup>10</sup> of Cyrus king of Persia, so that he sent a proclamation through all his kingdom, even in writing, saying: <sup>2</sup>Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth are given to me from Yahwè the God of heaven, and he has given me commandment to build him a house in Jerusalem which is in Judea. <sup>3</sup>Whoever is among you of all his people, may his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem which is in Judea, and build the house of Yahwè the God of Israel; he is the God

<sup>10</sup> Literally "spirit;" so also in vs. 5.

who dwells in Jerusalem. <sup>4</sup>And each one of the Remnant,<sup>11</sup> in any place where he sojourns let the men of his place assist him with silver and gold, with goods and beasts of burden; in addition to the freewill offering for the house of God which is in Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup>Then arose the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites; namely all whose heart God stirred, to go up and build the house of Yahwè which is in Jerusalem.

<sup>6</sup>And all those round about them strengthened their hands in every way; with silver and gold, with goods and beasts of burden; and with costly things<sup>12</sup> in abundance from all those who voted gifts.

<sup>7</sup>And king Cyrus brought forth the vessels of the house of Yahwè which Nebuchadnezzar had brought away from Jerusalem and deposited in the house of his god. <sup>8</sup>And Cyrus king of Persia gave them out by the hand of Mithradates the treasurer, and he numbered them to Sheshbazzar the prince of Judah. <sup>9</sup>And this is the number of them:<sup>13</sup> a thousand basins of gold; a thousand basins of silver; nine and twenty pairs of snuffers; <sup>10</sup>thirty bowls of gold; two thousand four hundred and ten bowls of silver; and a thousand other vessels. <sup>11</sup>All the vessels of gold and silver were five thousand four hundred and sixty-nine. All these Sheshbazzar brought up when the returning exiles went up from Babylonia to Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup><sup>7b</sup> And Cyrus the king wrote for him letters to all the satraps and governors and captains and deputies, commanding them to aid him and all those who were going up with him to build Jerusalem. <sup>45</sup>And he wrote letters to all the governors in the province Beyond the River, and to those in Lebanon, commanding them to bring cedar wood from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and to aid him<sup>14</sup> in building the city. <sup>49</sup>And concerning the freedom

I Esdr.  
4 47b-5:6

<sup>11</sup> I. e., the "Remnant" of Israel, a standing phrase in Jewish holy writ. Here, the returning Remnant.

<sup>12</sup> I. e., gifts for the temple and the public worship.

<sup>13</sup> We have no reason to be surprised by these numbers, either because of the large size of some of them, or because of the proportionately very small size of the two which stand in the middle of the list; first, because we know neither the character nor the office of these utensils; and second, because the Chronicler undoubtedly invented all the numbers to suit himself, and we do not know what considerations may have guided him.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ezr. 6:8, where these same governors and other officials are commanded by Darius to assist the Jews in building the temple; also 7:21 (Chr.), where they are ordered by Artaxerxes to aid Ezra. This verse (I Esdr. 4:48) is the one which is expressly referred to in Ezr. 3:7.

of all the Jews who went up from his kingdom to Judea, he wrote that no ruler, deputy, governor, or satrap should forcibly enter their doors; <sup>50</sup>that all the territory which they should possess should be free from tribute; <sup>51</sup>and that the Edomites should relinquish the villages of the Jews which they had seized. <sup>51</sup>For the building of the temple he ordered twenty talents to be given yearly until it should be finished; <sup>52</sup>and for offering the whole burnt sacrifices upon the altar day by day, according as they had commandment to offer them, ten other talents yearly. <sup>53</sup>For all those who went up from Babylonia to build the city he commanded that freedom should be given both to them and to their children. <sup>54</sup>To all the priests that went up he commanded to give the wages, and the priests' garments in which they minister. <sup>55</sup>And to the Levites he ordered to give their portions, until the day when the house should be finished and Jerusalem builded. <sup>56</sup>And he commanded that all those guarding the city should be given allotments and fees.

<sup>62</sup>Then all the people <sup>17</sup>blessed the God of their fathers, because he had given them release and relief, <sup>63</sup>that they might go up and build Jerusalem and the house of God that is called by his name. And they held festival, with music and rejoicing, for seven days.

**5**<sup>1</sup>After this, there were chosen to go up the chief men of the families, according to their tribes; with their wives and their sons and daughters, their men-servants and their maid-servants, and their cattle. <sup>2</sup>And Cyrus sent with them a thousand horsemen, to bring them to Jerusalem in safety. <sup>3</sup>And all their brethren, playing upon musical instruments, drums, and cymbals, sent them on their way as they went up.

<sup>4</sup>And these are the names of the men who went up, according to their families, in their tribes, by their genealogy. <sup>5</sup>Of the priests, the sons of Phineas and of Aaron, Jeshua, son of Jozadak, son of Seraiah; and there rose up with him Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, of the house of David, of the family of Perez, of the tribe of Judah; <sup>6</sup>in the second year of the reign of Cyrus king of Persia, in the month Nisan, on the first day of the month.

<sup>15</sup> With this and the preceding verse cf. especially *Ezr.* 7: 24.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. with this verse especially *Ezr.* 6: 8-10; 7: 21-24.

<sup>17</sup> Or simply: "Then they blessed," as the Greek has it. But there is some probability that a subject of the verb originally stood here, and was removed by the interpolator. With the whole verse cf. *Ezr.* 9: 8, 9.



2<sup>1</sup> And these are the men of the province who went up from among the exiled captives whom Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, had carried away captive to Babylonia; and who returned to Jerusalem and Judea, each to his own city; <sup>2</sup>those who came with Zerubbabel, Jeshua, Nehemiah, Azariah, Raamiah, Nahamani, Mordecai, Bilshan, Mispereth, Bigvai, Rehum, Baanah. <sup>3</sup>The number of the men of Israel: Of the sons of Parosh, etc.

Ezr. 2:1-3

*Then follows the list of returning exiles, a list composed for this purpose by the Chronicler himself, and deliberately repeated by him (to add as much as possible to its importance) in Neh., chap. 7, in his appendix to the Memoir of Nehemiah.*

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NOTE A (on II Chron. 36:21)

*The Seventy Years.*—Our commentators have been altogether unable to explain the computation of the “seventy years,” and no wonder. The beginning of this “Sabbath period” was of course the destruction of the temple and cessation of the cult, in the year 586. But it was *only 48 years* later than this, in 538, that Babylon fell into the hands of Cyrus, and the Persian rule began; and in the next following year, the second year of Cyrus,<sup>18</sup> the worship was restored in Jerusalem, according to the statement of the Chronicler. So the real duration of the interval was 49 years. Bertholet, in his commentary on Ezra 1:1 (*Esra und Nehemia*, 1902), says: “Seine 70 Jahre würden uns freilich ins Jahr 608 als Anfang der Exilsperiode führen; aber man darf hier nicht nach strenger Chronologie fragen.” But this is gliding over the difficulty much too easily. We ought not, indeed, to demand from the Chronicler and the Jewish tradition *our* chronology; but we have the right to expect here a real computation, and certainly something more “streng” than the equation  $49 = 70$ ! Now the *deus ex machina* here, as in the other cases of difficulty with the Jewish chronology of the Persian kings, is “Darius the Mede.” I have already shown (above, p. 38) that the accepted Jewish tradition in the second and third centuries B. C.—represented also by the Chronicler—made Darius Hystaspis precede Cyrus. Since this king came to the throne “when about sixty-two years

<sup>18</sup>See my demonstration of the fact above, pp. 28, 61, and in the text and translation here.

of age" (Dan. 6:1),<sup>19</sup> the duration of his reign cannot have been given as much more than twenty years. Supposing it to have been twenty-one years, we should have the desired number, *seventy*, for the "Sabbath-interval." It is quite possible that a computation in sevens may then have been made in this way, after the favorite manner:

Duration of the Babylonian power after the destruction of the temple . . . . .	}	$7 \times 7^{20} = 49$ years
Rule of "the Medes" (Darius Hystaspis)	}	$3 \times 7 = 21$ years
Total interval of "exile" . . . . .		$10 \times 7 = 70$ years

But however this may be, the fact that the Chronicler's chronology introduced Darius Hystaspis at just this point is hardly to be questioned. For the history as he writes it, the reign of this king is as indispensable before Cyrus as it is impossible after him.

NOTE B (on Ezr. 1:8)



*The Name Sheshbazzar.*—The question of the original form of this name has been discussed at great length in recent years, but never with any satisfactory mustering of the evidence. MT has uniformly **שֵׁשֶׁבַזָר**, and this was undoubtedly the reading of the "standard" text of the second century A. D., and the one which was transliterated by Theodotion. The name is found in vss. 8 and 11 of this chapter, and in 5:14, 16. The Egyptian Greek of the canonical Ezra (Theodotion) seems to attest the form  $\Sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\rho$  in all of these places.<sup>21</sup> The L text has everywhere (thanks to editorial revision)  $\Sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$ , which evidently originated in  $\Sigma\alpha[\sigma\alpha]\beta\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\varsigma$ . Theodotion, then, certainly transliterated  $\Sigma\alpha\sigma\alpha\beta\alpha\sigma(\sigma)\alpha\rho$ . The Vulgate (Sassabasar) follows MT, as was to be expected.

The form which stood in the I Esdras fragment differed slightly from this, being  $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho$ , as will presently appear. The testimony of the MSS, recensions, and versions is complicated, including forms which originated in copyists' errors, in arbitrary

<sup>19</sup> Is it not likely that this statement was first made and adopted with the express purpose of providing *definitely* for the 70 years? There is nowhere any similar statement regarding a foreign monarch, nor is it easy to imagine any other reason for making the statement here.

<sup>20</sup> Certainly *not* the **שְׁבַעִים שְׁבָעִים** of Dan. 9:25, however.

<sup>21</sup> So especially codex A, whose text is generally the oldest and best. The Hexaplar reading seems to have been  $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho$  (by contamination from I Esdras), judging from N 5:14 and 16, and from B in 1:8. The readings of B are worth quoting merely as characteristic of the extremely corrupt state of its text. In vs. 8 it has  $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\beta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\rho$ ; in vs. 11 the name is omitted through carelessness; in 5:14 the reading is  $\beta\alpha\upsilon\sigma\alpha\rho$ , and in 5:16  $\Sigma\alpha\rho\beta\alpha\upsilon\rho$ !

revision, and in confusion with the name *Shalmanassar*. The four passages in I Esdr. are 2:11, 14; 6:17, 19. Cod. A and its fellows everywhere attest the reading *Σαναβάσσαρος*, and this was certainly the original reading of the "Egyptian" text. The MS followed by Origen in his *Hexapla* was corrupt here, as generally elsewhere in these books: the Syr.-Hex. gives in 2:11, 14  and in 6:17, 19 ; the Ethiopic has in 2:12 *Sāmnās*, in 2:15 *Samnāsōr*, in 6:18 *Sanbassārō*, and in 6:20 *Sanbāsrōs*. Cod. B (as usual, the least valuable of all the witnesses) offers *Σαναμασσάρω* in 2:11, *Σαμανασσάρου* in 2:14, *Σαβανασσάρω* in 6:17, and *Σαναβάσσαρος* in 6:19. That is, the reading of Origen's "LXX" column was *Σαμανασσαρ-* in 2:11 and 14, and *Σαναβασσαρ-* in 6:17 and 19.

The L Greek presents a different form of the name, which at first sight makes the impression of being the original reading of the Syro-Palestinian text, the form *Σασαβαλάσσαρος*. That this was *not* the primitive tradition of this family of MSS, however, is made certain by several facts. The old Latin version, which is a rendering of the Syro-Palestinian Greek, attests no such form. The cod. Colbertinus (Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, Vol. III) has in 2:11 *Sabassarō*; in 6:18 *Salabassar*; and in 6:20 *Sabassus* (sic). The Lucca codex (Lagarde, *Septuaginta-Studien* II, 14) has in 2:11 *Salmanassarō*—apparently by contamination from a corrupt form of the Greek; and this form is the one which has been adopted throughout by the Vulgate. What is far more important, however, and indeed quite decisive, is the witness of Josephus, who by good fortune has preserved three of the passages in which the name occurs. In the first of these, *Antt.* xi, 1, 3, corresponding to I Esdr. 2:11, he has *Ἀβασσάρω*, obviously derived from I Esdr. *παρεδόθησαν* [*Σαν*] *αβασσάρω*; in xi, 4, 4 he has *Σαβάσαρον*, haplography from *Σα[να]βάσαρον*; and in xi, 4, 6 he gives (*Σ*) *αναβασσάρων*. That is, the Greek text which he used—namely, a text of the old translation from which "I Esdras" was derived—gave the name as *Σαναβασσαρ*; and from the coincidence with the Egyptian text of I Esdr. we know that this was the reading of the fragment. It follows with certainty, that the form *Σασαβαλασσαρ*, found in the L text of I Esdr., is a fruit of the late Lucianic revision. The reading may be either a learned improvement, or (far more likely) the result of scribal errors. However excellently it may suit our

theories of the etymology of the name, it cannot possibly be regarded as an old reading.

We are left, then, with the two forms, Šešbašsar (Hebrew tradition) and Sanabassar (old Greek translation). As for the latter, we do not know that it represented a different Hebrew reading; on the contrary, *Σαβαβασσαρ* is probably an ancient corruption of *Σασαβασσαρ*, the accidental writing of *ν* for *σ* being a blunder of which there are many examples. *שֶׁשְׁבַשָּׁר* is not easily explained as the result of textual corruption, and is capable of interpretation as a Semitic name; we may therefore accept it without hesitation as the original form. It is presumably a Jewish adaptation of *Šawaš-abal-ušur*,<sup>22</sup> as not a few scholars have seen. The contraction in the latter part of the name is not greater than in the similar case of *בלשאַסַר*, *Bēlšāšsar*, for *Bēl-šar-ušur*, to say nothing of extra-biblical instances. With the Chronicler's *שֶׁנַּבְסַר*, I Chron. 3:18, the name *שֶׁשְׁבַשָּׁר* has of course nothing to do.

NOTE C (on Ezr. 1:9 ff.).

*The number of the temple-vessels.*—The difficulties of this list are well known. It was altered by accident at an early date, and numerous attempts (represented by versions and single manuscripts) were made to restore it. The testimony of the various witnesses is as follows:

MT and the corresponding versions <sup>23</sup> (Theodotion, Jerome)	I Esdras	
	Egyptian	Syrian
Golden basins . . . . . 30	1,000	L 30; om. Lat.
Silver basins . . . . . 1,000	1,000	om. <sup>24</sup>
Snuffers . . . . . 29	29	29
Golden bowls . . . . . 30	30	30
Silver bowls . . . . . 410	2,410	2,310 (Lat. 2,400)
Other utensils . . . . . 1,000	1,000	1,000
Total	5,400	om. (Lat. 5,800)

From this table it is evident that the most of the numbers are well attested. There are three in the case of which it is possible to think of emending MT, namely, those of the golden basins, the

<sup>22</sup> *Šawaš* for *Šamaš*, as in not a few transcribed Babylonian names. Thus, for example, *שַׁרְשָׁ* (in Aramaic characters) in the name *Ki Šamaš*, Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, No. 37; see also the examples given in the *Business Documents of Murashû Sons*, ed. Hilprecht and Clay, 1898, pp. 8 and 9.

<sup>23</sup> All the texts agree with MT, except that in the case of the silver bowls, instead of the number 410 Cod. B has 6, while A omits it. In the case of B one might think of a possible confusion of *Roman* numerals with the Greek: YI = 410, and VI = 6.

<sup>24</sup> Lat. has 2400, evidently borrowed from the number of the silver *bowls*, just below.

silver bowls, and (of course) the total. As for this last item, it is beyond question that the sum gained by adding the numbers already given is what the author intended and originally wrote. Any emended or restored text must of necessity either leave this "total" *blank*, or else make it actually equal to the sum of the numbers which are written.

Regarding the number of the silver bowls, it is plain that the original number was 2,410. The "two thousand" is attested not only by I Esdr., but also by the [בַּ]שָׁנִים of MT, and by the size of the total in all the texts. The original reading, instead of כֶּסֶף [אֶלְפֵי]ם—which is mere nonsense here—was כֶּסֶף [אֶלְפֵי]ם (just as in Arabic, ألفا دينار اثنان, "2,000 *dinārs*," Wright, *Grammar*, II, 236 B; cf. also Judg. 16:28, Am. 3:12, Gesenius-Kautzsch § 88*f*) and the bracketed letters were accidentally lost, by haplography, in the MS from which our MT was derived.

The number of golden basins is given by MT as 30, by I Esdr. as 1,000 (the "thirty" of L was borrowed from the canonical Greek, as has been done in a multitude of similar cases). The amount of the *total*—in both recensions—turns the scale decisively in favor of the number 1,000. I Esdras, then, has preserved the original numbers throughout, both in the separate items and in the sum total. When the text underlying MT was accidentally corrupted, the "total" was altered to a round number, 5,400. The number "thirty" for the golden basins, in vs. 9 of our Hebrew, was derived by an error from that of the golden bowls, in vs. 10; the eye of the copyist wandering from the word זָהָב to the זָהָב שְׁלֹשִׁים in the next line below.

## VI

### THE ARAMAIC PORTIONS OF EZRA

#### I. THE CHARACTER OF THE "OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS" IN EZRA

Imbedded in the book of Ezra are what purport to be copies of a number of royal and other official communications relating to the Jews, dating from the Persian period. These are: (1) The decree of Cyrus; or more exactly, that part of the decree which announces the purpose of Yahwè, and encourages the Jews to return from Babylonia to Jerusalem; *Ezr.* 1:2-4. (2) The letter of Rehum and Shimshai to Artaxerxes Longimanus, urging him to stop the building of Jerusalem; 4:8-16. (3) The reply of the king, commanding that building operations be stopped; 4:17-22. (4) A letter from Palestinian officials to Darius Nothus,<sup>1</sup> complaining that the Jews are rebuilding their temple, and at the same time giving the king a concise history (quoted verbatim from the Jews themselves) of that most interesting building; 5:7-17. (5) The decree of Cyrus<sup>2</sup> in regard to the building of the temple in Jerusalem and the restoring of the vessels of gold and silver; 6:3-5. (6) A part (the beginning is missing) of the letter of Darius in reply to the Palestinian officials; 6:6-12. (7) A letter of Artaxerxes Mnemon<sup>3</sup> to Ezra, officially establishing the Mosaic law and ritual in Jerusalem and Judea, recognizing the temple in Jerusalem as the one legitimate seat of the worship of the God of Israel, and appointing Ezra as the religious head of Palestine with full powers; 7:12-26.

This is certainly a very remarkable collection of documents,

<sup>1</sup>This means to say only, that according to the narrative which contains these letters the king by whose order the temple was completed was Darius II. See above, pp. 38 f., 135 f. I have never doubted that the "Darius" of Haggai and Zechariah was really Darius I.

<sup>2</sup>It is quite possible that the document is not complete in its present form. There is obviously a gap between verses 5 and 6, for the leap which is here made from the decree of Cyrus into the middle (!) of a letter of Darius cannot possibly have been made in the original narrative. See further below.

<sup>3</sup>See the note above. The Aramaic papyrus fragments recently discovered in Egypt make it extremely probable (though not absolutely certain; see below) that the "Artaxerxes" mentioned in the book of Nehemiah is Artaxerxes Longimanus; but according to the clear and consistent statements of our narrative the king who appears in *Ezr.* 7 ff. and *Neh.* is Artaxerxes II.



especially remarkable when it is borne in mind that we are otherwise almost entirely destitute of Jewish historical traditions from the Persian period. Aside from the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which are merely brief religious compositions, and the story of Nehemiah (which was hardly preserved as an official document, but rather as a popular narrative), we have scarcely even the semblance of historical standing ground.<sup>4</sup> We might expect that at least a list of the governors—Persian or Jewish—who were stationed in Jerusalem would have been handed down; but we have only the names Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, and Nehemiah. The succession of the high priests is given us only by the Chronicler, probably derived from oral tradition;<sup>5</sup> Neh. 12:10 f., 22. As for the Jewish tradition with regard to the Persian Kings, it is a very significant fact that it places Darius Hystaspis (under the name "Darius the Mede") just before Cyrus, instead of after him. The comparison of Dan. 5:30; 6:1, 29; 9:1; 10:1; 11:1, with the succession of kings in Ezra: Cyrus, Xerxes, Artaxerxes, Darius, Artaxerxes, and again with the computation of the "seventy years" of the captivity (48 years, remainder of Neo-Babylonian rule; +21 years, reign of Darius as Babylonian monarch; +1 year of Cyrus)<sup>6</sup> proves this in conclusive manner, as I have already shown.<sup>7</sup> It seems quite certain, in view of all this, that no extensive written traditions of the Persian period were preserved in Jerusalem. The latter half of the period, in particular, was a time full of events of great interest and importance for the history of the province of Judea and of the temple at Jerusalem; but no Jewish record of them has survived. Even such a momentous thing as

<sup>4</sup> *The Chronicler's* stories of Ezra and Nehemiah, as I have already shown, have no more historical value than his stories of David and the ark. I shall return to this subject later.

<sup>5</sup> *The Chronicler's* allusion to a "book of the Chronicles" in Neh. 12:23 is no more to be taken seriously than are his allusions to the sixteen other books of his imaginary library (see the list in Driver's *Introduction*). There is not the least internal evidence that he had a written source before him in compiling these lists, while they all bear, both in matter and in form, the unmistakable stamp of his handiwork. I shall return to this subject later.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 38 f., 135 f.

<sup>7</sup> In all probability, the Jewish tradition was not far wrong in its estimate of the length of the reign of this Darius. When he took the throne of Babylonia he was "about sixty-two years of age" (Dan. 6:1), and the theory of course supposed a previous reign over Media. In reality, the reign of Darius Hystaspis lasted 36 years; which would agree excellently with the Jewish estimate. Further evidence that this "Mede" was none other than Darius Hystaspis is furnished by Dan. 6:2 f., where this king is said to have reorganized the government of the empire, dividing it into satrapies, and providing for the royal supervision of these. Here is certainly a surviving tradition of the great reforms of Darius I, who did, indeed, accomplish this very work, soon after his accession to the throne.

the Samaritan schism is without mention in old Hebrew literature, excepting the (necessarily veiled) allusion by the Chronicler in Neh. 13:28 f.<sup>8</sup> The question of the trustworthiness of these documents in the book of Ezra is therefore one of very great importance.

### 1. *The Prevailing View*

Most writers on the Old Testament, in modern times, have regarded the Aramaic documents in Ezra—i. e., all of those mentioned above, with the exception of the edict of Cyrus in chap. 1—as genuine, or at least, as genuine in their original form. A few scholars, to be sure, expressed themselves decidedly against the authenticity of one or more of these writings, two or three decades ago; thus Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, II, 1875, pp. 87, 100, 128, declared them all forgeries; and Nöldeke, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1884, 1014, rendered a similar verdict in the case of the letter in Ezr. 7:12–26. In the years which followed it became customary, among the more “advanced” Old Testament scholars, to speak of these letters and decrees as more or less altered from their primitive wording, and therefore not fully trustworthy. Thus, the first editions of Cornill’s *Einleitung* treat the Aramaic documents in Ezr., chaps. 4–6 as authentic, but say that 7:12–26 is “überarbeitet.” Similarly Bleek-Wellhausen<sup>3</sup>, Bertheau-Ryssel, *Comm.*, 1887, Kuenen, and others. Stade, *Geschichte*, thought that the letters might possibly have been composed by the author of the narrative in which they are imbedded, though he believed the information which they contain to be in the main trustworthy. In general, it has been a well-nigh universal custom to treat “the Aramaic source” or “the Aramaic history” as an important historical composition, even among those who look with suspicion on the documents which it contains. Thus Driver, *Introduction*: “[The Aramaic source] appears to have been a thoroughly trustworthy document, though the edicts contained in it, so far as their *form* is concerned, are open to the suspicion of having been coloured by their transmission through Jewish hands.” In a word: ‘The documents are not genuine, but in substance are thoroughly trustworthy!’<sup>9</sup> Van Hoonacker, 1892, maintained the authenticity of

<sup>8</sup> *Composition of Ezr.-Neh.*, p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> The objections to this position are both obvious and decisive. In the first place, the “Aramaic source” contains *nothing but* these suspicious documents, and we have no right at all (in the absence of proof) to assume that it ever did contain more. And in the second place, when documents lie before us which in form do not appear to be authentic, whose

all these "records;" and so, doubtless, did the majority of his contemporaries who had studied the matter.

Kosters, in his *Herstel*, 1893, while finding genuine portions in the Aramaic documents, rejected the most as a worthless fabrication.<sup>10</sup> Wellhausen, *Rückkehr der Juden*, 1895, declared all the Aramaic "Urkunden" worthless—but continued, and still continues, to use them for his *History*. In my own investigations, which were completed before I had seen the work of either Kosters or Wellhausen, I reached the conclusion that these Aramaic portions of Ezra are compositions exactly on a par with Dan., chaps. 1–6 and the book of Esther; and also, that the Artaxerxes letter in Ezra, chap. 7, is the work of the Chronicler alone. See my *Composition*, 1896. Professor H. P. Smith adopted nearly all my conclusions, incorporating them in his *Old Testament History*, 1903. In one point, however, his view differs widely from my own. In common with nearly all those who have discussed the book of Ezra in recent times, he assumes that the letters in 4:7–23 *are out of place in their present connection*, and belong rather to a time shortly before the work of Nehemiah (pp. 347 f.). This matter will be considered below. Smith seems to suggest, moreover, that our present book of Ezra could be improved not only by the excision of 4:7–24, but also by cutting out the whole group of documents (in chaps. 5 and 6) which purport to come from the time of Darius; a proceeding which would have the effect of reducing the whole "Aramaic Source" to three verses of narrative (5:1, 2; 6:15) *plus* the two letters (chap. 4) which according to his view are quite isolated, since he believes that a context for them can only be conjectured.<sup>11</sup> This certainly hacks the Gordian knot into bits.

The view prevailing among the most advanced scholars, then, for some time past, has been that these Aramaic documents are very valuable, though many have believed them to have been more or less altered from their original form by Jewish editors.

statements we cannot control from any other source, and of whose author or authors we know nothing, beyond the fact that they obviously write with a "tendency," we cannot legitimately make use of them.

<sup>10</sup> Kosters' methods, however, were not thoroughly scientific, and his conclusions, in the main, were of little value.

<sup>11</sup> He remarks (p. 351): "It is clear that if the whole account were stricken out we should have a perfectly good connection, 5:2 being continued directly by 6:15." But by this reasoning we could eliminate nearly every formal document that was ever incorporated in a history. Of course, when the main narrative is resumed the connection is resumed! It is this same illogical argument that Wellhausen uses in regard to I Macc., chaps. 8 and 15, in order to get rid of the episodes and documents which he finds inconvenient.

Recently, however, the view has gained wide acceptance, especially in Germany, that we have here true copies of the original records themselves, the *ipsissima verba* of Persian "Urkunden und Aktenstücke." Thus Cornill, *Einleitung*<sup>5</sup>, 1905, after designating the writings by the words just quoted, says that their "Echtheit" is "über jeden Zweifel erhoben;" and similarly, that the genuineness of the Artaxerxes letter to Ezra, in 7:12-26, is now "abschliessend bewiesen." Siegfried, *Kommentar*, declares the authenticity of these Aramaic transcripts to be "unwiderleglich nachgewiesen" (p. 7). So also Bertholet, *Commentar*; Guthe, *Polychrome Bible*; Budde, *Gesch. der althebr. Litteratur*, 1906, pp. 231 ff., and many others.

This increased confidence in the "genuineness" of the Ezra documents is due chiefly to E. Meyer's *Entstehung des Judenthums* (1896), in which, after setting forth quite fully—but superficially, as will appear—the arguments pro and con, the author reaches the conclusion that all the letters and edicts in the book, excepting only the Decree of Cyrus in chap. 1,<sup>12</sup> are authentic. Meyer's own opinion as to the fruit of his argument is expressed on p. 70: "Damit wäre, denke ich, nicht nur die Aechtheit der im Buche Ezra überlieferten aramäischen Dokumente gegen alle Einwände erwiesen, sondern mehrfach auch ein klarer Einblick in

<sup>12</sup>Why he should except this as he does (*Entstehung*, p. 49) is not at all clear. Every single phrase in it is cut out of the very same cloth as is the phraseology of the documents which follow. It does not contain a sentence or an idea which is not exactly paralleled in chaps. 6 and 7, saving only that at the beginning Cyrus compliments the God of the Jews by identifying him with the chief of his own gods. But this last-mentioned fact would be only a matter of course to Professor Meyer, as may be seen from his own words (p. 64): "Seit wir wissen, wie Kambyzes und Darius in den ägyptischen Inschriften als treue Diener der einheimischen Götter auftreten, wie Kyros in seiner Proklamation an die Babylonier sich als den eifrigsten Verehrer und den erklärten Liebling des Marduk einführt, dürfte niemand daran Anstoss nehmen, wenn sich ein Perserkönig den Juden gegenüber in gleicher Weise äusserte." Nor is this all. Meyer explains the out and out priestly-Jewish language of the Artaxerxes edict in chap. 7 by the very "simple" theory that Ezra and his companions drew up the document, while the Persian ministers only gave it official form (p. 65). Why, then, may it not be that Sheshbazzar, or the high priest Jeshua, drew up the Cyrus edict? The reason for denying the authenticity cannot lie in the manner in which the document is presented here, for the claim of its verbal genuineness is precisely as clear as in the case of the *firman* of Ezra; the proclamation is distinctly said to have been "*in writing, as follows*" (1:2). Nor can Meyer fairly withhold credence from the Cyrus edict on the ground that it is presented to us by the Chronicler; so is the Artaxerxes decree (every word of 7:1-11 composed by the Chronicler, as Meyer himself agrees), and so also are the letters in chap. 4. It cannot be said that 1:2-4 is in any way incongruous with 6:3-5; on the contrary, if we should suppose that 1:4 was originally followed immediately by 6:3aβ ("As for the house of God in Jerusalem," etc.) so that the text of the complete edict included 1:2-4; 6:3aβ-5, the whole document would be perfectly harmonious and homogeneous. Why should not Meyer assume that the Chronicler translated the first sentences of the decree, from Aramaic into Hebrew, and transferred them to their present place in chap. 1, the place where they are really most effective? There is no difficulty whatever in the way—excepting the same difficulties which stand in the way of all the other documents.

die Bedeutung dieser für die jüdische wie für die persische Geschichte unschätzbaren Urkunden gewonnen." To this claim the most of those Old Testament scholars who have written on the book of Ezra during the past decade have seemed to give assent.

But I do not believe that any thorough and unbiased student of the Old Testament who subjects Meyer's argument to a really critical examination, taking into account the important factors which he has left out of account, will be able to accept his conclusions.

## 2. *A Literary Habit of Ancient Narrators*

Some of the principles and general truths uttered by Meyer at the outset are of very doubtful value. At the foot of p. 2, in the Introduction, he says, alluding to a remark of Stade's to the effect that the Jewish writer might himself have composed the letters and decrees which he incorporated: "Die 'bekannten Gewohnheiten alter Schriftsteller,' welche dafür sprechen sollen, dass diese Urkunden Erfindungen des Schriftstellers seien, sind mir gänzlich unbekannt. Die Alten haben den Wortlaut wichtiger Urkunden in ihre Texte genau ebenso aufgenommen wie die neueren Historiker." If this last sentence means to say, that some ancient narrators introduced some genuine documents into their narratives, it is superfluous information; if it means that the formal documents included in ancient Jewish narratives and histories are usually genuine, it is not true. And it is true—as will presently appear—that some of the best early (including Jewish) historians of whom we have knowledge invented "official documents," with purely literary purpose, in a way that would not be tolerated in a serious historical work of the present day. The substitution of "Historiker" for "Schriftsteller" looks a little like begging the question, moreover, since not every writer of stories—even stories which contain correct and perhaps valuable historical data—deserves the title "historian." We should hardly give this name, for instance, to the authors of Daniel, Esther, and III Maccabees. One of the things which we especially wish to find out is, whether the writer of these few pages of Aramaic embodying the records in question is entitled to it.

As for the claim that the verbal quotation of the documents is presumptive proof of their genuineness: the real fact is, that the direct citation of speeches, letters, and decrees, as a mere literary

device, in order to make the account more interesting and effective by increasing its verisimilitude, plays as important a part in the narrative literature of the Hebrews as in that of other peoples. To illustrate: In II Kings 5:6 and 10:2 f. two brief letters are quoted, with the purpose of enlivening the narrative. The one is a letter from the king of Syria to the prophet Elisha, and the other a circular missive sent by Jehu to the magnates of Jezreel and Samaria. They are mere scraps; but the purpose of presenting them as verbal citations, and not as quotations in substance only, is made evident by the formal  $\text{וַיִּשְׁמַע}$  (the equivalent of the Aramaic  $\text{וַיִּשְׁמַע}$ ) "To proceed," used to introduce the letter proper, after the preliminaries. In II Chron. 2:2-15 we have the transcript of two letters, the correspondence of the kings Hiram and Solomon, with which the Chronicler has enriched the story of the building of the temple. No one well acquainted with the Old Testament would think of asking how it happens that these documents, lost to sight for many centuries, should turn up at last in the hands of the Chronicler.

The "documents" thus far mentioned are not given in full official dress, with the introductory formula of address and greeting, obviously because they are too short to make this desirable. In the book of Esther—at least in its massoretic form—the several royal letters and edicts are given only in brief abstract, though the writer plainly means to give the impression that he could present them *in extenso* if he wished. And in the Greek form of the book they are indeed given verbatim and in full, with date, superscription, and all, in the same way as in the book of Ezra. In Daniel, again, we find the same literary-traditional use of "official records" in order to give dramatic life to the narrative. The technical framework of the documents is given now partially, now entirely. Thus, in 6:26 ff. we have the text of a decree of Darius. It does not begin with the king's name, because that had just been written, and the repetition would have been awkward; but its dress is otherwise quite formal: "To all the Peoples, Nations, and Languages, that dwell in all the earth; your peace be multiplied. I make a decree, etc." And in 3:31—4:34 is given, with all circumstance and in what purports to be the exact form,<sup>13</sup> a long

<sup>13</sup> Save that in 4:16, 25-30 the narrator carelessly lapses into the use of the third person instead of the first, in speaking of the king; precisely as the Chronicler, in composing the "personal memoirs" of Ezra, every now and then falls out of the impersonation, writing about his hero instead of letting him speak.



proclamation of Nebuchadnezzar, with both introduction and formal conclusion. Other examples of the same kind are the two letters of Ptolemy Philopator "preserved" in III Maccabees; the first (3:12-29) commanding the punishment of the Jews, and the second (7:1-9) proclaiming the king their friend and protector. Both of these are in the regular epistolary form, like the letters in Ezra.

More instructive still, if possible, is the employment—i. e., the free composition—of these pseudo-official sources by two of the best-known Jewish historians. Josephus, in his *Antiquities*, illustrates his story of the Jews by the addition of a good many official documents, a considerable proportion of which were evidently composed by him for the purpose. Characteristic specimens are to be found in this very portion of the history dealing with the Persian period, where, in addition to the documents contained in the book of Ezra<sup>14</sup> he presents us with a letter from Cyrus to the governors in Palestine (xi, 1, 3) as well as a letter from Darius to the Samaritans (xi, 4, 9).<sup>15</sup> In both cases it is evident that what Josephus aims to contribute is not information, but pomp and circumstance. He did not compose the letters for the sake of any new material which they contain (the Cyrus letter, for instance, is made up almost entirely of things which stand elsewhere in the book), but simply for the glory which they give the Jews, in the eyes of the world and in triumph over their adversaries the Samaritans. And in the subsequent chapters of his history he proceeds in the same way, introducing here and there high-sounding documents which are quoted verbatim, and the value of which, *to us*, is very small indeed.

In I Maccabees, that most admirable of all Jewish narratives, we have the same thing once more. Its author is a man of the best stamp, and with the instincts of a true historian, though writing from a point of view which is emphatically that of his own day and his own people. He is well informed, but modest and reserved, and withal a man of few words; not at all the one to make a display of learning, or wilfully to mislead his readers. Scattered through his history are copies of official letters, treaties

<sup>14</sup>In the interpolated form which I have already described at some length. See especially pp. 31 ff.

<sup>15</sup>If anyone wishes to suppose, with Hölischer, *Quellen des Josephus*, 43 ff., that these "apocryphal" additions, and numerous others of the same sort in the subsequent chapters of the history, were made not by Josephus himself, but by one of his sources, whose aim, as he says, was to "glorify Judaism," the argument is of course not affected by the supposition.

and proclamations; formally faultless, as a rule, but often betraying, in one way or another, the fact that they are not "genuine."<sup>16</sup> They are doubtless in the main *trustworthy* in the sense that they give a correct impression of the progress of events, inasmuch as they embody the honest and sober recollection of one who was exceptionally well informed, and who wrote soon after the events, of which at least the greater part had taken place during his own life-time. But whoever looks here for a habit of incorporating official records similar to the habit of modern historians will look in vain.

Again, the fondness of these early writers for the dramatic form of presentation must not be overlooked in this connection. With this end in view they frequently quote verbatim the speeches, prayers, or other utterances of their chief characters. Judas Maccabaeus makes a succession of fiery speeches to his soldiers, I Macc. 3:18-22, 58-60; 4:8-11, etc. Are they "genuine"? So Josephus very often improves the Old Testament narrative by making similar insertions. Thus, in telling the story of Nehemiah (*Antt.*, xi, 5, 7) he gives us the wording of an address of some length made by that hero in the temple. Greek historians had the same habit, as every one knows. Thucydides, for instance, in iv, 85-87 (to take the example which lies nearest at hand) quotes in full a very interesting speech made by the Spartan general Brasidas to the men of Acanthus. The oration is full of weighty matters, and it had an immediate and important effect, as we are expressly told, for it induced the Acanthians to revolt from Athens (just as the letter of Rehum and Shimshai in Ezra 4 had the immediate and important effect of stopping the building of the temple in Jerusalem). Fortunately, Thucydides himself has told us what to expect from such "quotations" as this one. His words are worth repeating here because of their bearing on the present

<sup>16</sup>So scholars have long recognized and repeatedly shown, in the case of one or another of these documents; for example, the letter of Demetrius Soter, 10:25-45; the proclamation in honor of Simon, 14:27-47; and the Roman edict, 15:16-21. Probably not a single one of all the writings thus incorporated in the history represents in its wording, nor even exactly in its substance, any actual document. For the statements made, and the opinions expressed here, I may refer to my article "I Maccabees" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, III, 2857-69. A renewed study of the book, since that article was written, has confirmed me in the conclusions therestated and supported. Certainly the most, and perhaps all, of these incorporated writings were freely composed by the author of the history, as the best means of narrating what he wished to narrate and of making the impression which he wished to make. He had before him no written narrative source or sources. There is no valid reason whatever for supposing interpolation, anywhere in the book. The last three chapters (or more exactly, 14:16-16:24), now quite generally regarded as secondary, certainly formed a part of the original work.

inquiry; i, 22 (Jowett's translation): "*I have put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them; while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said.*"<sup>17</sup> That is, he gives us in each case, not words which were uttered, but words which, judging from all known facts, ought to have been uttered. This, I take it, is *not* the method of a modern historian, but more nearly that of the writer of a thoroughgoing historical novel. As for drawing a line of distinction, as regards this free use, between the spoken oration, which presumably *was not* preserved in writing, and the official document, which presumably *was* preserved somewhere, we may be sure that no one of these ancient writers did anything of the kind. Not even Thucydides (to say nothing of the Jewish narrators!) could ever have supposed that it was any less permissible to compose the utterances of a Brasidas in the form of a letter, beginning: "Brasidas to the men of Acanthus, greeting," etc. (supposing that a letter was known, or believed, to have been written), than to give the same things in the form of a speech, with the orator's introduction: "Men of Acanthus!" when that was believed to have been the form of the communication. To illustrate: in i, 137 Thucydides presents us with what purports to be a true copy of a letter from Themistocles to Artaxerxes I Longimanus. As a matter of fact, it was certainly invented by the historian, according to the principles above stated by him in regard to the speeches, as few modern scholars would doubt.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> These words, I believe, describe exactly the proceeding of the author of I Maccabees in composing the documents which are scattered through his history. If original documents were ready to hand, he was glad to use them; if they were not, he invented them, like Thucydides, to the best of his ability and in perfect good faith.

I have recently had the satisfaction of seeing my estimate of the account of the Jewish embassy to Rome, told in I Macc., chap. 8, strikingly confirmed. In my article in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, mentioned above, I argued that the narrative of the sending of the embassy, and of its favorable reception, is accurate, and was plainly written by a contemporary who was well informed; but that the *treaty* there quoted (vss. 23-32) was invented by the author of the book in accordance with the custom which his contemporary readers, at all events, understood (*loc. cit.*, col. 2866). Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, 268, contends that I Macc. 8 is an interpolation, though he gives no good reason for this view, beyond the fact that the quoted document cannot be "genuine," and that the narrative is therefore to be suspected. Now, however, Niese has shown (*Nöldeke-Festschrift*, II, 817-29) that Jos., *Antt.*, xiv, 233 has preserved a genuine Roman document of the year 161 160 B. C., dealing with this embassy and containing mention of the reply made to the Jews by the Roman Senate. The substantial accuracy of the narrative in chap. 8 is thus proved once for all; as for the treaty, Niese recognizes, as I had, that it is merely "ein freies schriftstellerisches Produkt." I have no doubt that the case of I Macc. 15:15-24 is exactly similar, as I also argued at length (col. 2865). Here, again, Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 276, supposes an interpolation.

<sup>18</sup> "Der Brief Thuc. I, 137 kann nicht als echte Urkunde angesehen werden;" Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, p. 50, note.

But to speak of this, and of the documents in Josephus, and Daniel, and I Maccabees, and the rest, as "forgeries" would be a ridiculous misuse of terms.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, no such freedom as this could be tolerated at the present day, in a serious historical work.

To sum up: The Hebrew and Jewish narrators and historians, of all ages, were accustomed to give life to their narratives by inventing and inserting speeches, prayers, letters, royal decrees, treaties, and the like, occasionally summarized, but more often given "verbally" and in full, including even the stereotyped framework; just as is done by modern writers of historical novels. Out of the considerable number of such formal documents which have reached us in early Jewish literature (leaving now out of account the documents in Ezra) very few can be called genuine, at best,<sup>20</sup> and these few belong to a time long after the close of the Persian period. In the case of the most of them it seems highly probable that the author and his readers thought of them merely as a mode of literary embellishment. They are not, and were not intended, to be taken seriously. This certainly gives us a clear presumption with which to approach the Ezra documents, though not exactly the presumption which Professor Meyer demands.

But Meyer's failure to take account of this literary habit is by no means the chief objection which is to be raised against his treatment of the Ezra documents, as I shall endeavor to show.

### 3. *The Tendency of the Documents*

In a footnote on p. 43 of his *Entstehung* Meyer says: "Davon will ich gar nicht weiter reden, dass absolut nicht einzusehen ist, zu welchem Zwecke sich jemand die Mühe gegeben haben sollte, diese und ebenso die anderen Urkunden von cap. 4-6 zu fabriciren." This confession of inability to see any motive for composing these documents is a fatal one, for it shows either that Meyer has not the thoroughgoing acquaintance with Jewish literature which is

<sup>19</sup> See my *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah*, p. 29, above; and my article "I Maccabees" in the *Encycl. Bibl.*, §§ 8 (end), 9d, 10. It would be interesting and profitable to carry still farther the discussion of this whole matter of the literary embellishment of serious narrative by ancient writers. It is a subject which, so far as Hebrew-Jewish literature is concerned, has been almost totally neglected.

<sup>20</sup> Josephus incorporates some genuine documents in his history, in the portion dealing with the close of the Greek rule and the beginning of the Roman period. He simply copies them from his Greek sources, and sometimes inserts them in ludicrously unsuitable places; see Niese in the *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, II, 828, and Hölzcher, *Quellen des Josephus*, p. 22.

absolutely necessary to any one who undertakes such an investigation as this, or else, that he is shutting his eyes to what lies in plain sight. In the first place, we are not limited to imaginary cases, for we have in the pre-Christian Jewish writings plenty of "fabricated" documents of just this nature, to which we can turn for instruction. Why did the Chronicler—or his source—insert the Hiram-Solomon letters (verbally quoted) in his account of the building of the temple? Why do we find in Josephus' history of the Persian period the formal letters from Cyrus to the Syrian governors and from Darius to the Samaritans, to say nothing of the many others of the same character? And again, why should the author of the Daniel stories "have given himself the trouble" to compose the royal edicts which he incorporates, especially the very long decree of Nebuchadnezzar? Can any one imagine a reason why the long and elaborate "Letter of Aristeas" should have been composed with such painstaking by an Egyptian Jew, in the third century B. C.? At all events, it was thus fabricated, and probably at very near the time when these Ezra documents were composed. And then we have the dozens of royal letters and decrees, freely invented, in the three books of Maccabees, in Esther, and still elsewhere. Even if the motives were "absolut nicht einzusehen," the fact would remain that these more or less elaborate formal instruments were created by the wholesale, by Jewish narrators, from at least the third century B. C. onward.

It is plain, further, that Meyer greatly underestimates the power of imagination possessed by the early Jewish writers, and the extent to which this power was used in their writings. On p. 47, for example, in speaking of the statement in *Ezr.* 6:1, 2 that the memorandum supposed to be in Babylon<sup>21</sup> was found at Ecbatana, he says that this is "was kein Mensch erfunden haben würde." But this is putting an astonishingly low estimate on the capacity of an Israelite story-teller. Such bits of real life as this are just the business of any one who wishes to give his narrative touches of verisimilitude. Moreover, in this particular instance even a very stupid narrator might well have been equal to the invention, for it was obviously incumbent on him to show why this document had been lost to sight: the fact is (so the narrator implies), no one would have thought of looking for such a record

<sup>21</sup>As a matter of fact, however, the word **בבל** here does not mean "Babylon," but "Babylonia."

anywhere else than in Babylonia; but really it was in Ecbatana all the time; hence Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius had known nothing about it. And so it is with the other elements of the narrative, or features of the documents, which Meyer singles out as marks of genuineness; they are all such, and only such, as any writer with a particle of imagination would be sure to produce.

Again, Meyer points repeatedly to the plausible elements in these records, as though giving conclusive proof of their genuineness; a "forger" would not have made them thus. So on p. 43, for instance, speaking of the letter of Tattenai in chap. 5, he says that if all this is forged, the forgery is "äusserst geschickt gemacht." But does not this also reveal a surprisingly low opinion of the literary ability of that day? The authorship of these documents might be called "skilful" if they were drawn up and worded in such a way that they would not appear to be Jewish compositions. But any student of the Old Testament can see that they all sound distinctly—often, indeed, quite unmistakably—like Jewish compositions. Even Meyer sees it. He is obliged to admit a "Jewish redaction" of the official writings in chap. 6 (see below). He is even forced to assume, in the case of 7:12-26, that Ezra composed this royal edict, while the Persians merely signed it! Whatever else may be said of the narrator whose "Persian official documents" necessitate such a telltale hypothesis as this, he certainly cannot be called "äusserst geschickt."

As for the skill displayed (it may be remarked here in passing), we might reasonably have expected that the composer, or composers, of these documents would try to imitate the Aramaic of the fifth century B. C. That which is actually employed belongs to a period two or three centuries later, as will be shown presently. It may be, however, that specimens of the older language were not within reach.

But to return to the tendency of the documents. Meyer's remark, quoted above, that he cannot imagine a motive for the invention of these records, is by no means an empty phrase. It is plain, on page after page, that he is indeed able to overlook the many plain indications which any thorough student of Hebrew-Jewish history and literature finds staring him in the face; I mean those students who recognize the fact that the Chronicler did not write unvarnished history, and that the narrative of Daniel is fancifully didactic rather than literally accurate. It is quite



evident, as one reads on, that this whole laborious investigation of the "Entstehung" would not have been written if its author had been more intimately acquainted with the people about which he is writing.<sup>22</sup> It is not only easy to see the "Tendenz" which produced these documents; it is impossible not to see it, for one who is familiar with the literature which is most nearly related. On p. 51 Meyer concedes that 6:12a cannot be the genuine utterance of a Persian king, and accordingly decides that a "jüdischer Eiferer" inserted it in the original document. But may not such an "Eiferer" have written more than single verses? The Chronicler composed the Cyrus edict in chap. 1, and doubtless with a motive. May not a similar motive have led some one of his fellows to compose other edicts?

During the Greek period, the Jewish religion found itself on trial for its life. The children of Israel now saw, as never before, how small and despised a part of humanity they were. Greek thought and culture, especially, had made great inroads. The Dispersion, which had assumed great proportions even in the Persian period,<sup>23</sup> now threatened to put a speedy end to the national existence. To crown all, the glory of Jerusalem, so long the center and heart of the Jewish religion, began to be dimmed. There was a temple (as we now know) in Egypt; another, more recently established, on Mount Gerizim; and very likely still others in Babylonia and elsewhere. It is no wonder that the zealous Jews of Jerusalem did what they could to stem the tide, and to establish beyond all question the supremacy of the mother church. It was this impulse, primarily, which produced the whole "history" which the Chronicler wrote, and which gave the motive for composing these Persian documents and many others of the same kind. They are an eminently characteristic product of the Greek period.

I can think of no better way of setting forth the "tendency" of these documents than to quote one or two recent characterizations of similar writings belonging to this same period. Schürer, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, III, 468, speaking of the Letter of Aristeas, says:

<sup>22</sup> Professor Meyer takes his predecessors to task (pp. 4 f., 70 f.) for their too exclusive attention to Palestine and the Old Testament, to the neglect of Persian history especially. It is true that the tendency to take the narrow view is strong; and Old Testament scholars may well feel grateful to Meyer for the many new points of view which he has given, as well as for his vigorous and clear presentation of his side of the argument. But the prime requisite, after all, is knowledge of the Jews.

<sup>23</sup> So I wrote in one of my lectures on the Second Isaiah, delivered at Harvard University in 1905. Meyer, p. 67: "Eine jüdische Diaspora gab es damals noch nicht." The matter is of course of the most vital importance to any theory of the "restoration."

“Diese Inhaltsübersicht zeigt, dass der Zweck der Erzählung keineswegs die erzählte Geschichte an sich ist, sondern diese Geschichte, insofern sie lehrt, welche Hochachtung und Bewunderung für das jüdische Gesetz und das Judentum überhaupt selbst heidnische Autoritäten wie der König Ptolemäus und sein Gesandter Aristee hegten. Denn gerade darin gipfelt die Tendenz des Ganzen, dass hier dem jüdischen Gesetze aus heidnischem Munde ein Lob zubereitet wird.” Here is a motive, and a very easily comprehensible one, which could have produced just such official utterances as those which we find in the book of Ezra. Very similar are the terms in which Hölcher, *Quellen des Josephus*, p. 44, describes a considerable group of “official” documents and allied narratives dealing with the Persian and Greek periods, which he believes Josephus to have derived from Alexander Polyhistor: “All diesen Geschichten gemeinsam ist . . . die ausgesprochene Tendenz, das Judentum zu verherrlichen: es soll illustriert werden, wie die Könige der Weltreiche dem Judentum huldigen, wie sie für Tempel und Kultur Sorge tragen, wie sie in Jerusalem anbeten, wie sie offiziell dort für sich beten lassen. Sie betragen sich als musterhafte Proselyten; sie beschenken den Tempel, sie gewähren den Juden Privilegien und Steuererlasse. Gerade dies letztere kehrt immer wieder; darum auch all die Edikte, die für diese Quelle charakteristisch sind. Das andere, was die Legenden mit Vorliebe behandeln, ist das Verhältnis von Juden und Samaritanern. Die Juden erscheinen dabei stets als Muster der Frömmigkeit und Treue, die Samaritaner aber als heuchlerisch und boshaft; die letzteren ziehen denn auch stets, wie die Quelle zeigt, den kürzeren.”

No better characterization of the Aramaic documents in Ezra is needed than these two quotations furnish. Almost every single one of the features here enumerated is to be found in the Old Testament book; and what is more, there is no material in any of the Ezra documents which does not directly serve one or more of the purposes here named. The exaltation of the Jews and their religion by foreign kings and magnates; *the triumph over the Samaritans*; the oft-repeated and emphasized proof that Jerusalem is the one legitimate seat of the cultus; the claim of especial perquisites and privileges for the clergy in particular; these all are not present incidentally in the docu-

ments, *they are all that the documents contain*. To go into detail here would involve writing out pretty much the whole of their contents. The strong Jewish coloring is everywhere (even in the unnecessary laudation of the Jews by their enemies, 4:20; 5:11 f.), and permeates the whole fabric; the worn-out subterfuge of an "Ueberarbeitung" will not avail here.

But the Jewish character of these documents is not the only count in the indictment. Against their genuineness is also to be put down, that they show no sign of intimate acquaintance with the history of the Persian period. The Jewish apologist, writing in the Greek period, found himself confronted with two principal questions which he must needs answer, and answer conclusively. They were the following: (1) How did it happen that (as known from Haggai and Zechariah) the temple at Jerusalem was not suitably built and completed until the time of Darius? and (2) If Jerusalem and Judea were completely depopulated by the Chaldeans (as is asserted in II Kings 24:14; 25:26 (!), etc.), what manner of men were the Jews of the second temple? Whence did they come? Were they a mixed rabble from the surrounding districts? *Might not even the Samaritans be of better Jewish blood, after all, as they claimed to be?* We have before us, in the Chronicler's history, an answer to these two questions; an answer which began with Adam and was worked out with minute elaboration down into the latter part of the Persian period. The Aramaic documents (by whomsoever composed) are obviously an important part of the same answer;<sup>24</sup> and it is equally obvious that every particle of the material which they contain could have been derived either directly or indirectly from Haggai, Zechariah, and II Kings 25, with the aid of such information as to Persian things as could be had in any city of Syria or Palestine at any time in the Greek period.<sup>25</sup> If anyone asserts that these documents in Ezra display more knowledge of the Persian court, or of conditions in the Persian realm, than is displayed in the books of Daniel, Esther, and Tobit, he asserts what is not true.

<sup>24</sup> See further below, p. 160.

<sup>25</sup> It is obvious why the "return" was represented as taking place under Cyrus, and also, why Cyrus should have been supposed to furnish money for the building of the temple. This was the beginning of the new (Persian) régime, under which the temple was actually built and completed; the natural turning-point was here. And as for the royal aid, how else could these returning exiles, entering a desolate land and a ruined city, have undertaken their task? Such reflections as these first resulted in definite theories at about the middle of the third century B. C., so far as our sources enable us to judge. Compare what was said above, p. 153, in regard to the Greek period.

An important conclusion stated by Meyer, p. 74, deserves to be especially emphasized: "Diese Thatsache . . . lehrt, dass es über das ganze erste Jahrhundert der nachexilischen Geschichte bis auf Ezra und Nehemia herab keinerlei Nachrichten und keinerlei Tradition gab mit Ausnahme dessen, was in den erhaltenen Urkunden Ezra 4-6 und in den gleichzeitigen Propheten stand." That is, aside from these same more than suspicious "Urkunden," there is nothing whatever to show that any genuine tradition of the early Persian period was preserved in Jerusalem. Even this support is denied them.<sup>26</sup>

Once more. There are numerous perfectly plain bits of evidence showing that the documents, in the form which we have, are not what they profess to be. These are (briefly): (1) The wording. Aside from the specifically Jewish phrases, and the peculiar vocabulary of the Chronicler, the comparison of 6:5 with 5:14 (!) shows conclusively that we are dealing, at least at this single but crucial point, with made-up documents. (2) The language. As will be shown below, the Aramaic of Ezra is not at all that of the fifth century B. C. (3) The names of the kings. The form of the name "Artaxerxes" which is employed in Ezra is not above suspicion; and the name "Nebuchadrezzar" appears in the form (written with *n*) which is characteristic of the Greek period. (4) The documents are not dated. Genuine documents would have borne dates; and it is unlikely that any copyist or editor would ever have omitted such an extremely interesting and important detail.

The final statement of the case, then, is this. Here are documents which from their wording cannot possibly be regarded as true copies of genuine originals; written in a dialect which belongs to a time much later than the one which they profess to represent; containing no facts or materials not obtainable in the Greek period, and unsupported by any tradition from the Persian period; found in the most untrustworthy of all Hebrew histories; themselves written with a manifest tendency; and finding their only close parallels in numerous writings of about the same time which

<sup>26</sup> So far as the "Urkunde" 7:12-26 is concerned, it is of course customary to find support for it in the "Ezra memoirs" which immediately follow. As a matter of fact, the one is precisely as "genuine" as the other. As I have already demonstrated, the whole Ezra story was composed by the Chronicler, with no other apparent basis than his own imagination (my *Composition*, pp. 14-29, 57-62). Meyer treats these Chronicler tales, and some of the worthless lists as well, as trustworthy material; with the result that the most of his book is simply built on air. Wellhausen's *Geschichte*, in the chapters dealing with this period, is not much better.

are acknowledged to be inventions—and we are asked to pronounce them 'genuine, at least in substance'! The theory of their authenticity, in any sense whatever, has evidently not a leg to stand on.

On p. 43; in speaking of the Tattenai correspondence in *Ezr.*, chap. 5, Meyer says: "Wer die Urkunde verwirft, thut dies denn auch nicht aus inneren Gründen, sondern weil er den Tempelbau unter Kyros oder richtiger den Befehl des Kyros den Tempel wieder aufzubauen für unhistorisch hielt, oder weil er die Nachricht von der Rückkehr der Juden unter Kyros verwirft." But this is hardly fair to the scholars who have written on the subject. Probably not one of the number cares a straw for his most cherished theory in comparison with finding out the truth as to the origin and character of these records. We are in the direst need of information as to the history of the Jews in the Persian period, and every scrap of material that promises help ought to be treasured and put to use. But no extremity of need can outweigh the obligation to follow the evidence. So the verdict in regard to the Aramaic part of *Ezra* must be, "that it contains, not a series of remarkable utterances by heathen kings and officers to the glory of the Jews and their religion, but a kind of literature that abounds during this period of Jewish history. So far as historical value is concerned, it stands in all respects on the same plane with *Dan.* 2-6 and the book of *Esther.*"<sup>27</sup>

## II. THE CHRONICLER'S PART IN THE ARAMAIC PORTIONS

The letter of Artaxerxes to *Ezra*, 7:12-26, was created entire by the Chronicler, like the context in which it stands. The narrative which introduces it, 7:1-11, is the work of his hand, and so also is that which follows, 7:27 f.; 8:1-36, as I have shown elsewhere (*Composition*, pp. 16 ff., 20 f.). There is no single verse in all the Chronicler's history which is more unmistakably his own property than 7:28. The letter itself is marked throughout its whole extent by his favorite ideas and phrases, and his peculiar lexical and syntactical usages, manifest even in their Aramaic dress. See the notes below, *passim*. It is especially interesting to observe how closely this letter parallels two of the Chronicler's documents which precede it; namely, the royal edict in chap. 1 and the royal letter to the "eparchs" of the Trans-

<sup>27</sup> *Composition*, p. 8.

flumen, now preserved in I Esdras 4:47b-56, but originally following immediately upon Ezra 1:1-11, as I have shown. Thus, 1:2 is reproduced in 7:14; 1:3 in 7:13 and the last clause of vs. 15 ("who dwells in Jerusalem"); 1:4 reappears in 7:15, 16 (including the "silver and gold and free-will offerings," offered "for the house of God which is in Jerusalem"). And again: 7:17 had its counterpart in I Esdr. 4:52 (and also in Ezr. 6:5, *nota bene*); 7:18 corresponds to 4:54 ff.; vs. 19 brings back again Ezr. 1:7 ff.; vs. 20 corresponds to I Esdr. 4:51, and vs. 21 to vss. 47b, 48. Vss. 22 f. are again similar to I Esdr. 4:51 f., besides reproducing very noticeably Ezr. 6:9 f. And finally, vs. 24 is a repetition of I Esdr. 4:53-56 (cf. also 49 f.), the perquisites of the priests, Levites, and gate-keepers. That is, the decrees of Cyrus in favor of Sheshbazzar and his company are here reproduced in substance, and even with a striking repetition of the wording of whole phrases, in the decree of Artaxerxes for Ezra and his followers.

Another passage composed in Aramaic by the Chronicler is 6:15-18, directly continued in vss. 19 ff. by his Hebrew narrative. That vs. 15 belongs to him is proved sufficiently by the exact date which it contains, coupled with the fact that in vs. 14 the preceding narrative comes to a natural close. I was formerly inclined to assign the last three words of vs. 14 to him also (*Composition*, p. 10), but now believe that it is better to regard them as the work of a mere glossator. The Chronicler has written out the story of this whole period of history with some care, and it is hardly fair to him to accuse him, unnecessarily, of this bit of carelessness. He should at least be given the benefit of the doubt.

The work of the Chronicler's hand is to be seen, once more, in the two verses 6:9, 10, as I have already shown with abundant proof (*Composition*, p. 10).

These are the only parts of the Aramaic of Ezra which can surely be traced to the Chronicler. The question of course suggests itself, whether he may not also have been the author of 6:6-14; the grounds of the suspicion being (1) the presence of two verses written by him in the middle of this section; and (2) the strange transition from vs. 5 to vs. 6, the words of Cyrus being followed, without any warning, by those of Darius; which certainly resembles the heedless leap in chap. 7, from vs. 26 to



vs. 27, where Artaxerxes is suddenly interrupted by Ezra. But it is far more probable that there has been an accidental omission between verses 5 and 6 in chap. 6. Even the Chronicler himself would hardly have made so intolerably abrupt a transition as this. Moreover, there are no manifest traces of his presence in vss. 6-8 and 11-14, though in a passage of this length, in any writing of his, it is usually easy to recognize his handiwork. It is to be observed, also, that when vss. 9 f. are removed, the passage reads smoothly and consistently. The original narrator is concerned only with the building of the temple; there is no evidence, aside from these two verses, that he also intended to represent Cyrus and Darius as providing for the details of the cultus—to say nothing of the “bullocks, rams and lambs” and the “wheat, salt, wine and oil” which the Chronicler is so fond of parading before us; see I Chron. 29:21; II Chron. 29:21, 22, 32; *Ezr.* 6:17; 7:17, 22; 8:35, and cf. II Chron. 2:9, 14.

The question, which has sometimes been raised, whether the whole Aramaic section, 4:8—6:14, may not also have been written by the Chronicler, I have once more examined with care; with the result of satisfying myself completely that the hypothesis is an untenable one. The manner of the transition in 4:7 f. (in whatever way these verses are treated) shows distinctly that the work of another narrator begins here. The Chronicler, composing the narrative freely, could not possibly have proceeded in this way. It is also incredible that he could have kept his identity concealed throughout this long section. He could hardly have brought himself to leave the Levites, singers, porters, and Nethinim completely out of sight for nearly three whole chapters; and even if that had been possible, he could not have abandoned to this extent his own vocabulary and style.<sup>28</sup>

I formerly thought that the interpolation 4:9 f. might be attributed to the Chronicler, and regarded him as the probable author of 4:24; see my *Composition*, pp. 7-9. The former of these passages will be discussed below; the latter can best be considered here.

So far as internal evidence is concerned, there is no reason for regarding the Chronicler as the author of 4:24. The phrase

<sup>28</sup> As I have remarked elsewhere, the Chronicler's peculiar habits in the use of words, phrases, and constructions appear everywhere, and in quite uniform distribution, throughout Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., *excepting* in (1) the parts copied verbatim from Samuel and Kings; (2) this Aramaic source, *Ezr.* 4:8-6:14; (3) Nehemiah, chaps. 1, 2, 4-6.

מִלְכָּא פִּרְס is found also written by another hand in 6:14, as I have just shown, and it probably was in common use. The only argument which needs to be considered is the one which aims to show that the verse is an editorial patch. The argument rests on two main assumptions: (1) that this Aramaic narrative is a contemporary account, and trustworthy history; and (2) that vs. 24, which speaks of the building of the temple, is out of keeping with the preceding documents, which speak only of the building of the city. But these two assumptions are both mistaken.

I have already shown that the order of the Persian kings, Cyrus, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, in these chapters, 4 ff.—and therefore, of course, the order of the chapters themselves—is the only correct one, according to the view which prevailed in Jerusalem in the Greek period. Both the substance and the progress of the narrative here are precisely what we should expect, when the purposes of the narrator are taken into account. As already remarked (above, p. 155), the author of these “official” documents and the narrative containing them was concerned with two important matters: the delay in building the temple, and the relation of the Jews to the Samaritans. These enemies of the Jews undertook, on two different occasions, to hinder the building of the sanctuary in Jerusalem, by writing to the Persian king. On the first occasion, when they were shrewd enough to speak only of the city as a whole,<sup>29</sup> without specifying the temple in particular, they had the good luck to gain their point, and the building was stopped. On the second occasion, when other officials, less cautious, wrote only in regard to the temple, the attempt not only failed, but even proved to be of great assistance to the Jews, for it resulted in the recovery of long-lost documents which led the king at once to take the temple in Jerusalem under his special patronage. From the literary point of view—and we need no other—this is all quite according to rule; in fact, it is exactly the way in which any story or play, ancient or modern, would conceive the course of events in order to make it as dramatically effective as possible. At first the villain triumphs, not

<sup>29</sup> It is customary to say that the two letters in 4:11-22 deal with the building of the city wall. This is not the case, however. It is the building up of the city that is described, and that the king orders to be stopped (vs. 21). Of course the city walls are also specified by the Samaritans; and of course the prohibition of further building included the temple, at which the Samaritans were especially aiming.

by fair means, but through misrepresentation; but in the end he is overwhelmed.

This being the case, it is obvious that such a verse as 24, standing where it now stands, was essential to the original narrative. The way in which it attaches itself directly to vs. 23 is evident, and also the fact that it is absolutely indispensable as the preparation for 5:1.<sup>30</sup> The composer of this Jewish-Samaritan drama could not have devised a sentence which would more exactly have satisfied his immediate purposes. The question of its authorship can therefore not fairly be raised at all.

In conclusion: I believe that the Chronicler incorporated this Aramaic writing in its entirety, and that we have it in substantially its original form. A passage has been accidentally lost between 6:5 and 6:6, as already remarked. The story probably began with some such formula as [בִּימֵי אִיחָזְשֵׁתָא מֶלְכָא כְּתָב] רְדוּם בַּעַל טַעַם, and so on as in 4:8. The Chronicler, when he wrote his own introductory verse, 4:7 (as emended below), necessarily omitted the words which I have inclosed in brackets.

There were doubtless many such popular narratives written, after the same manner in which popular and edifying tales have always been written. The one which the Chronicler chose to incorporate was the work of a man of his own school of ideas, who in all probability lived and wrote at about the same time as he, namely in the middle of the third century B. C.<sup>31</sup>

### III. THE ARAMAIC OF THE BOOK OF EZRA

On this point it is now possible to be very brief, thanks to the recent discoveries of Aramaic papyri in Egypt. All the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra belongs to the dialect of the second and third centuries B. C. This includes (1) the Aramaic

<sup>30</sup> It is altogether unlikely that the date, "in the second year of Darius," stood also in 5:1 (as I once suggested as possible, *Comp.*, p. 12, note 1). As for I Esdr. 6:1, of course the date there had to be inserted by the redactor who interpolated the Story of the Three Youths and transposed the Artaxerxes letters. The curious theory (now quite generally adopted) that the passage 5:1, 2 was not written by the author of 5:3 ff. needs no additional refutation. Of course the one who knew (5:14) of the prophecy of Haggai and Zechariah knew also (from Hag. 1:12, 14, etc.) that Zerubbabel and Jeshua were the leaders in the work of building. Chap. 6:7 shows the same thing, plainly enough.

<sup>31</sup> It is fair to draw this conclusion from the fact that this Aramaic tale presupposes (not only in 4:12, 15 ff., but also, by implication, in 5:12 ff.) the theory of a return of "the Babylonian exiles." Inasmuch as every other mention of such a return, in the whole Old Testament down to Tobit 14:5, comes from the Chronicler himself (*Composition*, pp. 62 f.), it is probable that the theory originated in his own generation, in the school to which he belonged.

written by the Chronicler; (2) that of the Story of the Samaritan Intrigues, which he incorporates; (3) the language of Dan., chaps. 2-7.<sup>32</sup> The date at which the Chronicler wrote may properly be taken as the representative one for the period covered by all these documents. The Aramaic story which he edits may be a trifle older, though it probably belongs to his own generation.<sup>33</sup> One chapter, at least, of the Aramaic part of Daniel was written nearly a century later. From the linguistic point of view, this is all thoroughly homogeneous; there is no possibility of any scientific division into "earlier" and "later" sections. All these writings, and all in just the same way, represent a certain stage in the development of Western Aramaic; there is not a single particular, major or minor, in which the one of them can be said with confidence to belong to a more advanced stage of development than its fellow.<sup>34</sup> Any one of the group might be designated the earliest, or the latest, with equal right.

This is by no means a new discovery, so far as the identity of the Aramaic of Ezra with that of Daniel is concerned. On this point the Semitic scholars of the present generation are practically agreed. There has been a strange failure, however, to draw the correct conclusion as to the *date* represented by this stage of the dialect. We have had for comparison a good many Aramaic inscriptions dating all the way from the eighth century B. C. downward, including material sufficient to give us a tolerably clear idea of some of the most characteristic changes which took place in the

<sup>32</sup>In my own opinion, which I have often expressed, the first six chapters of Daniel are older than the rest of the book, which was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. But there is no difference between the Aramaic of chaps. 2-6 and that of chap. 7.

<sup>33</sup>The Aramaic Story of the Three Youths, as I have already shown, belongs approximately to this same period, but is probably older than any of these other documents, dating from near the beginning of the third century.

<sup>34</sup>The fact that the suffix forms  $\text{כֹּם}$  and  $\text{הֹם}$  (instead of  $\text{כֹּן}$  and  $\text{הֹן}$ ) do not happen to be used in Dan., as they are frequently in Ezer., can hardly be made an exception to this statement, since the forms ending in  $\text{ם}$  continue to be found in both Jewish and gentile Aramaic until long after the time when the book of Daniel was given its final form (e. g., in the Jerusalem Targums, and in Nabatean inscriptions dated in the first century A. D.). The Chronicler uses *both* the  $\text{ם}$  and the  $\text{ן}$  suffixes, and the one about as often as the other.

Similarly, the preformative  $\text{ש}$ , instead of  $\text{ה}$ , in the stems of the verb, is represented by several examples in Daniel, but does not appear in Ezra. But we seem to have the same thing in the form  $\text{אֶשְׁתַּדְּרֵר}$ , Ezer. 4:15, 19, which is apparently a verbal noun from the *hithpa'al* of  $\text{שָׁדַר}$ ; cf.  $\text{מִשְׁתַּדְּרֵר}$  in Dan. 6:15. Moreover, the process has already begun in the time of the papyri from Elephantine; see the *hithpe'el* form  $\text{אֶשְׁתַּרְרֵן}$  (1st pers. plur. perf.), in Cowley's K, 2. Notice also such parallel phenomena as the name  $\text{אוֹשַׁעִיָּה}$  (for  $\text{הַר}$ ) in H, 18, and the pronoun  $\text{אֲנִי}$  in Ezra.

It is very probable, indeed, that Dan., chap. 2-6 was written somewhat later than the Aramaic parts of Ezra; but it is not safe to say that this *is proved by the language*.

language, from the Euphrates to Egypt. The evidence has been quite sufficient to show that our "biblical Aramaic" could hardly be dated so early as the fourth century B. C., to say nothing of a still earlier date. Yet scholars have persisted in looking at the Ezra "documents" through the medium of a theory, and have found it possible to hold the view that the language in which they are written belongs to the sixth and fifth centuries,<sup>35</sup> while dating the Aramaic of Daniel in the second century—as though the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* did not exist.

Now, however, the papyri of Assuan and Elephantine have given us abundant material confirming most decisively the witness of the inscriptions. The first publishers of these texts have not made the matter plain, to be sure; in fact, what they have written would rather tend to mislead inquirers in regard to this point. Sachau, *Drei aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (1907), p. 3, writes: "Die Sprache, in der sie geschrieben sind, ist in allen wesentlichen Stücken identisch mit derjenigen der aramäischen Kapitel in den Büchern Esra und Daniel, und ihre Phraseologie bietet nahe Berührungen mit derjenigen der amtlichen Urkunden im Esrabuche." And Sayce and Cowley had previously written in their publication, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (1906), p. 20: "Much of the interest of the texts lies in the many points of contact which they show with Palestinian Aramaic as represented by the books of Ezra and Daniel. *The differences are due no doubt partly to the difference of locality, partly also perhaps to the popular style of the deeds as compared with the literary style of Biblical Aramaic*" (the italics are mine). But this merely obscures the true state of the case. Of course the language of all these writings, biblical and extra-biblical, is Aramaic and (more or less) Jewish. The "points of contact" could be taken for granted; the points of difference are what we most need to consider.

One of the most significant facts in the history of the development of the old West-Aramaic dialect is the gradual replacement of certain sibilants by their corresponding dentals. In our oldest Aramaic inscriptions, including those (such as the coins of

<sup>35</sup> Those who think that these documents are genuine, and were preserved in an archive, must of course hold that they are written in their original dialect. To suppose that they have been systematically altered throughout, in such a way as carefully to remove all those traces by which they could be recognized as genuine, is to attribute to the Chronicler or to his predecessors an altogether unexampled stupidity, especially since the archaisms would not in the least impair the intelligibility of the documents.





of Palestinian Aramaic of the fourth century B. C., we should find that during this period the 7-forms of the pronouns gradually gained the upper hand, appearing only occasionally in the first part of the century, but becoming the rule during its closing years. Then later on, in the third century, was reached that settled state of things, in this regard, which we see henceforth in biblical Aramaic, the inscriptions of Nabatea and Palmyra, and the other later representatives of the western dialect. Thus the linguistic evidence agrees entirely with the conclusions reached on other grounds.

In numerous other particulars, however, the biblical dialect is itself seen to be in a transitional stage, showing the beginning, or the early stages, of certain tendencies which became fixed at a later day. For example, in the Egyptian papyri, and previously, the preformative of the causative stem is 7, not 8; similarly in the other derived stems which begin with a breathing. In biblical Aramaic several of these forms begin with 8 (see the note above); in the *Megillath Ta'nith* and some of the other old specimens of the later Jewish Aramaic the forms written with 7 are rare; so also in Nabatean inscriptions; later still, they disappear altogether. In the use of the forms 7777, 7777 for the pronoun of the 3d pers. sing. masc., biblical Aramaic agrees with the fifth-century papyri (7777). But in both Daniel and Ezra appears the form 8888, which soon after became universal (with slight modifications here and there). The use of the proleptic suffix-pronoun, so characteristic of the Aramaic dialects from Ezra and Daniel onward, seems hardly to have begun as early as the fifth century, judging from the papyri and the inscriptions. Another instructive instance is found in the forms of the construct infinitive of the derived verbal stems. For these infinitives, two nearly identical abstract noun-forms, A 77777777, etc., and B 77777777, etc., are chiefly used in the various stages of the language. For the absolute infinitive, forms of type A are everywhere used in biblical Aramaic, and continue to be regular in the Jewish dialects. Forms of type B are regular in classical Syriac, and appear in other gentile dialects; e. g., 77777777 in the Palmyrene Tariff, IIc, l. 4. For the construct infinitive, on the other hand, forms from the type B early gained the upper hand, even in Jewish Aramaic. Doubtless there was a time when constructs formed from A were commonly used, but

we see in Ezra and Daniel only the vanishing traces of such a usage. In Ezr. 4:22 we find לְהִנָּקֵת, and in Dan. 5:12 אֲהַרְיֵת; though some of our recent commentators and editors have wished to "emend" away these most interesting and important examples! Similar forms appear now and then in the later Jewish dialects of Palestine (Dalman, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, 279), see for example Dalman's *Dialektproben*, 16, l. 16, מִשְׁקִתְהוֹן.<sup>36</sup>

The number of these illustrations might easily be increased still further. But enough has been said to show clearly the stage of linguistic development, in general, which is occupied by the Aramaic sections of Ezra.

#### IV. PROPER NAMES AND FOREIGN WORDS

##### 1. *Proper Names*

In beginning this brief treatment of the proper names which are characteristic of the Aramaic part of Ezra, a preliminary word of a general character may be permitted. The names which Jewish parents in the Persian and Greek periods gave to their children were not always, and perhaps not often, given because of their significance. Doubtless there had been a time, in early Hebrew history, when the etymology of the name was the prime consideration leading to the choice of it; but that time had been long outgrown, and the Jews, like other peoples, had become accustomed to choose names simply because they liked the sound of them, or because they were borne by relatives or friends, or for some good omen which (quite irrespective of their origin) they were supposed to carry. This fact is especially evident from the extent to which foreign names were given to the children of Jewish parents. When a Jewish narrator chooses such names as "Esther" and "Mordecai" for his hero and heroine, it is plain that names borrowed from the surrounding peoples were used in those days very much as they are in the most civilized nations at the present time. And all the indications which we have point in this direction. The Chronicler's lists (compiled by him presumably from the names of the prominent Jews of his own time) contain a considerable number of names like "Elam,"

<sup>36</sup> Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, p. 142, n. 3, regards the final -ā of these absolute infinitives of type A as the emphatic, rather than the feminine, ending. It seems to me that the evidence here presented, in view of the history of the absolute state in old Aramaic and the analogy of the infinitives ending in ִּי, is decidedly against this view.

“Paḥath-Moab,” “Nebo,” and “Bagoi” (בגוי), all of which designate true Israelites. The writer of the stories in the first part of Daniel names one of his heroes עבד נבו, a name which certainly would never have been selected if it had not been well known as Jewish; so also when the pious father Mattathias names one of his boys “Gaddi” (from the heathen god),<sup>37</sup> it is evident that the time had long passed when names had to be taken at their exact face value. We should suppose, moreover, on general grounds, that during the period of Persian rule Babylonian and Persian names would have become popular in Jerusalem and Judea, as well as among the Jews of the Dispersion. This does, in fact, seem to have been the case, as the evidence from Palestine, Babylonia, and Egypt shows us.

It has been quite usual among Old Testament scholars, however, to assume that a Babylonian name means a Babylonian, a Persian name a Persian, and so on. Thus Cowley, *Papyri*, p. 13, speaking of the names which occur in these Jewish-Aramaic records from Upper Egypt: “In some cases the father and son bear names belonging to different languages, which points to racial intermarriage. Thus Satibarzanes is the son of Athar-ili, a name which is itself Assyrianized Aramaean, and Bagadates—the Persian Baga-dāta—is the son of the Babylonian Nabu-kuduri-[uzur]. The Babylonians, indeed, seem to have been as numerous at Syênê as the Persians, and like them could hold official posts.” But this is, I think, a mistaken view, even where the Jews are not concerned at all. Even in those days, a name was common property, to some extent, and available for any who fancied it. In regard to Jewish names Cowley says (*ibid.*, p. 37): “The name of Hosea’s father, Peti-khnûm, *the gift of Khuûm*, seems to imply that the son was a Jewish proselyte. . . . In mediaeval and modern times, however, it is customary to find Jews using two names, one Hebrew and one vernacular for ordinary purposes. Possibly the practice had already begun,<sup>38</sup> and Peti-khnûm and As-ḥor were the non-Hebrew names borne by Jews who were rather lax in their religious views.” But we are under no necessity of supposing

<sup>37</sup> See the *Encycl. Bibl.*, article “Maccabees,” §1, col. 2851, where I have tried to show that the names Judah, Simon, Eleazar, Jonathan, etc., were the official names adopted by the Hasmonean princes, not the names given them by their father.

<sup>38</sup> Sachau finds such a double name in the Elephantine letter, concluding that ‘Anani (אנני), the brother of the high priest in Jerusalem, bore also the Persian name אִסְתָּן. But the more natural trans. (ll. 18f.) is “Ostan, *the brother of Anani.*”

that the men bearing these names were either gentiles or "Jews who were lax in their religious views," any more than we need suppose that every Jew named "Isidor" is either the child of Egyptian parents or else a worshiper of Isis! Of course it is true that the population of the large cities both in Egypt and in Palestine at this time was a mixture of many races and nationalities; it is also true, doubtless, that some attention was paid to the etymology of names. *As a rule*, Persians bore Persian names, Jews Hebrew names, and so on; but considerable latitude must be left for exceptions to the rule. Sachau, *Papyrusurkunden*, p. 37, writes: "Wenn nun Sanaballaṭ seinen Söhnen judäische Namen gab, so war er vermutlich von Geburt ein Nichtjudäer, der später zum Judentum übergetreten war, oder er war von Geburt Jude und hatte wegen irgendeiner Rücksicht auf die persische Herrschaft einen babylonischen Namen angenommen. . . . Warum Sanaballaṭ nicht gleich einen persischen Namen anstatt eines babylonischen angenommen, ist nicht ersichtlich." But it is probable that Sanaballaṭ was either a Hebrew of the North-Palestinian stock, or else of Jewish origin, and quite possible in either case that he had borne this name from his childhood. It may well be that the name was borne by many in the land, including some devout Jews.<sup>39</sup> "Zerubbabel" is a good Babylonian name, but was probably given, without much thought as to its etymology, to the Jewish boy at his birth. Similarly, "Sheshbazzar" had in all likelihood been naturalized as a Jewish name.

Since the interpretation of not a few of the proper names in the Ezra documents depends on an understanding of the popular Jewish notions in regard to the origin and history of the Samaritans, a preliminary word on that subject will be in place.

The Samaritans claimed to be, and probably were in the main, a Hebrew people of fairly pure blood.<sup>40</sup> The Jews, on the contrary, maddened by the pretensions of this rival temple and its adherents, insisted that the Samaritans were no Hebrews at all. The Jewish tradition as to the origin of this northern community attached itself mainly to II Kings 17:24-41; cf. 17:3-6 and 18:9-11. The narrative as we have it is not historical, but merely

<sup>39</sup> Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1907, p. 204, note 2, says in regard to one of the names in Nehemiah: "Ein echter Ammoniter hätte kaum טרוביה geheissen." But do we know so definitely as this what an "echter Ammoniter" was, at that time, and how strict the Ammonites were in the matter of names?

<sup>40</sup> So modern anthropologists have generally decided.



probability, Josephus had a Greek version of it before him when he wrote, judging from the words οὗς . . . ἀγαγὼν Σαλμανασσάρης . . . κατόκισεν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ (*Antt.* xi, 2, 1). On the basis of this evidence, as well as on the ground of general probability, we may venture to restore "Shalmanassar." From the form שַׁמְנֶסֶר<sup>42</sup> came אַמְנֶסֶר, and then רַסְנֶסֶר, these changes being only such as have occurred many times over in the proper names of this book. The Egyptian Greek here is the result of correction to correspond with the corrupt reading of our MT.

אֶרְסִיָּא 4:9. The gentile name of the people of a certain "nation" (אַרְסָא) from which the Samaritans had been recruited. Probably "Persians," the initial א having been transposed by accident from the preceding word.

אֶרְסִיָּא 4:9. Another gentile adjective. Created (on the basis of the word אֶרְסִיָּא, 5:6; 6:6) by the interpolator of 4:9 f., in the manner described below, p. 183.

[אַ]רְסִיָּא Another of the names in the list of 4:9. "Men of Erech;" perhaps originally אֶרְסִיָּא (for אֶרְסָא)?

אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתָּא 7:12 (cf. 7:1; Neh. 2:1, etc.). The form used in the massoretic tradition to designate Artaxerxes II Mnemon; see the name below.

אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁתָּא 4:8, 11, 23. The massoretic way of writing the name of Artaxerxes I Longimanus; that of Artaxerxes II (in *Ezr.*, chaps. 7, 8; *Neh.*, chaps. 2, 5, 13) being always written with א. Contrast with this the spelling of the name in the Jewish papyri of the fifth century B. C., found in Egypt, where it is always written אַרְתַּחְשַׁשְׁ; so also on the stele from Assuan, *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, 438, l. 4.<sup>43</sup>

בְּבִלְיָא A gentile name from the list in 4:9. "Men from Babylon."

דִּינִיָּא 4:9. Originally the noun "judges," which had been interpolated in the Aramaic text of 4:11 which lay before

<sup>42</sup> It is natural to suppose that the ש was as commonly omitted as the λ was in the Greek. In II Kings 17:3, B has Σαμενασσαρ; in 18:9, A has Σαμανασσαρ. In Tobit 1:2, 15, 16, both recensions read [Σ]εμεσσαρ (the Σ from the word ἡμέραις immediately preceding in two of the three passages). In I Esdr. 2:11, 14; 6:17, 19, where the Syrian text substitutes "Shalmanassar" for "Sanabassar," Origen's text had Σαμανασσαρ in 2:11 and 14.

<sup>43</sup> It must be remembered, however, that this is the Egyptian form of the name, corresponding to the manner of writing it in the hieroglyphic characters. The form given us by the massorettes differs only slightly from those which we find in the cuneiform records: *Artakšatsu* (KB iv, 312, 4), *Artakšassu* (Stevenson, *Assyr. and Bab. Contracts*, 198, No. 40, 7), etc.



the "I Esdras" translator; see below. Thence made into a gentile adjective by the author and interpolator of vss. 9 f.; cf. the note on אֲשֵׁר־סַחֲבִיָּא.

דַּרְיוֹשׁ 4:24; 5:5; 6:1, etc. Darius (Nothus, according to the view of these Jewish writers). Compare the Egyptian spelling דַּרְיוֹהוֹשׁ, occurring uniformly in the Jewish Aramaic papyri from Egypt.<sup>44</sup>

טַרְסֻלִּיָּא Gentile name from the list in 4:9. The only name of a locality which seems to meet the requirements is Τετραπόλις. This included Antioch, Seleucia, Apamea, and Laodicea (Strabo, xvi, 749, 750); a region which we should expect to see represented here, since according to II Kings 17:24 Shalmanassar brought the Samaritans not only from Babylonia, but also "from Hamath." The fact that the verse containing the word was interpolated at a comparatively late day makes it easy to accept this Greek name.

רִדְדָּם 4:8, 17, 23. The name of the בַּעַל טַעֲם, or "reporter" of the affairs of the province, who dwelt in Samaria in the time of Artaxerxes I. An Aramaic name, and one which the Chronicler is fond of inserting in his lists. The form Πάθυμος, found in I Esdras, is the result of corruption in the Greek, ΠΑΘΥΜΟC becoming ΠΑΘΥΜΟC.

שׁוֹשַׁנְכִּיָּא Still another gentile name from the list in 4:9. Apparently "men from Susa." The form is interesting, if the כ really stands for the Persian suffix *-ka*.

שְׁבַשְׁתִּי 4:8, 17, 23. Name of the secretary who was associated with Rehūm. Evidently the same name as the Babylonian *Šamaš-a-a*, found in Stevenson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, No. 37, l. 17. It also appears in Syria at a later day. The I Esdras reading Σαμέλλιος came from ΚΑΜΕΛΙΟC = ΚΑΜΚΑΙΟC; i. e., a copyist carelessly put the cross-bar in the wrong letter.

שְׁשַׁבְצָר 5:14, 16. I have already discussed this name at length, in dealing with the first chapter of Ezra, and have shown that the I Esdras reading "Sanabassar" is the result of early Greek corruption from Σασαβασσαρ (above, p. 138). Probably a naturalized Jewish name.

<sup>44</sup> Notice also, in this connection, that the "documents" in Ezra use the late and incorrect form נְבִיכַדְנֶצַּר, written with כ, which prevailed in the Greek period. So in all three of the passages (5:12, 14; 6:5) where the name occurs.

שְׁתַּבְּרָנִי 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. This is probably a miswriting of the Persian name שְׁתַּבְּרָן, Satibarzanes, which appears in the Assuan papyri (Cowley's A, l. 16, possibly also E, l. 18). Perhaps, however, שְׁתַּרְ(ש), *Ištar*, + בְּרָנִי, the Persian ending which appears in the Greek transcription *Μιθροβουζανης*, Diod. Sic. xvii, 21, 3; Arrian, *Anab.*, i, 16, 3. As for the proposal to emend here to בְּתַר, it is not even probable that this Jewish narrative was ever written in the old Hebrew characters. It is uncertain, and a matter of small importance, whether the narrator wished to represent the bearer of this name as a Persian or as a Samaritan of Persian extraction, but the latter is more likely.

תַּדְּנָנִי 5:3, 6; 6:6, 13. A Babylonian name. The equivalent of the *Taddannu* which is found in Babylonian records of the time of Nabunaid and Cyrus (Muss-Arnolt, *Dictionary*, pp. 1148 f.). That the form *Tattannu* also existed may be taken for granted, since the verb *natānu* (for *nadānu*) is common, and found also in proper names.<sup>45</sup> Originally an abbreviated (hypocoristic) form, cf. the name *Nabū-taddannu*, Muss-Arnolt, *loc. cit.* The pronunciation of the name is correctly transmitted by the massoretes. That the *Θαθθavai* of cod. A and its fellows is Theodotion's own transliteration needs no argument; the forms *Θαυθαυαι*, *Ταυθαυαι*, etc., are arbitrary improvements. The old Greek translator (represented by I Esdras), who was a well-read man, conjectured *Σισίννης*, but the conjecture is of no value for us.<sup>46</sup>

The names בְּשָׁלַם, בְּחִדְרָה, and טַבְּאֵל, 4:6 (MT 7), may also be mentioned here, though they occur in a verse (the Chronicler's) which is not written in Aramaic. בְּשָׁלַם is apparently the Babylonian name *Bēl-šallim*;<sup>47</sup> cf. *Nabū-šallim* (Stevenson, *Assyr. and Bab. Contracts*, p. 148), *Sin-šallimani*

<sup>45</sup>Since this was written, I have seen Clay's article, "Aramaic Indorsements on the Documents of the Murašū Sons," in the *O. T. and Sem. Studies in Memory of W. E. Harper*, Vol. 1 (1908), pp. 287-321. The name given in his No. 18 (pp. 293, 306) is the very one which is needed. The document is dated in the second year of Darius II, and the name is *Tattannu*, written תַּתְּנָן in the accompanying Aramaic characters.

<sup>46</sup>Cowley, *Assuan Papyri*, p. 42, writes: "Two Babylonian contracts of the first and third years of Darius describe Tatnai as *governor of Ebir-nāri*." This is a mistake, based on a conjectural emendation of our text which never had any probability.

<sup>47</sup>By supposing an Aramaic name *Bēl-šalām*, "Bēl is peace," we could retain the massoretic pointing, בְּשָׁלַם. But we have thus far no entirely satisfactory analogies for such a name.

(Muss-Arnolt, p. 1042), etc. The original "I Esdras" transliteration was Βισλεμος or Βησλεμος, and the σ was accidentally dropped by a copyist. The "Βεέλσιμος" of the I Esdras L text is a flagrant instance of textual contamination, since it is merely one of the corrupt variants of the transliteration of בעל שם : Βεέλτεμος, -ζέμος, -σεμος; which are found here even in the apparatus of Niese's Josephus. As for the other two names: מִתְרָדָתֵס, Mithradates, is Persian, and is employed by the Chronicler also in Ezr. 1:8; תַּבְּעֵל, *Tāb-'ēl*, is Aramaic, and occurs also in Isaiah 7:6.

It may be merely accidental, but it is certainly worthy of notice, that in each one of these enumerations by name of the enemies of the Jews, the names are such as to point to as many different nationalities as possible. In 5:3, etc., Tattenai is Babylonian and Satibarzanes is Persian; in 4:8, etc., Rehūm is native Aramaic, and also Jewish (and of course the Samaritan community was supposed to contain Hebrews and renegade Jews, as well as foreigners), and Shimshai is Babylonian; in 4:6 (7) Bishlam is Babylonian, Mithradath is Persian, and Tab'el is Syrian (representing apparently those Samaritans who were brought from the region of Hamath). It is true, as was pointed out above, that at the time when this was written the nationality of names counted for much less than had formerly been the case; but on the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the Jewish narrators of the time did recognize the distinction between names in this regard, and created "local color" accordingly. And it is quite certain that "even in the Hellenistic period a native of Palestine or of any other country inhabited by Jews might without difficulty have collected a large number of Persian names" (Nöldeke, *Encycl. Bibl.*, article "Esther," §3).

## 2. *The Foreign Words*

What has just been said in regard to Persian names is also true of other Persian words. The Chronicler, or the author of Daniel, or any other story-teller of the Greek period in Jerusalem, could easily procure as many of these words as he wished to use. When it is observed how much fewer in proportion these Persisms are in the Jewish papyri of Egypt than they are in the Aramaic of Ezra and Daniel, the conclusion lies near at hand that our narrators introduced at least some of them for effect.

The nature and manner of use of one or two of the words, moreover, point in the same direction. Such a common word as the adverb "diligently" need not have been borrowed by the Aramaic from any foreign source; yet we find it eight times, in these Ezra documents, expressed by the one or the other of two curious Persian (?) words which are otherwise unknown. It is hard to believe that this represents the actual usage of any period of Jewish (or any other) Aramaic. If the adverb occurred only once or twice we might not look on it with suspicion, but this obvious parading of it can hardly be accidental.

It is perhaps not surprising, on any theory, that the origin of about one half of these foreign words should remain more or less obscure. It is usually only the etymology which is uncertain, however, for the meaning is made plain by the context in nearly every case. The most of the words which can be recognized are Persian or Babylonian; two or three are Greek; of the remainder, nothing can be said with confidence at present.

**אֲדַרְזָא** 7:23. An adverb, meaning "diligently, zealously," as the context shows. It looks like a Persian word, but no plausible explanation of it has been given thus far. It seems to be the equivalent of **אֲשַׁרְיָא**; see below.

**אֲשַׁרְיָא** 5:8; 6:8, 12, 13; 7:17, 21, 26. Also an adverb, with the same meaning as the preceding—and no other meaning will fit all the places where it occurs. The I Esdras translator renders both alike by *ἐπιμελῶς*. The word is otherwise unknown, and the attempted explanations of it are far-fetched. We are certainly not justified in connecting it with the problematic word in the Aramaic inscription, *CIS*, II, 108. The reading of the word there (generally given as **אֲשַׁרְיָא**) is by no means assured; the sense of the whole inscription is unknown; and the meaning "exact," usually postulated there, will not do at all in the Ezra passages.

**אֲפִרְסָיָא** 5:6; 6:6. An *official title* of the governors of the Transflumen, of whom Tattenai was one. Apparently the Aramaic plural of the naturalized Greek word *ἐπαρχος*, the **כ** and **ס** being transposed (naturally; as in Al-iskandar for Alexander, etc.), and the plural ending added in the usual way. These are the **עֲבָרֵי הַנְּהָר** "the eparchs of the Transflumen," *Ezr.* 8:36; *Neh.* 2:7, 9, and *ἐπαρχος* is the

usual equivalent (cf. "die ständige Bezeichnung," Meyer, *Entstehung*, 32, note) of פְּהָה.<sup>48</sup> It is quite likely that the author of these documents supposed this to be a Persian word.

פְּהָה 4:13. From the context, evidently a feminine noun signifying "revenue," as scholars have generally agreed. The suggestion of Andreas, "damage" (!), in Marti's glossary, is plainly impossible. Neither the old Greek translator nor Theodotion ventured to render the word. I have no doubt that it is a Greek technical term; either ἐπίταξις, "taxation," or ἐπίθεσις, "impost," either one of which words might have been transliterated in this way. In favor of the former might be cited the passage Herod. iii, 89, where, in speaking of the imposition of tribute by Darius upon the various divisions of the Persian empire, the phrase ἡ ἐπίταξις τοῦ φόρου is used. But the terms ἐπιτιθέναι, ἐπίθεσις, are also used technically in speaking of the "imposition" of tribute, fines, and the like, and in view of the *exact* transliteration of the latter word it is to be preferred. This explains the gender of the verb הִתְהַנֹּק; the phrase אֶפְתַּח בְּלִכְיָן (notice that it is not בְּלִכְנָא or בְּלִכְנִיא) means ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐπίθεσις, "the royal taxation," and the gender of the borrowed word is retained, as usual. Here, again, it is quite likely that the Aramaic narrator did not know the origin of the term, but supposed it to be Persian. It is barely possible that the writing with פ is due to a reminiscence of the sound of the Greek π. As for the vowel pointing אֶפְתַּח, it is exactly as valuable as that of קְתַרֵּס, for κίθαρις, in Dan. 3:5, 7, 10.

אֶפְתַּח 5:3, 9. A good illustration of the relative excellency of MT, inasmuch as both the old Greek translator and Theodotion (versions nearly or quite three hundred years apart) had the word before them in the form אֶפְתַּח; the former as אֶפְתַּח, στέγη, "roof," and the latter as אֶפְתַּח, χορηγία, "outlay" (for hired labor). So long, therefore, as

<sup>48</sup>That Tattenai is thought of here as *the satrap* of the whole Transflumen, is of course not the case. He was the "governor" of his province, just as Zerubbabel, at the same time, was governor (פְּהָה, 6:7) in Judea, as Sheshbazzar had been previously (5:14), and as Bagohi is said in the Sachau papyri to have been the פְּהָה יְהוּדָה in the years 411-408. The narrator uses the term אֶפְתַּח, ἑπαρχοί, here in the same way that his immediate successor, the Chronicler, uses the equivalent terms in his "Ezra Memoirs," 8:33, where Ezra, after arriving in Jerusalem, hands over the decrees of the king לאחשרפני המלך ופחותת עבר הנהר.

the word given in MT remained otherwise unattested, the only safe critical procedure was to adopt the reading אַנְיָא. But now the word אַשְׂרֵינָא has again come to light in the papyri published by Sachau, the reading being quite certain. In the Egyptian document (*Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, I, 11) it signifies a part (just which part, is not clear) of the temple at Elephantine; in the Ezra passages, also, it has always been evident that it stands for a part of the temple at Jerusalem. I believe that the word means "colonnade;" that it is the same as the שַׁרְךְ of the Bod-'aštart inscription, *CIS*, I, 4, l. 4; and that it is probably to be connected with the Assyrian word *šurimu*.<sup>49</sup> The prosthetic א, in that case, would be merely euphonic. In the description of the destruction of the Jewish temple in Egypt, first the inner sanctuary is mentioned, with its pillars; then the gates, with their doors; then the roofing, made of beams of cedar; then "the rest of<sup>50</sup> the portico," שִׁירֵית אַשְׂרֵינָא, "and whatever else was there." The phrase "and the columns which were there," used in speaking of the sanctuary proper, may perhaps be taken to imply that there were other columns elsewhere, namely in the outer court. As for the context in Ezra, it is at least natural to suppose that there an important and conspicuous part of the whole structure is meant. Point perhaps אַשְׂרֵינָא? I am of course fully aware of the precarious character of these conclusions.

בְּלוֹ Only in the standing phrase מִנְהָה בְּלוֹ וְהַלֵּךְ. 4:13, 20; 7:24. בְּלוֹ is not to be separated from the Babylonian *abālu*, the noun *biltu*, etc., though the precise nature of the form is still uncertain. מִנְהָה is also a Babylonian loan-word, *mandattu*, as is well known. Also in the form מִנְהָה, 6:8; Neh. 5:4. הַלֵּךְ, judging from its etymology, means *custom*, "gāng und gebe," binding usage (as regards tribute); cf. הַלְלָה, and the English word "custom" meaning tax. It is not likely that it has anything to do with roads, as some have supposed. Probably *not* a loan-word from the Babylonian, though the latter appears to have some closely analogous usage, cf. especially the various uses of *ilku*.

<sup>49</sup> I have previously suggested the connection of the Phoenician word with the Assyrian; *Journal of the Am. Or. Society*, Vol. XXIII, 1902, pp. 171 f.

<sup>50</sup> So read and interpreted by Fraenkel, *Theol. Litz.*, 23 Nov., 1907, and Nöldeke, *ZA*, XXI, 199, while Sachau reads שִׁירֵית.



- קִזְבָּר** 7:21. The Persian word "treasurer;" possibly borrowed through the Babylonian, where it also appears.<sup>51</sup>
- חֵן** 7:12, 14, 21, 25, 26. The Persian word "law." Also used in the Aramaic of Daniel.
- הִלֵּךְ** Possibly borrowed? See the note on **בִּלְוֵ**.
- מִנְהָה** See the note on **בִּלְוֵ**.
- כְּתוּבָה** 4:18, 23; 5:5. Also, in Hebrew, 4:7; 7:11. A noun meaning "letter;" origin not yet satisfactorily explained. The resemblance to old Persian *uipištām*, modern Persian **نوشت**, "writing," is too close to be accidental. Possibly the result of writing down an unfamiliar word from hearsay?
- כְּתוּבָה** 4:11, 23; 5:6. Also, in Hebrew, 7:11 and (in the form **כְּתוּבָה**) Esther 3:14; 4:8; 8:13. Apparently a genuine Persian loan-word, "copy;" but the origin of the form, and the relation to that found in Esther, are not yet clear.
- כְּתוּבָה** 4:17; 5:7, 11; 6:11. Also Dan. 3:16; 4:14, and (Hebrew) Esth. 1:20; Eccles. 8:11; very common in later Aramaic and classical Syriac. It is an exact synonym of **דְּבַר**, i. e. "word," which is occasionally weakened to "thing." It does not mean "answer," nor "decree," nor "message," as is often affirmed; and it thus stands at some distance, both in meaning and in form, from the modern Persian *paighām*, "message" (the "old Persian *patighāma*," from *patigam*, "arrive," has not actually been found). The hypothesis of a Greek loan-word, namely *φθέγμα*, "word, utterance," is more probable on all grounds. The Greek translators render **כְּתוּבָה** regularly by *ῥῆμα* and *λόγος*; the word in its Syriac form is also used ordinarily to translate *λόγος*, *ῥῆμα*, *ἔπος*, *φθόγγος*, *φθογγή*, *φθέγμα* (Syr.-Hex. in Job 6:26, Wisd. 1:11).

Of the words discussed in the preceding list, at least four are Persian; three (possibly four) are Babylonian; three are Greek; two are altogether unknown, but seem more likely to be Persian (if they are genuine words) than anything else. Counting all their occurrences, they appear in these few chapters more than forty times, a very noteworthy fact. Such well-known and understood loan-words as **אֲשֵׁרָה**, **גִּזְזָה**, **דִּיכְלָה**, **פִּתְחָה**, which have been truly adopted by the Aramaic, are left out of consideration.

<sup>51</sup>As *ganzabaru*; Peiser, in *ZATW* (1897), p. 347. The massoretic pointing is therefore of doubtful value; see the note on the verse, below; also Andreas, in Marti's glossary.

## V. THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF 4:6-11

The restoration of vss. 6-11 which is given here is substantially the same as that which I made in 1895, and printed in my *Composition of Ezra*, p. 6. The principal difference is in the treatment of vs. 8, which I formerly regarded as made up of two parts, namely, (1) the proper names which had been pushed out of vs. 7, and (2) a clause which had originally stood at the end of vs. 10, but was now transposed by the copyist in order to repair the damage which he had done. On further consideration, it has seemed to me that the true explanation is simpler than this, and that vs. 8, in exactly its present wording, originally formed the beginning of the document incorporated by the Chronicler. The conclusion follows of necessity, that the vss. 9-10 are an interpolation; for it is quite obvious that the man who wrote vs. 8 cannot have written the first words of vs. 9 as its continuation. The incorporated narrative, moreover, is not very likely to have begun with the word  $\text{וְאֵלֶּם}$ ; but this would have been a natural way of beginning the interpolation, which is, indeed, made in the easiest possible manner. I have always believed the list of names in vs. 9 (see below) to be secondary, and it was for the sake of these, and their fling at the Samaritans, that the interpolation was made. The first clause of vs. 10 is the counterpart of vs. 2 $\beta$ , above, and the remainder is derived from vs. 17. The first clause of vs. 11 might belong either to the interpolation or to the original document; but it is plainly better to regard it in the former way.

This restoration involves no change in the text beyond the returning of "Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabel and his companions" to vs. 6, and the filling of the gap thus made in vs. 7 with the names "Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe." By my former restoration, vss. 9-11 were made to read more smoothly; but an interpolated text is not expected to be smooth. The suspended construction in vss. 9-11,  $\text{וְאֵלֶּם}$  having no direct connection with any verb, is in no way remarkable.

The variation in the tradition of these verses afforded by the I Esdras fragment is both interesting and important. The Greek text<sup>52</sup> reads: <sup>15</sup> Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως χρόνοις κατέγραψεν αὐτῷ<sup>53</sup> κατὰ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ

<sup>52</sup> I have emended the Greek only at those points where the evidence seems conclusive.

<sup>53</sup> The Hexaplar text (inferior, as usual in the Ezra books) has αὐτῶν. So B, Syr., Eth.

Ἱερουσαλὴμ Βίσαλεμος<sup>54</sup> καὶ Μιθριδάτης καὶ Ταβέλλιος καὶ Ραοῦμος<sup>55</sup> καὶ Βεέλεμος<sup>56</sup> καὶ Σαμσαίος<sup>57</sup> ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τούτοις συντασσόμενοι, οἰκοῦντες δὲ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις, τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν·<sup>16</sup> Βασιλεῖ Ἀρταξέρξη κυρίῳ οἱ παῖδες σου Ραοῦμος ὁ [γράφων]<sup>58</sup> τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Σαμσαίος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν κριταὶ<sup>59</sup> οἱ ἐν κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίῃ.<sup>17</sup> καὶ νῦν γνωστὸν ἔστω κ. τ. ε. The omissions here are very surprising, and almost equally so are the conflation or transpositions. But the phenomena are all capable of explanation.

The portions of the Hebrew-Aramaic text of the passage which are represented in this Greek are the following: (1) *Verse 6*, or at all events *6b*, exactly reproduced.<sup>60</sup> In the beginning of the verse the name אהשׁוּרִישׁא was probably substituted at an early date for אהשׁוּרִישׁא, and in that case an abridged combination with vs. 7 would have been the natural result. It is perhaps useless to try to determine whether the omission of the half-verse was by accident or by design, and whether made first in the Greek or in the Hebrew; but in my own opinion it is extremely probable that the Hebrew text had been slightly edited here; see further below. (2) *Verse 7a*, every word of which is rendered, while considerable additions to it have also been made. These additions will be considered presently. The last clause of the verse, telling how the letter was "written in Aramaic and translated" (into Hebrew), is not rendered at all. This makes it certain that vs. 7*b* was not in the Hebrew text which lay before the translator. It is not the custom of this version to make omissions; the clause in question is interesting and important, and makes no difficulty; it could easily have been incorporated here. (3) The *last word* (אֲנִי) in *verse 8*, represented by the adjective ὑπογεγραμμένην.

<sup>54</sup> Perhaps originally Βίσαλαμος, as α and ε interchange with great freedom in the transcripts. For the rest, see above, on the proper names. Of course η and ε were interchangeable at the volition of any scribe. It is not likely that the translator himself wrote η here.

<sup>55</sup> See above, on the proper names.

<sup>56</sup> The reading attested also by Josephus, Βεελζέμφ.

<sup>57</sup> The form written by the translator. See above, on the proper names.

<sup>58</sup> The word γράφων, of course, stood here in the original translation, cf. vs. 21. In the I Esdras fragment it had been lost through careless transcription; Josephus had it in the text before him. The L text is arbitrarily emended, as usual.

<sup>59</sup> A has κραταιοί (the last syllable derived from the following οἱ); B and Eth. omit the word, though Syr. has it. The Egyptian recension prefixes καί, which Jos. and the Syrian text (Latin, L) rightly omit.

<sup>60</sup> The word אֲנִי is rendered by ἐπιστολήν, as also in Theodotion's translation.

Of the rest of the verse there is no trace apparent. It was from another source that the added names in vs. 7 were derived, as will be shown. When it is further observed, that the last words in vs. 7a are על ארתהשתא בלך פרס, while those at the end of the omitted part of vs. 8, standing in a precisely similar context, are לארתהשתא מלכא, it is plain that the whole passage, vss. 7b, 8, had been accidentally lost from the "I Esdras" Hebrew through the easy mistake of a copyist. (4) Verse 11, from על (the beginning of the letter) onward. That is, the very passage, vss. 9, 10, 11aa, which I have already shown to be an interpolation in the Hebrew-Aramaic text is wanting here. From vs. 11aβ onward the text is like that of the canonical recension, except that in place of the single word אִשָּׁשׁ in vs. 11b the Greek has Ραούμος ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ Σαρσαίος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν κριταί, an expansion which, like the similar one in translation of vs. 7, evidently was made in order to restore the two (or three) names which had been accidentally lost from the text.

What, then, is the history of these expansions, in the translation of vss. 7 and 11? As for the latter verse, it can hardly be doubted, first of all, that the original reading was the single word אִשָּׁשׁ, as in our massoretic text. Now the words inserted in place of this in the Greek I Esdras are almost an exact rendering of a part of vs. 9, from רהוב to דניא; the conclusion might therefore seem necessary, that the translator had vss. 9 and 10 before him, but omitted all but these few words which he transposed into the latter part of vs. 11. But several considerations flatly forbid this hypothesis. In the first place, it is incredible that this translator (whose habits we know well) should omit all this important material, if he had it before him. No difficulty of the passage would have led him to discard it, of this we can be certain. As I have already observed (pp. 83 f., see also below), he is sure to stick closely to a difficult or corrupt text. Again, and more important still, the word דניא in its context in vss. 9 f., does not mean, and could not mean, κριταί. The juxtaposition with the other gentile names, and the express statement in vs. 10 that these names, עלמיה . . . דניא, are the names of "peoples," leave no room for doubt; and no translator could ever have thought of cutting off the first name in the list and rendering it "judges." The true state of the case, then,

is this: vs. 9 of our canonical text was derived from the I Esdras expansion in vs. 11 (see further below), not *vice versa*. The reason why the addition to vs. 11 was made is so obvious as to need no argument. In the accidentally abridged text of this recension there was here no mention of "Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe," that is, of the two officials who according to vss. 17 and 23 sent the letter, received answer to it, and took action accordingly! It was absolutely necessary, in any recension, Aramaic or Greek, that their names should appear in the introduction of the letter. The insertion had been made in the Aramaic text which our translator followed, as the *κριταί* shows beyond all question. The term *סִיִּיִּי*, as a general designation for these less usual officials, was probably the best that the editor could have chosen.<sup>61</sup>

But the history of the other expansion of the I Esdras text, the one in vs. 15 (= vs. 7 of the Hebrew), is essentially different. The reason for making the insertion here was the same, it is true; but in this case we have to do with the expansion of the Greek translation, not of the Semitic original. This is proved by the presence of the gloss *Βεέλτεμος*, which appears also in vs. 21 (= vs. 17 of the Aramaic text), the source from which the whole addition was derived. Vs. 15 (= vs. 7 of the Hebrew) was very troublesome in its abridged state, for it declared that "Bishlam, Mithredath, and Tabel" were the authors of "the following letter," *τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολήν*. A translator might well allow this to pass (especially since the difficulty had been lessened by the interpolation made in the Aramaic of vs. 11), and it was in fact left untouched by our translator; but the contradiction was still so great that it could not long be permitted to stand. Hence the clause, *Ραούμος καὶ Βεέλτεμος καὶ Σαρμαίος ὁ γραμματεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ τούτοις συντασσόμενοι, οἰκοῦντες δὲ ἐν Σαμαρεία καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις*, was taken over bodily from vs. 21 and inserted in vs. 15 after the other names. As for the *Βεέλτεμος*, it certainly did not stand in the original rendering. The translator who knew that *בעל שנה* meant "reporter,"<sup>62</sup> *ὁ γράφων τὰ προσπίπτοντα*, would not also have treated it as a proper name, and his rendering in vs. 16 shows that he did not so treat it. The gloss was made

<sup>61</sup>As a mere coincidence with the phrase *סִיִּיִּי דִּינִיָּא* in Ezr. 4:11 ("I Esdras" version) the occurrence of the phrase *וּבְנֵי־הַדָּיָן*, "and his colleagues the judges," in Cowley's papyrus B, l. 6, is interesting.

<sup>62</sup>See the note on the translation of 4:7 (8).

by some later hand in vs. 21, and was transferred thence to vs. 15 with the rest of the passage.

The Hebrew-Aramaic<sup>63</sup> text of this passage, Ezr. 4:6-12, in the I Esdras recension therefore read as follows:

ובימי ארתחששתא מלך פרס כתב עליו בשלם מִתִּידָת  
 טבאל ושאר כְּנֻחִין שְׁטֵמָה על יִשְׁבֵי יְהוּדָה וירושלם כְּנֻמָּא<sup>64</sup> על  
 ארתחששתא מלכא. עבדוך רהום בעל טגים ושמישי ספרא ושאר  
 כְּנֻחִין<sup>65</sup> דִּינְמָא די בעבר נהרה<sup>66</sup> וּמְכַנֵּת<sup>12</sup>: יְדִיעַ לְהוּא וּגְר'.<sup>(12)</sup>

This text differs from the massoretic in the following particulars: (1) Vss. 6 and 7 have been editorially combined, as already stated; (2) Vss. 7b and 8 (except the last word) have been lost by the accident of transcription mentioned above; (3) Vss. 9, 10, 11aa, interpolated by a later hand in our massoretic text, are wanting here; (4) The editor has made the (absolutely necessary) insertion in vs. 11 very skilfully.

The Greek translator reproduced his original *verbatim*, as usual; and his rendering here has come down to us intact excepting one particular, namely, that at a later day some one found it necessary to harmonize vs. 15 (= vss. 6, 7) with its context by inserting in it a paraphrase—almost word for word—of the greater part of vs. 21.

Finally, as to the verses, 9, 10, 11aa, which have been interpolated in our massoretic text. They were written by some one who had before him both recensions of the Hebrew-Aramaic (namely, the original form and the I Esdras form), and whose purpose was to deal the Samaritans a more telling blow. The interpolator saw the opportunity of showing still farther, in the introduction to this official document, what a mixed rabble the Samaritans really were, by naming some of the regions from which Shalmanassar<sup>67</sup> had brought them. That his knowledge of geography and history was

<sup>63</sup>The material out of which the introductory verse was made was undoubtedly left just as it was: all Hebrew with the exception of the last word, כְּנֻמָּא.

<sup>64</sup>This word certainly stood in the text. When the copyist's eye strayed from the king's name in vs. 7 to the same name in vs. 8, it caught this preparatory word also.

<sup>65</sup>The same form which occurs (correctly) in both vss. 17 and 23. The translator, who had just rendered the phrase in the preceding sentence, now varies the rendering on literary grounds, as he frequently does elsewhere.

<sup>66</sup>The שְׁטֵמָה was missing here, as well as in the canonical version.

<sup>67</sup>See above, on the proper name אֲשַׁמְנַסָּר.



not very extensive is at least suggested by the last four names in the list, "Persians, people of Erech, Babylonians, people of Susa (who are Elamites)." As for the **טַרְפְּלִיָּא**, they are presumably "people of Tetrapolis," as has already been shown. But it is most important of all to observe that *the two first names in the list*, namely **דְּיִנְיָא** and **אַפְרָסְתָּ(ת)ִּיָּא**, are the words used in the documents themselves (as they lay before the interpolator) to designate these enemies of the Jews; namely in 4:11 (I Esdras original); 5:6; 6:6. Whether the interpolator recognized them as official titles or not, it is at all events certain that he proceeded to use them as gentile names, thus completing his curious list. Moreover, by the continuation in vs. 10, "and the rest of the peoples," etc., he leaves abundant room for still other heathen ancestors of the rival community.

The way in which the interpolation was made is as simple as possible. The text used as the basis was of course the more complete and (obviously) more correct one. For the beginning of the insertion, the secondary clause in the I Esdras text of vs. 11 (see above) was adopted *verbatim*, and the description of these "associates" was then continued in the manner just described. The whole was introduced by the word **אַדְרָךְ**; it is hard to imagine any other way in which the interpolation could have been effected so easily.

#### VI. THE TEXT OF THE PASSAGES

Our massoretic text of these Aramaic passages in Ezra is very well preserved, in the main. It has retained some old forms and readings which had disappeared both from Theodotion's text and from the original of the "I Esdras" recension. Even the vowel-pointing is usually (but of course not always) trustworthy, in these Aramaic passages. For the interpretation of the text, the old Greek translation, of which we now have only the fragments preserved in I Esdras, is very valuable because of its great age. It was made about three centuries earlier than that of Theodotion (our "canonical" version), at a time when many words and matters were still familiar which soon after ceased to be understood.

On the system of punctuation adopted for the text here printed, see above, pp. 118 f.

## SAMARITAN INTRIGUES AGAINST THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE

(Ezr. 4:4—6:19)

The Chronicler  
(Hebrew)

4<sup>a</sup> ויהי עם הארץ<sup>a</sup> מרפאים ידי עם יהודה, ומבקהלים אותם  
 לבנות. <sup>5</sup> וסוברים עליהם יועצים<sup>b</sup> להפיר עֲצָתָם, כל ימי כורשׁ.  
 מלך פָּרַס <sup>d</sup> ועד מלכות דריוש מלך פרס <sup>d</sup>

<sup>a</sup>The manner in which this phrase is frequently replaced by עַמֵי הָאֲרָצוֹת, in the Chronicler's narrative (see my *Composition*, p. 18), may show us his idea of the population of Palestine in that day. The returning Jewish exiles had as their neighbors (aside from Phoenicians, Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, etc.) merely the motley throng of heathen "peoples of the lands" brought in by the Assyrians. When he uses the term he has the Samaritans in mind.

<sup>b</sup>As Bertholet and others have remarked, these "counselors" are thought of as at the Persian court. I believe that the Chronicler had in mind some of the ministers of the king, using the term יוֹעֲצִים exactly as he does in I Chron. 27:33, Ezr. 7:14, 15 (Aramaic), 28; 8:25.

<sup>c</sup>The purpose of the Chronicler to make his history continuous, in this verse and those which follow, is quite unmistakable—and he would have damaged his own work seriously, at this point, if he had not done so! During the reign of Cyrus, high Persian officials, bribed for the purpose, managed to stop the building of the temple. Then followed, *immediately*, the reign of Xerxes, at the very "beginning" of which Bishlam and his associates wrote their effective accusation.

<sup>d</sup>This clause is one of the remaining traces of the redactional process through which our book of Ezra has passed. When the Story of the Three Youths was interpolated and the letters 4:6–24 (*n. b.*) were transposed, the interpolator who made the new edition left the two (now consecutive) verses 4:5 and 5:1 exactly as they were. But the necessity of putting some bridge across this gap was imperative, and our two surviving texts contain each a clause written for this purpose; namely, the one before us, and the words "and they were hindered from building until the second year of the reign of Darius" (incorrectly rendered by the Greek translator) in I Esdras 5:70 (73). When the makers of our canonical edition cut out the Story and restored the letters to their original place, they of course left 4:5 in its expanded form.

וּבְמִלְכּוּת אֲחֶשְׁתָּרוּשׁ, בְּחֻלְלַת מַלְכוּתוֹ, כָּתְבוּ עֲבָשְׁלָם מִתְּרַחַת  
 קְבֹאֵל<sup>6</sup> וְשָׂאֵר כְּנֻזְתֵּי<sup>7</sup> טַטְנָה עַל יִשְׁבִּי הַיְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם ◊  
 וּבִימֵי אֲרַתְחֶשְׁתָּא<sup>8</sup> כָּתַב רַחִים בְּעַל טַעַם<sup>9</sup> וְשִׁמְשִׁי<sup>1</sup> הַסִּפְרָא<sup>10</sup> עַל  
 אֲרַתְחֶשְׁתָּא מֶלֶךְ פַּרְסָא, וּכְתַב הַנְּשִׁתָּן כְּתוּב אֲרַמִּית וּמִתְּרַקָם<sup>11</sup> ◊

רַחִים בְּעַל טַעַם וְשִׁמְשִׁי סִפְרָא כָּתְבוּ אֲנָרָא הַדָּא עַל יְרוּשָׁלַם<sup>8</sup>  
 לְאֲרַתְחֶשְׁתָּא מֶלֶכָא כְּנֻזָּא<sup>9</sup> ◊ אֲהוּן רַחִים בְּעַל טַעַם וְשִׁמְשִׁי סִפְרָא  
 וְשָׂאֵר כְּנֻזְתֵּיהֶן, דִּינָרָא<sup>10</sup> וְאַפְרַסְתָּרָא טַרְפָּלָא פִּרְסָא<sup>11</sup> אֲרַכְנִיָּא<sup>12</sup> קְבֹלָא  
 שִׁשְׁנִיקָא, דִּי הִיא<sup>13</sup> עַלְמָא ◊ וְשָׂאֵר אֲמָיָא דִּי הַגְּלִי שְׁלִמְסָר, רְבָא וְנִקְרָא,  
 שִׁשְׁנִיקָא, דִּי הִיא<sup>14</sup> עַלְמָא ◊

Aramaic  
Writer

<sup>6</sup> See above, on the proper names.

<sup>7</sup> A genuine Aramaic word, not a loan-word.

<sup>8</sup> On the orthography of this name see above, the proper names.

<sup>9</sup> I have pointed this in the Hebrew manner, since it now stands in a Hebrew verse, as it originally stood. But it may well be that these Aramaic titles, **בְּעַל טַעַם** and **סִפְרָא** were retained by the Chronicler in their official Aramaic form.

<sup>10</sup> See above, on the proper names.

<sup>11</sup> See note h.

<sup>12</sup> The word **אֲרַמִּית**, which stands here in MT, is a later addition intended to give warning (as in Dan. 2:4) that the following passage is Aramaic.

<sup>13</sup> The Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon* says, "derivation uncertain." But where is the possibility of any uncertainty, in view of **כְּנֻזָּא**, **בְּרִים**, **כְּלִים**, **מְדַעַם**, etc., the Assyrian enclitic *-ma*, and other similar formations? I would add to the list of these *ma*-forms **עַלְמָא**, "person" or "face" (Guidi, *I sette dormienti*, p. 19, l. 7) = [*el*] *κόν* + *ma*. I believe that we have the original *'kōn*, fully naturalized, in the Ešmun'azar inscription, ll. 4, 20, **קֹן** **אֲתָ**, "whosoever thou art;" cf. the Tabnit inscription, l. 3, and the two Nerab inscriptions, I, l. 5 and II, l. 8.

<sup>14</sup> On the peculiar history of this word and the one which follows it, see above, pp. 180 f., 183.

<sup>15</sup> The **ס** which stands at the beginning of this word in MT is the result of a copyist's mistake; see above, p. 170.

<sup>16</sup> Probably **אֲרַמִּית**, as suggested above?

<sup>17</sup> MT **דִּיהִיא**. This explanatory clause is not necessarily the work of a later hand; the original narrator himself occasionally wishes to explain a word or a phrase. Cf. Wright's *Joshua the Stylite*, 9, 16, which is an exact parallel.

<sup>18</sup> MT **אֲסַנְפָּ**; see above, on the proper names.



13 בְּעֵן יָדֵי לְהוֹא לְמַלְכָּא, דִּי הֵן קְרִיתָא דְּךָ תְּחַבְּיָא  
 וְשׁוּרְיָא יִשְׁתַּבְּלְלוּ, מִנְּקָה בְּלֹוּ וְהִלְךְ<sup>a</sup> לֹא יִתְחַנֵּן, וְאַפְתָּס<sup>b</sup> מַלְכֵךְ<sup>c</sup>  
 תְּחַנֵּן<sup>d</sup> ◦ "בְּעֵן כָּל" קָבַל דִּי מִלָּה הָיְכֵלָא מִלְּחָמָא, וְעִנְתָּ מַלְכָּא

known state of the case in classical Syriac. This imperfect, like the one which follows it, doubtless ended in *ū*.

<sup>a</sup>The word should be written ܒܥܝܢܝܢ (= ܒܥܝܢܝܢ), without the *ܝ*. It is a *haph'el* imperfect from the root ܚܫܬܫ, corresponding to the Arabic ܚط (not ܚط), and with exactly the same meaning, "lay." The I Esdras translation, ὑποβάλλονται, is not a bad rendering. The *first* stem of the Arabic verb is used both transitively ("lay") and intransitively ("come down"). The *fourth* stem also is used with the meaning "put down, lay," just as the corresponding form, the *haph'el*, is used here in Aramaic. The verb is common in Arabic, but has not thus far been found elsewhere in the cognate languages.

<sup>b</sup>On these three words see above, the section dealing with the foreign words.

<sup>c</sup>The Greek ἐπίθεσις; see above, on the foreign words. MT ܕܢܫܝܢ.

<sup>d</sup>The final ܢ in MT is probably a mere copyist's error for ܢ. We have no other evidence of an Aramaic plur. in *-im*. This is not a Hebraism.

<sup>e</sup>This *haph'el* has two uses: the one causative, as in vss. 15, 22; the other signifying to come into the condition (viz., of deterioration), as this stem is so frequently used in Semitic. Cf. the two uses of ܚܒܠܐ, Dan. 3:30 and 6:29. The fem. form here because of the (Greek) fem. noun; see above.

<sup>f</sup>It is often said (e. g., by Marti, *Gramm.*, p. 98; Strack, *Gramm.*, p. 56; Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*) that this is wrongly divided and pointed, and that the form should be ܒܥܝܢܝܢܝܢ. But this is not true; the massoretes have divided and pointed correctly. The shifting of the vowel is very natural, and has many analogies; and as for the division, it is not a whit more remarkable than in ܕܝܠ, Eccles. 8:17, cf. Jonah 1:7, 8; or ܕܝܠ (as a separate word) in the Palmyrene inscriptions; or than in ܡܠ ܐܫܝܘܐ, for ܡܝܢ ܐܠܐ (Nöldeke, *Delectus vet. carm. arab.*, 10, 4; Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, II, p. xiv). These are local and temporary habits of orthography.

לא אָרִיךְ לָנָא לְמַחְזָא, על דנח שלחנא והוֹדְעָנָא<sup>1</sup> לְמִלְכָא, ◊<sup>15</sup> די  
 יִבְקְרוּ<sup>16</sup> בְּסַפְרֵי דְכְּרִינְיָא<sup>17</sup> די אבהתך: וְתַחֲשַׁבְתָּ בְּסַפְרֵי דְכְּרִינְיָא וְתַנְדַּע,  
 די קריתא דך קריא מִדְּרָא וּמִחֲזַקְתָּ מִלְכִין וּמִדִּינִין, וְאַשְׁתַּדִּיר<sup>18</sup>  
 עֲבָדִין בְּנִינָא מִן יוֹמָת עֲלֵמָא: על דנח קריתא דך תְּחַרְבֵת ◊  
<sup>16</sup>מִהוֹדְעִין אֶתְנַח לְמִלְכָא, די הָן קריתא דך תְּחַבֵּיא וְשִׁדְרִיא  
 יִשְׁתַּבְּלִין, לְקַבֵּל דנח חֶלֶק בְּעַבְרֵי נְהָרָא לֹא אֶתִי לך ◊  
<sup>17</sup>פְּתַנְבֵּיא<sup>19</sup> שְׁלַח מִלְכָא: על רחום בְּעַל טַעִים, וְשִׁמְשִׁי סְפָרָא,  
 וְשִׁאֲרֵי כְּנֻתְהוֹן<sup>20</sup> די וְתַבִּין בְּשִׁמְרִין<sup>21</sup> וְשִׁאֲרֵי עַבְרֵי נְהָרָא, שְׁלָם ◊  
<sup>18</sup>וּכְפֵתָא: <sup>(18)</sup>נְשִׁתְנָא די שְׁלַחְתִּין עֲלֵינָא מִפְּרִשׁ<sup>22</sup> קְרִי קְרִי ◊  
<sup>19</sup>וּמִנֵּי שִׁים טַעִים, וּבְקָרוּ וְהִשְׁכַּחוּ די קריתא דך מִן יוֹמָת עֲלֵמָא  
 עַל מִלְכִין מִתְנַשְׂאָה, וּמִרְדֵּי וְאַשְׁתַּדִּיר מִתְעַבְדֵּי בֵּיהּ ◊ וּמִלְכִין<sup>20</sup>  
 תְּקִיפִין הוּוּ עַל יְרוּשָׁלַם, וְשִׁלְיִטִין בְּכָל עַבְרֵי נְהָרָא, וּמִנְדַּח בְּלוֹ  
 וְהֶלֶךְ מִתִּיבָב לַחֹן ◊ <sup>21</sup>מִן שִׁימו טַעִים לְבַשְׁלָא גְבִירָא אֵלֶךְ:  
 וְקִרְיָתָא דך לֹא תְחַבֵּיא, עַד מִנֵּי טַעֲמָא וְתַשִּׁים ◊ וְהוֹדְרִין הוּוּ  
 שְׁלַח לְמַעַבְדֵּי<sup>23</sup> עַל דנח: לְמִדָּה וְשִׁגָּא חֶבְלָא לְתַנְזָקְתָּ<sup>24</sup> מִלְכִין ◊  
<sup>23</sup>אֲרִיךְ, מִן די פְּרִשְׁגִין נְשִׁתְנָא די אֲרַתְהִשְׁתָּא מִלְכָא קְרִי קְרִי  
 רחום וְשִׁמְשִׁי סְפָרָא וּכְנֻתְהוֹן, אֲזַלוּ בְּבַחֲלוּ לִירוּשָׁלַם עַל יְהוּדִיא.

<sup>1</sup>The epistolary perfect; "we hereby send and make known."

<sup>15</sup>MT יִבְקְרוּ, but this is shown to be wrong by the suffix at the end of the clause. The form adopted (which might be either indicative or jussive) is better than יִבְקְרוּן.

<sup>16</sup>יִבְקְרוּ, "record-book," cf. Mal. 3:16, is virtually a compound word (Marti, *Gramm.*, §117; Kautzsch, *Hebr. Gramm.*, §124, 2), and this is its plural, "record-books." So the old Greek translator and Jerome, rightly. Other plur. compounds of this same sort in 5:17; 6:1.

<sup>17</sup>Apparently an example of initial **ח** replacing the more original ה. See above, on the language of these documents.

<sup>18</sup>Probably a naturalization of the Greek *φθέγγμα*; see above.

<sup>19</sup>The suffix by no means to be altered to the second person; see the note on 6:6.

<sup>20</sup>Not the city, but the province.

<sup>21</sup>This same form, and similarly used, in the letter published by Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden*, II, l. 2; cf. I, l. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Circumstantial accusative of the passive participle.

<sup>23</sup>Cf. the Arabic idiom, Wright, *Gramm.*, II, 27 B, 304C.

<sup>24</sup>See above, on the Aramaic of these documents.



ובטלו המלך באדדע והילן ◦<sup>4</sup> באדדן בטלת עבדות בית אלהא די  
 בירוושלם. והות בטלא עד שנת תרתין למלכות דרווש מלך פרס ◦  
 5<sup>1</sup> והתנב' חגי נביאה<sup>5</sup>. וזכריה בר עזרא. נבואה' על יהודיא  
 די ביהוד ובירוושלם. בשם אלה ישראל עליהון ◦<sup>2</sup> באדדן קמו  
 זרבל בר שאלתיאל וישוע בר יוצדק. ושריו<sup>3</sup> למבניא בית אלהא  
 די בירוושלם: ועמהון נביאי די אלהא מסעדן להון ◦  
 3<sup>3</sup> בש זמנא אתה עליהון תתני<sup>4</sup>. פתת עבר נהרה. ושתבוני<sup>5</sup>  
 וכנתהון. וכן אמרין להם<sup>x</sup>: מן שם לכם טעם. ביתא דנה לבניא<sup>y</sup>  
 ואשרנא<sup>z</sup> דנה לשכללה ◦<sup>1</sup> אה שאלין<sup>2</sup> להם: מן אנון שמחתי  
 גבריא די דנה בנינא בנין ◦<sup>3</sup> ועין אלההם הות על שבי יהודיא.

<sup>4</sup>The manner of the connection here is strong added evidence that 4:24 was *not* written by the Chronicler, but by the author of 4:23 and 5:1 ff.; see above.

<sup>5</sup>So written (*kefīb*) both here and 6:14, but probably already pronounced *ḳebīnā*.

<sup>1</sup>The superiority of this reading would be obvious enough even if we did not have Theodotion's *προφητεῖαν*, showing that the word actually stood in his text. Cf. also 6:14.

<sup>2</sup>This, of course, does not imply that no building had been done before! This is the characteristic redundant use of the Aramaic verb "begin;" see above, p. 51, note d.

<sup>3</sup>The Babylonian name *Tattamu*, see above.

<sup>4</sup>MT very likely corrupt; see above, on the proper names.

<sup>5</sup>This, like most of the other so-called "Hebraisms" in Ezra and Daniel, is pure Aramaic. On the whole question see now Herbert H. Powell, *The Supposed Hebraisms in . . . Biblical Aramaic*, Berkeley, Cal., 1907.

<sup>x</sup>Inasmuch as this same form occurs twice in the Hadad inscription, ll. 13, 14, it is, of course, to be retained. The pointing of the massorettes is probably correct. Apparently a variation of *למבניא*, with compensatory doubling of the *ב*.

<sup>y</sup>See above, on the foreign words. Both the old Greek translator and Theodotion had *אנרא* before them here. Point possibly *אשרנא*?

<sup>z</sup>MT has for these two words *אדדן כנבנא אמרנא*. The second and third of these were derived by a copyist's mistake from the similar passage in vs. 9; it was then necessary to change the *א* to *אדדן*. With the restored text cf. the beginning of vs. 10.

ולא בשלר המור, עד טעמא<sup>b</sup> לדרוש יקד<sup>c</sup> ואנן יתיבון נשתנא  
 על דנה ◊

<sup>6</sup>פרשן אגרתא די שלח תתני פחת עבר נהרה ושתרבוזני,  
 וכןותה<sup>d</sup> אפרסנא<sup>e</sup> די בעבר נהרה, על דרוש מלכא ◊ פתנמא  
 שלחו עלוהי, וקנה כתיב בגנה:

לדרוש מלכא, שלמא ללא ◊ ידיע להיא למלכא, די אנלא  
 ליהודי מדינתא לבית אלהא רבא, והוא מתבנא אבן גלל, ואע  
 מתשם בקתליא; ועבדתא דך אפרנא<sup>e</sup> מתעבדא, ומעלה ביהם ◊  
<sup>9</sup>ארך שאנא לשביא אלך, כנמא אמרנא להם: מן<sup>h</sup> שם לכם  
 טעם, ביחא דנה למבניה<sup>i</sup> ואשרנא<sup>k</sup> דנה לשנללה ◊<sup>10</sup> ואע  
 שמקתהם שאנא להם להודעתך, די נכתוב שם<sup>l</sup> גבריא די

<sup>b</sup>“News,” as in the title בעל טעם.

<sup>c</sup>So also in the Egyptian papyri, the forms תהך and אהך (Cowley, *op. cit.*).

<sup>d</sup>The singular suffix, as in 4:6 (7); a merely literary variation from the more frequent plural. The suffix refers to the nearer one of the two names.

<sup>e</sup>Aramaic adaptation of the Greek ἑπαρχος; see above. MT אפרסנא. Perhaps the כ and ס were actually transposed in the Jewish pronunciation of the word.

<sup>f</sup>This word, “Judea,” occurs in the letter from the Jews of Elephantine, 408 B. C., published by Sachau, I, 1.

<sup>g</sup>A word of unknown origin; see above.

<sup>h</sup>It is safest to retain this Jewish pointing, מן instead of מן, until we know more about it.

<sup>i</sup>This form should not be “emended” away, especially since precisely similar forms are found in the Palestinian Talmud and the Jerusalem Targums (Dalman, *Gramm.*<sup>2</sup>, 340, 349). So also in biblical Hebrew, and especially when ל is joined to the infinitive, Gesen.-Kautzsch, § 45, *d, e*. In Ezr. 7:9, indeed, we seem to have an Aramaizing infin. of just this sort, מעלה (Gesen.-Kautzsch, *l. c.*). These isolated occurrences are too valuable to be thrown away.

<sup>k</sup>See the note on this word in vs. 3.

<sup>l</sup>This is correct as it stands.

בְּרֵאשִׁיהֶם<sup>m</sup> ○ <sup>11</sup> וּכְנָמָא פִתְגָמָא הַתְּיֹבִינָא, לְמִצְוֵר<sup>n</sup>: אֲנַחְנָא  
 הַמּוֹ עֲבֹדוּהִי דִי אֱלֹהָ שְׂמִיָא וְאַרְעָא: וְכַנְיָן בֵּיתָא דִי הָוָא בְּנֵה  
 מִקְדְּמֵת דְנֵה שְׁנִין שְׁנַיָאן, וְמִלְךְ לִישְׂרָאֵל רֵב בְּנֵה וְשִׁכְלִלְהָ ○  
<sup>12</sup> לְהֵן<sup>o</sup> כֵּן דִי תִרְגְּזוּ אֲבָהָתָנָא לְאֱלֹהָ שְׂמִיָא, יִהְיֵב הַמּוֹ בִיד  
 נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר<sup>p</sup> מִלְךְ בַּבֶּל כְּסָדְיָא, וּבֵיתָה דְנֵה סְתִירָה וְעִמְדָה תִּגְלִי  
 לַבַּבֶּל<sup>q</sup> ○ <sup>13</sup> בְּרַם בְּשַׁנַּת הָרְדָה לְכוּרֶשׁ מִלְכָא דִי בַבֶּל, כּוּרֶשׁ מִלְכָא  
 שֵׁם טַעַם בֵּית אֱלֹהָא דְנֵה לְבַנְיָא<sup>r</sup> ○ <sup>14</sup> וְאַהֲ מְאַנְיָא דִי בֵית אֱלֹהָא,  
 דִי נְהֻבָה וְכִסְפָא, דִי נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר תִּנְפֶק מִן הִיכְלָא דִי בִירוּשְׁלַם  
 וְהִיבֵל הַמּוֹ לְהִיכְלָא דִי בַבֶּל, תִּנְפֶק הַמּוֹ כּוּרֶשׁ מִלְכָא מִן הִיכְלָא  
 דִי בַבֶּל, וְהִיבֵי לְשִׁשְׁבַּצָר<sup>s</sup> שְׂמִיָה<sup>t</sup>, דִי פַחַה שְׂמִיָה ○ <sup>15</sup> וְנִאֲמַר לְהָ:  
 אֱלֹהָ<sup>u</sup> מְאַנְיָא, שְׂא אֲזַל אֶתָה הַמּוֹ בְּהִיכְלָא דִי בִירוּשְׁלַם, וּבֵית

<sup>m</sup> There is no Hebraism here. As for the "un-Aramaic" pronunciation with ִ instead of ֵ, is not this what we see preserved in the modern name of the important town *Rāšēyā*, רֵאשִׁיָא, at the northern foot of Hermon? (We seem to have similar survivals of this Aram. plur. ending in the names of the towns *Hāsēyā*, הֵשִׁבִיָא, west of Hermon, and *Dārēyā*, דִרִיָא, just south of Damascus. I do not know that this explanation of them has ever been given before.)

<sup>n</sup> This same form (without א) in a papyrus record from Elephantine; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 41. The thoroughgoing Hebraism לאֲמַר occurs some fifteen times in the papyri published by Sayce and Cowley.

<sup>o</sup> This also, similarly used, in the Egyptian papyri.

<sup>p</sup> The incorrect form of the name generally used by the Jews in the Greek period. Also vs. 14 and 6: 5.

<sup>q</sup> Babylonia, not Babylon.

<sup>r</sup> See above, on vs. 3.

<sup>s</sup> See above, on the proper names.

<sup>t</sup> The comments which have been made in recent years on the text of this last clause are curious. As though שִׁשְׁבַּצָר שְׂמִיָה, "Sheshbazzar by name," were not faultless Aramaic! Marti, in the note appended to his text, suggests that שְׂמִיָה may be a gloss (!!). Guthe, *Polychrome Bible*, decides that the word is the result of dittography (!) of the שְׂמִיָה at the end of the verse; so also Bertholet, *Comm.* And so on.

<sup>u</sup> Not a Hebraism, as has long been known from the old Ara-

אלהא יחבנא על אַתְרָהָּ<sup>ו</sup> ○ <sup>16</sup> אַרְיָן שְׁשַׁבְעַר יְךָ אַתָּא יִהְיֵב אֲשִׁיאָּ  
 די בית אלהא די בירושלם: וּמִן אַרְיָן וְעַד כַּנָּן מִחֲבִנְיָא וְלֹא שְׁלָם<sup>ח</sup> ○  
<sup>17</sup> וּכְכֵן הָן עַל מַלְכָא שָׁב, יחבקר בבית גְּזוּיָא<sup>י</sup> די [סַפְרִיָא דִּי]<sup>ז</sup>  
 מַלְכָא תַמְחָה, די בבבל<sup>א</sup>, הָן אֲתִי די מִן מוֹרֶשׁ מַלְכָא שִׁים טַעַם  
 לְמַבְנֵי בית אלהא יְךָ בירושלם: וְרַעוּת מַלְכָא עַל דְּנָה יִשְׁלַח עֲלֵינוּ ○  
<sup>1</sup> 6 באַרְיָן דְּרוּשׁ מַלְכָא שִׁם טַעַם, וּבְקָרָוּ בְּבֵית גְּזוּיָא<sup>ב</sup> די סַפְרִיא  
 מִיְהֻדַּתִּין תַּמְחָה בְּבַבְל<sup>ג</sup> ○ <sup>2</sup> וְהִשְׁתַּכַּח בְּאַחַמְתָּא בְּבִירְתָּא די בְּמִדְיָ  
 מְדִינַתָּא<sup>ד</sup> מִגְּלַה הַדְּדָה, וּכֵן כְּתִיב בְּגִיּוֹתָּ: ○  
<sup>3</sup> דְּכִרְוֹנָה<sup>ד</sup>, <sup>4</sup> בְּשַׁנַּת הַדְּדָה לְכוֹרֶשׁ מַלְכָא, מוֹרֶשׁ מַלְכָא שִׁם טַעַם:  
 בֵּית אֱלֹהִים בִּירוּשָׁלַם, בֵּיתָא יִחְבַּנְיָא אַתְרֵי די דְּבַחִין דְּבַחִין וְאֲשִׁיָּהּ<sup>ה</sup>  
 מִסּוּבְלִין<sup>ה</sup> רֹמְמָה אֲמִין שְׁתִּין, פְּתִיחָה אֲמִין שְׁתִּין: ○ <sup>5</sup> מְדַכְכִין די אֲבָן  
 גְּלָל תִּלְתָּא, וְנִדְבַךְ די אֶע הָדָה<sup>ו</sup>: וּמַפְקַתָּ מִן בֵּית מַלְכָא תְּתִיבָּה ○

maic inscriptions. In Jewish Aramaic also in Jer. 10:11 and often in the Assuan papyri.

<sup>v</sup>This same phrase used in speaking of the Egyptian temple; Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

<sup>w</sup>Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 44, thinks that the meaning of יִהְיֵב אֲשִׁיאָּ is "problematisch"!

<sup>x</sup>Not passive, but the perf. *pe'al* of the stative verb.

<sup>y</sup>Plural, "store-houses;" see the note on 4:15.

<sup>z</sup>The emendation, and the reason for the loss of the words from the text, are alike obvious.

<sup>a</sup>Here again, בַּבְל is the country, "Babylonia."

<sup>b</sup>The transposition is necessary, not merely for the sake of agreement with 5:17 (as emended), but in order to make sense.

<sup>c</sup>Marti, *Gramm.*, p. 45\*: "בְּמִדְיָ מְדִינַתָּא" fehlt in LXX." What does he mean by this?

<sup>d</sup>זְכִרְיָ (the older form) similarly used in the Elephantine papyrus; Sachau, pp. 40 f.

<sup>e</sup>MT אֲשִׁיָּהּ. But many scholars since Ball (*Variorum Apocrypha*, 1892, p. 16) have seen that the word for "fire-offering" originally stood here, as also I Esdras translates. The form adopted (emphat. plur. written with הָ) is the most likely one.

<sup>f</sup>This is not a *po'al*, but a regularly formed *saph'el* from the root וּבַל, Heb. יָבַל, Assy. *abālu*, "bring." Cf. the use of the *hiph'il* הוּבִיל, in speaking of bringing offerings to Yahwè; Ps. 68:30; 76:12; Zeph. 3:10.

<sup>g</sup>MT הַדְּדָה, "new."

וַיָּאֵר קִיָּאֵי בֵּית אֱלֹהֵאֵי דִּי נְהֻבָּה וְכִסְפָּאֵי דִּי גִבּוֹדֵנְצֵר קִנְפֵּק מִן  
 הַיְנַלָּא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם וְהִיבֵל לִבְבֵּלֵי יְהֻדִיבִין; וְיִקְרָא<sup>h</sup> לְהַיְנַלָּא דִּי  
 בִירוּשָׁלַם לְאַתְרָהּ. וְיִקְרָא<sup>i</sup> בְּבֵית אֱלֹהֵא<sup>k</sup> ◊

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וְעָנָן תַּתִּין פַּתַּח עֲבַר נְהֻבָּה. שְׁתַּרְבוּנוּי. וּמְנַתְהוּקִי אֲפִרְכִסְיָא<sup>m</sup> דִּי  
 בַּעֲבַר נְהֻבָּה. תְּקֻקֵן הִוּוּ מִן תַּמְחָ ◊ אֲשַׁקֵּי לְעִבְדֵּת בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא  
 יְךָ פַתַּח יְהוּדִיָּא וּלְשָׁבִי<sup>n</sup> יְהוּדִיָּא; בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא יְךָ וּבִזְוִן עַל אַתְרָהּ ◊

<sup>h</sup>The *constructio ad sensum*, "and let it (all) come." Cf. the similar change of number in vs. 9, and the change of gender at the end of 5:8.

<sup>i</sup>MT וְיִקְרָא, but the second person is out of the question here. Read the *hoph'al* imperf. masc. (cf. Dan. 5:20), which is graphically almost the exact equivalent of the form in MT.

<sup>k</sup>On the *lacuna* here, see above, p. 159. It is plain that at a very early date a passage of some length was accidentally dropped; probably because it resembled the preceding, and ended with the words בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא.

<sup>l</sup>It is common to "emend" this suffix to that of the second person, but no such alteration is required. When the persons directly addressed are not actually present, the Semitic often refers to them at the outset, in the formal address itself, with the *third* person, as here and in 4:17. Thus, for example, the בְּלָם in Micah 1:2; the يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا etc. of the Koran; and many other instances.

<sup>m</sup>See the note on 5:6.

<sup>n</sup>The text of this verse is probably correct as it stands in MT, though the clauses are wrongly divided there. In this word וּלְשָׁבִי, the ל is used exactly as it is in וּלְכַל, 7:28; i. e., in order to show how the construction is continued. In this instance, it shows that the noun is the direct object of the preceding verb, not the subject of the following verb, as it would otherwise pretty certainly be regarded. Jerome understood the verse as I have punctuated it. Marti, *Gramm.*, and Bertholet, *Comm.*, say that "LXX" omits פַּתַּח יְהוּדִיָּא, which is not true; Kittel, *Bibl. Hebr.*, says that I Esdr. "inserts" לְעִבְדֵּת אֱלֹהֵא זִרְבַבְבֵּל, which also is not true. Guthe's restoration of the text here (*Polychrome Bible*) is a marvel.

\* וְיָמֵי שָׁמַיִם טַעַם, לְמִיָּא דִּי תַעֲבֹדוּן עִם שְׁבִי יְהוּדִיָּא אַלְךָ לְמִבְנֵי  
 בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא דָךְ, וּמִבְנֵי־כְסִי מַלְכָּא דִּי מִדַּח עֵבֶר נְהִרָה אֲסַפְרֵנָּא נְפַקְתָּא  
 תְּהֵוָּא מִתִּיבָבָא לְגַבְרִיָּא אַלְךָ, דִּי לֹא לְבַשְׂלָהּ ◦ <sup>9</sup> וּמָה קִשְׁתָּן. <sup>10</sup> וּבְנֵי  
 חֲזִין וְדַכְרִין וְאַמְרִין; לְעֵלְקָן לְאַלֵּה שְׁמַיָּא, קִנְטִין מִלַּח חֲמַר וּמִשָּׁח, כְּמֵאמַר  
 קִהְנִיָּא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם לְהָנָא מִתִּיבָבָּ; לְהֵם יוּם בְּיוּם דִּי לֹא שְׁלֹו ◦ <sup>11</sup> דִּי לְחֹן  
 מִתְקַרְבִּין נִיחֻחִין לְאַלֵּה שְׁמַיָּא, וּמִצְלִין לְחַיִּי מַלְכָּא וּבְנֵיהוּ; ◦ <sup>12</sup> וּבְנֵי שָׁמַיִם  
 טַעַם, דִּי כָל אֲנָשׁ דִּי יִחְשַׁנָּא פִתְגָמָא דְנָה, וְתִנְסַח אֶע מִן בֵּיתָהּ  
 וּזְקַסָּ וְתִמְחֵא עֲלוּדֵי, וּבֵיתָהּ נִלְוֵי יִתְעַבְדֵּי, עַל דְנָה ◦ <sup>12</sup> וְאַלֵּהָ דִּי  
 שְׁפָן שְׁמִיָּה תִמְחֵי יִמְרֵי כָל מִלְכָּא וְעִם דִּי וְשְׁלָה יְדָה לְחַפְלָהּ בֵּית

◦ An explicative ו, meaning "even" or "namely," was certainly used to a considerable extent in the Aramaic of this period. See vs. 9, וּבְנֵי, and also my notes on I Esdr. 3:1, 6 (above, p. 50).

<sup>9</sup> Generally regarded as plur. of a supposed fem. noun הִשְׁתַּחֲוֵּה, "need;" so Nöldeke in Kautzsch, *Gram. des bibl. Aram.*, p. 175. It seems to me more probable that it is the fem. plur. of the *pe'al* participle, with the meaning "needful." The same form, in just this use, is common in Syriac; and the adjective, or its equivalent, is intrinsically much more probable here than a noun. The construction according to the sense, "whatever (things) are needful," is certainly possible, especially for such a slovenly writer as this one; and the fem. is the gender to be expected. MT points אֲרַרְעַ, just as it points בִּשְׁחַ for בִּשְׁחָ, יִתְקַ for יִתְקָ, אֲרַרְעַ for אֲרַרְעָ, כְּתַב for כְּתַבָּ, and many others; observe especially that this very participle is pointed תְּשִׁיחִין in Dan. 3:16, according to excellent testimony. And this all undoubtedly represents an actual (local or late) pronunciation.

<sup>10</sup> The "explicative" ו again; see the note on vs. 8. For this use of בְּנֵי, cf. II Chron. 35:7.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 7:17, etc.

<sup>12</sup> For the change of gender and number, "let *it* (all) be given," cf. vs. 5, and the note there.

<sup>13</sup> For the reasons for ascribing these two verses to the Chronicler, see *Comp.*, p. 10.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Dan. 2:5; 3:29, and see above, pp. 84 f.

<sup>15</sup> Both מִיָּר and הַבֵּל, used as in this verse, in the Elephantine papyrus, ed. Sachau, I, l. 14.

<sup>16</sup> MT inserts לְהַשְׁמִיחָה before this word; plainly the *lapsus calami* of a scribe who remembered what he had just written in vs. 11.



אלהא כך די בירושלם. אנה דרוש שקמת טעם. אספרא יתעד ◦  
 13 ארין תמי פחת עבר נהדה. שתרובוני ומנתהוקן. לקבל די  
 טלה דרוש מלכא נכמא אספרא עברו. ◦ 14 ושבין יהודיא מין  
 ומצלהוקן. מנבואת חגי נביאה<sup>15</sup> וזכריה בר עדי. ובנו ושכללו מן  
 טעם<sup>16</sup> אלה ישראל. ומשעם מורש ודרוש וארתחשתא מלך פקס<sup>17</sup> ◦  
 15 ושיצא<sup>18</sup> ביתה דנה עד יום [עשרין ו] תלתה<sup>19</sup> ליתח אדר: די  
 היא<sup>20</sup> שנת שנת למלכות דרוש מלכא ◦ 16 ועברו בין ישראל כהניא

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<sup>13</sup>See the note on 5:1.

<sup>14</sup>Not "a Hebraism" (Marti). Both forms of the construct were in common use in the period from which our biblical Aramaic dates. So צלם and צלם, etc. The massoretic distinction between the "decree" of God and the "decree" of the friendly kings is natural enough.

<sup>15</sup>An addition carelessly made by some later hand.

<sup>16</sup>The orthography with נ may well be ancient; it is safest to retain it. As for the meaning, there is not the least room for doubt, in view of the common use of נשיב in later Jewish Aramaic, to mean "be finished," "come to an end." Merely an example of the stative *šaph'el* (שיוב, "escape," furnishes another example); cf. the note (d) on 4:13, above. So understood in I Esdr. 7:5, *συνετέλεσθη ὁ οἶκος*. To "emend" to the plural would be a very foolish proceeding.

<sup>17</sup>The "twenty-third" day of the month, as is made nearly certain by I Esdras and Josephus (xi, 4, 7). The "twenty" might easily fall out by accident; it would hardly have been added. The following month, Nisan, was the natural one to select for the first complete restoration of the cultus, cf. Exod. 40:17 ff. This was the first month of the seventh year of Darius. According to the Chronicler (who always provides an exact date), after the people had finished building they still had a week left for the celebration, before the beginning of the new year.

<sup>18</sup>According to Meyer, *Entstehung*, 54, די היא is "offenbar verstümmelt," and subsequent commentators have echoed this. As for the pronoun, the fem. is quite as natural as the masc., according to all Semitic usage, and undoubtedly stood here originally. And as for the connection: "namely, of the sixth year," there is not the least reason to object to it; nor would there be, even if the Chronicler were not its author. The ellipsis is a natural one.

וּלְיָרָא וּשְׂאָר בְּנֵי גְלוּתָא הִנֵּפְתּוּ בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא בֵּית דְּנָה בְּתַרְוּהָ ◦<sup>17</sup> וְתַקְרְבוּ  
 לְהִנֵּפְתּוּ בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא דְנָה תּוֹרִין מְאָה, דְּכַרִּין מְאָתִין, אֲמַרִּין אַרְבַּע  
 מְאָה, וּצְנִיזִי עֲזִין לְחֻשָּׂא עַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל תַּרְי עֶשֶׂר, לְמִנְקָן שְׁבַטֵי  
 יִשְׂרָאֵל ◦<sup>18</sup> וְהַקִּימוּ כְּהֵנָּא בְּפִלְתָּהוֹן, וּלְיָרָא בְּמַחְלָקְתָּהוֹן, עַל  
 עֲבִידַת [בֵּית] אֱלֹהֵא דִּי בִירוּשְׁלַם, כְּכָתֹב סֵפֶר מִשָּׁה, [וְתַזְעֵנָּא  
 לְתַרְעֵי] ◦

(Hebrew) ◦ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְנֵי הַגּוּלָּה אֶת הַפֶּסַח בְּאַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ הָרִאשׁוֹן<sup>19</sup>  
 כִּי הִשְׁהִירוּ וְגו'<sup>20</sup>

## EZRA'S CREDENTIALS

(Ezr. 7:11-28)

◦Chronieler (Hebrew) 11 לְזוּרָה פְּרִשְׁתָּן הַנְּשִׁתָּן אֲשֶׁר נָתַן הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא לְזוּרָה  
 הַבְּהֵן הַסֵּפֶר, סֵפֶר דְּבַרֵי מִצְוֹת יְהוָה וְהִקְרוּ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל ◦

◦Chronieler (Aramaic) 12 אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא, מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵינָא, לְעוֹרָא כְּהֵנָּא, סֵפֶר דְּתָא כִּי דִי אֱלֹהֵי

<sup>d</sup>This word was probably dropped from the text by accident, at an early day. It cannot be dispensed with here.

<sup>e</sup>So I Esdras, at this point: *καὶ οἱ θυρωροὶ ἐφ' ἐκάστου πυλῶνος*, and Josephus also had these words before him. The words are the Chronieler's own (no one else would have been half so likely to write them), and they are in their original place, cf. II Chron. 8:14; 23:18 f.; 35:15. They were accidentally omitted by some one who thought that the verse ended with the reference to the "Book of Moses." The exact form of the words is made certain by the passages cited, and especially by the rendering of this same translator in II Chron. 35:15 = I Esdr. 1:15.

<sup>f</sup>On the orthography of this name see above, in the section on the proper names.

<sup>g</sup>Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 61, writes: "Das Particip mit dem abhängigen Nomen *דְּתָא סֵפֶר* kann nichts anderes heissen als 'der das Gesetz geschrieben hat.'" He therefore concludes that Ezra is especially designated here, in this official document, as the author of the "Priest-Code." So far as grammar and usage are concerned, this observation is precisely as valuable as the one on pp. 16 f., in which he insists that *עַל אֲרַתְחַשְׁתָּא*, Ezr. 4:7, can only mean "against Artaxerxes." And as for the "Priest-Code,"

שְׂמִיָּא, [שְׁלָם]<sup>h</sup> גְּמִירָה ◦ <sup>13</sup>וּבְעֵתָא: <sup>(13)</sup> מִנֵּי שׁוּם טַעֲמָא, דִּי כָּל  
 מִתְּנַבֵּב בְּמִלְכּוּתֵי מִן עֲמָא יִשְׂרָאֵל וְקַהְנֹדְרֵי וְלִרְיָא לְמִזְקֵךְ לִירוּשָׁלַם  
 עֲמִירָה יִתְקֵ: ◦ <sup>14</sup>כָּל קָבְלָא דִּי מִן קַדְמָא מִלְכָא וְשִׁבְעַת וְעֲשָׂרֵי שְׁלִיחָא,  
 לְבַקְרָהּ עַל יְהוּד וְלִירוּשָׁלַם, בְּדַת אֱלֹהֵךְ דִּי בִידְךָ: ◦ <sup>15</sup>וְלִרְיָא  
 כֶּסֶף וְדַהֲבָא, דִּי מִלְכָא וְעֲשָׂרֵי הַתְּנַבֵּבֵי לְאַלְהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם  
 מִשְׁפַּחָא: ◦ <sup>16</sup>וְכָל כֶּסֶף וְדַהֲבָא דִּי תַחְשִׁיבָא בְּכָל מִדְּיַנְתָּ בְּבַל: עִם  
 הַתְּנַבֵּבֵי עֲמָא וְקַהְנֵי, מִתְּנַבֵּינָא <sup>m</sup> לְבֵית אֱלֹהֵם <sup>n</sup> דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם ◦  
<sup>17</sup>כָּל קָבְלָא דִּי הִנָּה, אֲסַפְרֵיָא <sup>o</sup> תְּקֵיָא בְּכַסְפָּא דִּי הִנָּה תִּירִין דְּסִרִּין אֲמִרִין  
 וּמִנְקַתְהוֹן וּמְסִיחֹן, וְתַקְרַב <sup>p</sup> הַמִּוֹרָה עַל מִדְּבַחָא דִּי בֵּית אֱלֹהֵם <sup>q</sup> דִּי  
 בִירוּשָׁלַם ◦ <sup>18</sup>וּמִזְהָרָה דִּי עֲלִידָה וְעַל אַחַד יִיטַב בְּשָׂרָא כַסְפָּא וְדַהֲבָא  
 לְמִעֲבַד, כִּדְעִית אֱלֹהֵם תַּעֲבַדְהוֹן ◦ <sup>19</sup>וְקַהְנֵי דִּי מִתְּנַבֵּינָא לְךָ לְפָקְסָן

it is quite as purely a fiction of modern Old Testament learning as is the "Hexateuch," against which designation Meyer (pp. 216 ff.) rightly declaims. There was a priestly expansion and redaction of the law (which took place in Palestine, not in Babylonia); but when once the true origin and character of the Ezra story are recognized, there is not a scrap of evidence, external or internal, tending to show that any separate "priestly law-book" ever existed.

<sup>h</sup>The emendation is certain.

<sup>i</sup>See the note (e) on 4:14.

<sup>k</sup>The omission of the subject (the pron. of the second pers. sing.) is very awkward, but is also very characteristic. See Driver, *Introd.*, list of the Chronicler's peculiar syntactical usages, No. 27. A good parallel, e. g., is II Chron. 19:6 (end): "and [he is] with you in the judgment." So also 18:3, etc.

<sup>l</sup>The characteristic use of ל in continuing the force of another proposition previously used; see the note (n) on 6:7; also above, p. 125, n. i, and below, vs. 28.

<sup>m</sup>Accusative of condition.

<sup>n</sup>See the note on this suffix in 5:3.

<sup>o</sup>See above, on the foreign words.

<sup>p</sup>The *pa'el*, in this sense, is more common than the *aph'el* in Aramaic, whether Jewish or Christian. To "emend" here is pure vandalism.

<sup>q</sup>Cf. the beginning of 6:9.

בית אלהך, השלם קדם אלה ירושלם<sup>20</sup> וְשָׂאָר תְּשִׁחוּת<sup>21</sup> בית  
 אלהך די יִפֹּל לךְ לְמִנְתֶּנָּךְ, תִּנְתֵּן מִן בֵּית גְּמֹן מִלְכָּא ◊  
<sup>21</sup>וּמִנִּי אֵינָה אֲרַתְחַשְׁמַתָּא מִלְכָּא שִׁים טַעַם לְכָל גְּזֹבְרֵיָא דִּי בַעֲבַר  
 נְהִירָה, דִּי כָּל דִּי יִשְׁאַלְנִמְךָ עֲזָרָא קְהֵנָא, סָפֵר דָּתָא דִּי אֱלֹהִים שְׂמִיָּא,  
 אֲסַפְרָנָא יִתְעַבְדִּי: ◊<sup>22</sup>עַד כִּסֵּה כְּפִירִין מֵאַהֲ, וְעַד הִנְטִין כֹּרִין מֵאַהֲ,  
 וְעַד הַמֵּר בְּתִין מֵאַהֲ, וְעַד בְּתִין מִשָּׁה" מֵאַהֲ, וּמִלַּת דִּי לֹא כְּתָב ◊  
<sup>23</sup>כָּל דִּי מִן טַעַם אֱלֹהִים שְׂמִיָּא, יִתְעַבַּד אֲרַתְחַשְׁמַתָּא לְבֵית אֱלֹהִים שְׂמִיָּא;  
 דִּי לְמִיָּה לְהֹרָא קֶנְפָּה עַל מִלְכֻת מִלְכָּא וּבְנֹהֵי ◊<sup>24</sup>וּלְכֵם מִתְּוֹדְעִין,  
 דִּי כָּל קְהֵנִיא וּלְוִיָּא וְזַמְרִיָּא תְּקַרְעִיא נְתִיבִיא וּפְלַחִי בֵּית אֱלֹהִים דְּנָה,  
 מִנְדָּה בְּלוֹ וְהִלְךְ" לֹא שְׁלִיט לְמִרְבָּא עֲלֵיהֶם ◊  
<sup>25</sup>וְאַנְתָּא\*, עֲזָרָא, כְּחֻכְמַת אֱלֹהִים דִּי בִירְךְ, מִנִּי שְׁפִטִין וְדִנְיִין דִּי  
 לְהִין דְּאִנִּין\* לְכָל עֲמָא דִּי בַעֲבַר נְהִירָה, לְכָל יְדִיעִי\* דָּת אֱלֹהִים, וְדִי

"The god of Jerusalem;" the Chronicler is fond of making the foreign kings speak in this way; cf. vs. 15, and 1:3. The I Esdras Greek has accidentally lost four words here (8:17): *καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη τὰ διδόμενά σοι εἰς τὴν χρείαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ θεοῦ σου* [παράδος ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ] τοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. The L text is "edited" beyond recognition, as usual.

<sup>20</sup>Cf. the beginning of 6:9.

<sup>21</sup>Perhaps best pointed (on good manuscript authority) גְּזֹבְרֵיָּא. See above, on the foreign words.

<sup>22</sup>Even the Chronicler should be permitted sometimes to vary the form of his phrases. The wording of MT here is not in the least objectionable (cf. I Kings 18:32, for example), and it is not even clear that Theodotion had a different text.

<sup>23</sup>See above, on the foreign words.

<sup>24</sup>The same phrase in 4:13, 20.

<sup>25</sup>The one place in the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra where the original consonant text appears to have written this pronoun without final ה (Strack, *Gramm. des Bibl.-Aram.*<sup>3</sup>, p. 8\*). The shorter form is found in the Egyptian papyri of the fifth century B. C.

<sup>26</sup>Cf. the orthography in Dan. 2:38; 3:3, etc.

<sup>27</sup>This refers to the people, not to the judges.

<sup>28</sup>MT דָּתִי; but the plural does not seem to have been read by any of the translators. Probably a copyist's mistake, caused by the ending of the preceding word.

לא ידע תהודיעק<sup>b</sup> ◦ וכל די לא להיא עבד דחא די אלהך ודחא  
די מלכא. אספרנא דינה להיא מתעבד קינח<sup>c</sup>. הן למזות הן לשרשו<sup>d</sup>  
הן לעקש גבסין<sup>e</sup> ולאסורין ◦

27 כְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ. אֲשֶׁר נָתַן מִזֶּמֶת בְּלִבְּךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ. לִפְעֹד  
אֵת בֵּית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר בִּירוּשָׁלַם. ◦ 28 וְעַלֵי קִטְחָה חֶסֶד לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ  
וְהַנְּעִיז וּלְכָל שְׂרָי הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגְּבֵרִים. וְאֵי תַחֲזֹקְתָּ. כִּד יְהוָה  
אֱלֹהֵי עַלֵי. וְאֶקְבְּצָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל רָאשִׁים לַעֲלֹת עִמִּי ◦

The Chronicler  
(Hebrew)

<sup>b</sup>This is the best reading, even if the I Esdras translator really had the singular before him. Those who were to "teach" were Ezra and these lieutenants of his, whose office was imagined as something like that of an itinerant bishop.

<sup>c</sup>See my note on I Esdr. 4:39; above, p. 25.

<sup>d</sup>Vocalization uncertain. שְׂרָשֵׁי, the abstract formed from the *pe'il* verbal adjective, is perhaps as likely as anything. *Qerē* שְׂרָשֵׁי.

<sup>e</sup>This word, with the meaning "goods," also in the Assuan papyri.

<sup>f</sup>This joyful exclamation, following immediately upon the letter, without the necessity of any intervening narrative, is the best single illustration of the extent to which the Chronicler identifies himself with his Ezra, the hero whom he has created. Cf. Neh. 12:36!

<sup>g</sup>See the note (1) on vs. 14.

<sup>h</sup>The adjective "good" (derived from vs. 9) is added here in the later form of the text which was rendered by Theodotion. The old Greek version agrees with MT.

#### TRANSLATION

4<sup>f</sup>Then the people of the land<sup>i</sup> kept weakening the hands of the people of Judea, and disquieting them in their building,<sup>g</sup> and hiring counselors<sup>i</sup> against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus<sup>i</sup> king of Persia.<sup>k</sup>

The Chronicler  
(Hebrew)

<sup>h</sup>And in the reign of Xerxes, at the beginning of his reign, Bishlam, Mithradates, Tab'el, and the rest of his companions,

<sup>i</sup>See above, the notes on the Hebrew text.

<sup>k</sup>MT adds, "and until the reign of Darius king of Persia." See the note on the Hebrew text.

wrote an accusation against the inhabitants of Judea and Jerusalem.

<sup>7</sup>And in the days of Artaxerxes,<sup>1</sup> Rehum the reporter<sup>m</sup> and Shimshai the scribe wrote to Artaxerxes king of Persia; and the text of the letter was written in Aramaic, and translated.<sup>n</sup>

Aramaic  
Writer

<sup>8</sup> *Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king, as follows.* <sup>9</sup>Then Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their companions, the Dinaites, the Apharsathkites, the men of Tetrapolis, the Persians, the men of Erech, the Babylonians, and the men of Susa, who are Elamites, <sup>10</sup>and the rest of the peoples which the great and illustrious Shalmanassar transported, and made to dwell in the cities of Samaria and the rest of the province Beyond the River; — this is the copy of the letter which they sent to him.

*To Artaxerxes the king; thy servants, the men from Beyond the River, (send greeting.)*<sup>o</sup> <sup>12</sup> *To proceed:* <sup>(12)</sup> *Be it known to the king, that the Jews who went up from thee<sup>p</sup> came to us. Jerusalem, the rebellions and wicked city, they are building; they are completing the walls, and laying the foundations.* <sup>13</sup> *Now be it known to the king, that if that city shall be built and its walls completed, they will pay no tribute, tax, nor custom, and the royal taxation will suffer damage.* <sup>14</sup> *Now inasmuch as we have eaten of the salt of the palace, and it is not fitting for us to see the king's hurt, for this reason we hereby send and make the matter known to the king,* <sup>15</sup> *so that search may be made in the record-books<sup>q</sup> of thy fathers; and thou will find in the record-books and learn, that*

<sup>1</sup>That is, the king whose reign immediately followed that of Xerxes, just as that of Xerxes was believed to have immediately followed that of Cyrus; see above.

<sup>m</sup>In the reorganization, by Darius I, of the Persian provincial government, an official was created whose especial business it was to report to the king the progress of affairs in each satrapy (Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, 33 f.). It is this officer who is intended here by the title בַּעַל הַבַּיִת; cf. the use of בַּעַל הַבַּיִת in 5:5. The old Greek translator, who rendered *ὁ γράφων τὰ προσηπτοῦτα*, lived at a time in which the recollection of these government officials was still preserved.

<sup>n</sup>That is, translated *into Hebrew*; there is no other natural or possible interpretation. The narrator supposed that the Jews of the time of Artaxerxes I did not know Aramaic well.

<sup>o</sup>The word of greeting is not present in our text, but may be understood.

<sup>p</sup>That is, "from thy land," Babylonia. The reference is to the expedition in the days of Cyrus, to which indirect allusion is again made in the following chapters. See above, p. 161, n. 31.

<sup>q</sup>Plural number, not singular; see the note on the text.



that city hath been a rebellious city, and one causing damage to kings and provinces, and that insurrection hath been made therein since the days of old; therefore was that city laid waste. <sup>16</sup>We make known to the king, that if that city shall be built and its walls completed, as a result thou wilt have no part in the province Beyond the River.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>17</sup>The king returned answer:

To Rehum the reporter and Shimshai the scribe, and the rest of their<sup>6</sup> companions who dwell in Samaria and in the remainder of the province Beyond the River, greeting. <sup>18</sup>To proceed: <sup>(18)</sup>The letter which ye sent to us was plainly read before me. <sup>19</sup>And I gave command, and they made search, and found that that city from days of old hath risen against kings, and rebellion and insurrection have been made therein. <sup>20</sup>And over Jerusalem were mighty kings, ruling also in all the province Beyond the River; and tribute, tax, and custom were paid to them.<sup>7</sup> <sup>21</sup>Now therefore give command to restrain those men; and let that city not be built, until from me command be given. <sup>22</sup>And be ye careful not to deal negligently in this matter, lest the harm be increased to the damage of the kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>23</sup>Thereupon, as soon as the copy of the letter of Artaxerxes the king was read before Rehum and Shimshai the scribe, and their companions, they went in haste to Jerusalem against the Jews, and restrained them by force of arms.<sup>9</sup> <sup>24</sup>Then was stopped the work upon the house of God in Jerusalem, and it remained at a standstill until the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia.

**5**<sup>1</sup> But Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo, uttered a prophecy for the Jews who were in Judea and Jerusalem, in the name of the God of Israel which<sup>10</sup> was over them. <sup>2</sup> There-

<sup>1</sup> I. e., the glory of the days of David and Solomon will return, and the Jews will rule over all Samaria and Syria.

<sup>5</sup> So, frequently, the third person rather than the second, in Semitic usage. See the note on the text of 6:6.

<sup>6</sup> No Persian king or official could ever have written this verse, nor anything resembling it. It is, on the contrary, an illustration of the old familiar custom of the Jewish writers of the last centuries B. C., to give glory to their city, and their temple, and themselves, by proxy.

<sup>8</sup> Lit., "to the damage of kings."

<sup>9</sup> Lit., "by arm and (military) force."

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Deut. 28:10, etc.

upon rose up Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and began<sup>x</sup> to build the house of God in Jerusalem, and with them were the prophets of God helping them.

<sup>3</sup>At that time there came to them Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, and Shetharbozenai,<sup>y</sup> and their companions, and thus they said to them: Who hath given you command to build this house, and to complete this colonnade?<sup>z</sup> <sup>4</sup>They also asked<sup>a</sup> them: What are the names of the men who are building this building? <sup>5</sup>But the eye of their God was upon the elders of the Jews, and they did not stop them, until the report should come to Darius and thereupon a message be returned in regard to the matter.

<sup>6</sup>The copy of the letter which Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, and Shetharbozenai, and his companions, the eparchs who were in the province Beyond the River, sent to Darius the king. <sup>7</sup>They sent him a communication, and thus was written in it:

To Darius the king, all peace. <sup>8</sup>Be it known to the king, that we went to the province of Judea, to the house of the great God; and it is being built with great stones, and wood is put into the walls; and the work is done diligently, and prospers in their hands. <sup>9</sup>Then we questioned those elders,<sup>b</sup> and thus we said to them: Who hath given you command to build this house, and to complete this colonnade?<sup>c</sup> <sup>10</sup>Moreover, we asked of them their names, in order to make them known to thee, so that we might write down the names of the men who are at their head. <sup>11</sup>And thus they made reply to us, saying: We are the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and are rebuilding a house which was erected many years ago, one which a great king of Israel built and completed. <sup>12</sup>But because our fathers angered the God of heaven, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, the Chaldean; and he destroyed this house, and car-

<sup>x</sup>See the note on the Aramaic text. The phrase here implies nothing more than the words of Haggai 1:14: "they came and did work on the house of Yahwè."

<sup>y</sup>The traditional pronunciation; but see above, on the proper names.

<sup>z</sup>The meaning of the Aramaic word is uncertain. See above, on the foreign words.

<sup>a</sup>MT, "then thus we said to them;" see the note on the text.

<sup>b</sup>This would indeed be a singular expression for the hostile officials to use!

<sup>c</sup>See the note in vs. 3.

ried away the people captive to Babylonia. <sup>13</sup>But in the first year of Cyrus king of Babylon, Cyrus the king gave command to build this house of God. <sup>14</sup>Also the vessels of the house of God, of gold and of silver, which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away from the temple in Jerusalem and brought to the temple in Babylon, Cyrus the king brought out from the temple in Babylon and delivered to one named Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor. <sup>15</sup>And he said to him: Take these vessels, and go, deposit them in the temple which is in Jerusalem; and let the house of God be built upon its (former) site. <sup>16</sup>Then came that Sheshbazzar and laid the foundations of the house of God in Jerusalem; and from that time until now it hath been building, but is not completed.

<sup>17</sup>Now therefore, if it seem good to the king, let search be made in the storehouses<sup>d</sup> in which are the royal documents,<sup>e</sup> in Babylonia,<sup>f</sup> to see whether it be true that command was given by Cyrus the king to build that house of God in Jerusalem; and let the king send to us his pleasure in the matter.

**6**<sup>1</sup>Then Darius the king gave command, and they made search in the storehouses in Babylonia<sup>1</sup> where the documents<sup>g</sup> were deposited. <sup>2</sup>And in the citadel at Ecbatana, which is in the province of Media, there was found a certain scroll;<sup>h</sup> and thus was written in it:

<sup>3</sup>MEMORANDUM. <sup>(3)</sup>In the first year of Cyrus the king, King Cyrus gave order: As for the house of God in Jerusalem, let the house be built in the place where they offer sacrifices and bring the burnt offerings. Its height shall be sixty cubits and its breadth sixty cubits. <sup>4</sup>Let there be three courses of great stones, and one course of wood; and let the expense be paid from the king's house. <sup>5</sup>Also the vessels of the house of God, of gold and of silver, which Nebuchadnezzar took away from the temple in Jerusalem and brought to Babylon, let them restore; and let it (all) come to the temple in Jerusalem, to its place, and be deposited in the house of God.<sup>i</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>6</sup>Now Tattenai, governor of the province Beyond the River, Shetharbozenai, and their<sup>k</sup> companions, the eparchs who are in

<sup>d</sup>Plural number, not singular.

<sup>e</sup>MT has accidentally lost two words here.

<sup>f</sup>Not "Babylon."

<sup>g</sup>MT, "the libraries in B. where the treasures were deposited."

<sup>h</sup>*Encycl. Bibl.*, II, 1481 middle: "i. e., the cuneiform tablet!"

<sup>i</sup>On the lacuna at this point, see above, p. 159.

<sup>k</sup>See the note on 4:17.

the province *Beyond the River*, be ye far from thence. <sup>7</sup> Leave the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews free to work upon that house of God; let them build that house of God in its place. <sup>8</sup> And I hereby give command, in regard to whatever ye shall do in co-operation with those Jewish elders toward building that house of God, that out of the royal revenue from the tribute of the province *Beyond the River* the expense be diligently paid to those men, without fail. <sup>9</sup> And whatever things are needful, such as young bullocks, rams, and lambs, for whole-burnt-offerings to the God of heaven; wheat, salt, wine, and oil; according to the word of the priests who are in Jerusalem let it (all) be given to them, day by day, without negligence; <sup>10</sup> so that they may offer pleasant offerings to the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king and his sons.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>11</sup> And I have made a decree, that if any man alter this edict, a beam shall be pulled out of his house and he shall be impaled thereon, and his house shall be made a dunghill, in punishment for this. <sup>12</sup> And may the God who hath made his name to dwell there overthrow any king or people who shall put forth a hand to destroy<sup>m</sup> that house of God which is in Jerusalem. I, Darius, have given command; let it be diligently performed.

<sup>13</sup> Then Tattenai, governor of the province *Beyond the River*, Shetharbozenai, and their companions, according to the word which Darius the king had sent, thus they did diligently. <sup>14</sup> And the elders of the Jews built and prospered, through the prophecy of Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo. And they completed their building<sup>n</sup> by the command of the God of Israel, and by the order of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes king of Persia.

<sup>15</sup> And this house was finished on the [twenty-]third day of the month Adar, of the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king. <sup>16</sup> And the children of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity performed the dedication of this house of God with joy. <sup>17</sup> And they offered, for the dedication of this house of God, one hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, and four hundred lambs; and for a sin offering for all Israel twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel.

<sup>1</sup> Vss. 9 f. are the work of the Chronicler; see above.

<sup>m</sup> MT, "to change, to destroy;" the result of a copyist's error, see the note on the Aramaic text.

<sup>n</sup> Lit., "and they built and completed."

<sup>18</sup>And they stationed the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of [the house of] God which is in Jerusalem, according to the prescription of the book of Moses, [and the porters were at every gate]. <sup>19</sup>And the children of the captivity observed the passover in the fourteenth day of the first month. (Hebrew)

(*The remaining verses (20-22) of the chapter give a brief account, in Hebrew, of this passover. Then follows the introduction to the story of Ezra, 7:1-10, this also composed by the Chronicler, and written in Hebrew. Vs. 11 introduces the "letter of Artaxerxes."*)

<sup>7</sup>And this is the copy of the letter which Artaxerxes<sup>o</sup> the king gave to Ezra the priest, the scribe, learned in the words of the ordinances of Yahwè and his statutes for Israel: (The Chronicler (Hebrew))

<sup>12</sup>Artaxerxes, king of kings, to Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect [peace]. <sup>13</sup>To proceed: <sup>13a</sup>I have made a decree, that any one in my kingdom, of the people of Israel, and its priests, and the Levites, who shall freely offer to go with thee to Jerusalem,<sup>p</sup> may go; <sup>14</sup>inasmuch as thou art sent by the king and his seven counselors, to make investigation<sup>q</sup> regarding Judea and Jerusalem in accordance with the law of thy God which is in thy hand: <sup>15</sup>and to carry the silver and gold which the king and his counselors have vowed to the God of Israel, whose dwelling is in Jerusalem; <sup>16</sup>as well as all the silver and gold which thou shalt find in all the province of Babylonia;<sup>r</sup> together with the free-will offering of the people and the priests, which they vow for the house of their God which is in Jerusalem. <sup>17</sup>Thou shalt therefore purchase diligently, with this money, bullocks, rams, and lambs, besides their meal offerings and their drink offerings, and thou shalt offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem. <sup>18</sup>And whatsoever shall seem good to thee and to thy brethren to do with the rest of the silver and gold, ye (The Chronicler (Aramaic))

<sup>o</sup>I. e., according to the Chronicler, Artaxerxes II: to whose reign he also assigns the story of Nehemiah. See above, pp. 38, 135 f.

<sup>p</sup>On the very striking resemblance of this letter, in its substance and its phraseology, to the similar documents (also composed by the Chronicler) in Ezr. 1:3-6 and I Esdr. 4:47-56, see above, pp. 157 f.

<sup>q</sup>In what follows it is made plain that the mission of Ezra included also the institution of any needed reforms.

<sup>r</sup>This apparently refers to contributions solicited from people of the province who were not Jews.



may do according to the good pleasure of your God. <sup>19</sup> And the vessels which are given to thee for the service of the house of thy God, deliver in the presence of the God of Jerusalem.<sup>s</sup> <sup>20</sup> And whatever other requirement of the house of thy God it may happen to thee to bestow, thou mayest bestow it out of the king's treasury.

<sup>21</sup> And I, Artaxerxes the king, hereby issue a decree, to all the treasurers of the province Beyond the River; that whatever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, let it be done diligently; <sup>22</sup> unto a hundred talents of silver, and to a hundred measures of wheat, and to a hundred measures of wine, and to a hundred measures of oil, and salt without prescription (of the amount). <sup>23</sup> Whatsoever is by the command of the God of heaven, let it be done diligently<sup>t</sup> for the house of the God of heaven; lest wrath come upon the reign of the king and his sons. <sup>24</sup> And to you notice is hereby given, that upon no one of the priests or Levites, singers, porters, Nethinim, or (other) servants of this house of God, is it permitted to impose tribute, tax, or custom.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>25</sup> And do thou, Ezra, according to the wisdom of God which is in thy hand, appoint magistrates and judges, who shall judge all the people of the province Beyond the River.<sup>v</sup> all who know the

<sup>s</sup> See the note on the Aramaic text.

<sup>t</sup> The word is quite unknown, but this is its evident meaning.

<sup>u</sup> The gifts and prerogatives promised in the document thus far make a list which is not quite incredible in itself; it is rather the form in which it is all cast that betrays with certainty the Jewish authorship. It is interesting to compare the imaginary letter from Demetrius Soter to the Jews, "quoted" in I Macc. 10:26-45, where the author of that history deliberately sets himself the task of composing such a list of royal grants and concessions as should be truly "incredible" (cf. vs. 46).

But in the final paragraph of the Artaxerxes edict, where the king formally adopts the law of Moses for the Jews of all Syria and Palestine, and gives Ezra and the officers appointed by him free hand to enforce this law throughout the whole Transflumen(!), with power to imprison, confiscate, banish, and execute the death penalty, it is plain that even the last vestige of probability is gone.

<sup>v</sup> Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 67, argues that this phrase means (and presumably it does, since the Chronicler wrote it) the Jewish community in the Transflumen, "oder wie wir sagen würden Palästina" [!], and then adds, that the Jews of Palestine occupied only the one compact settlement in Judea. That is, כל עמא די בעבר נהרה is by these successive steps reduced to mean only the Jewish church in Judea! This is convenient reasoning, but in view of the constant use of the term "Beyond the River" in express contrast with Judea, all through Ezra and Nehemiah, the argument cannot stand.



law of thy God: and those who do not know it ye shall teach. <sup>26</sup> And whoever will not observe the law of thy God and the law of the king, let judgment be executed diligently upon him: whether unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.

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<sup>27</sup> Blessed<sup>w</sup> be Yahwè, the God of our fathers, who put such a thing as this into the heart of the king, to beautify the house of Yahwè which is in Jerusalem; <sup>28</sup> and gave me favor in the eyes of the king and his counselors, and all the mighty officers of the king. So I strengthened myself, by virtue of the hand of Yahwè my God which was over me, and gathered out of Israel chief men<sup>x</sup> to go up with me.

The Chronicler  
(Hebrew)

<sup>w</sup> See the note on the text.

<sup>x</sup> Cf. especially Ezr. 1:5 and I Esdr. 5:1. These "chief men" of Israel are sure to appear wherever the Chronicler is the writer.

## VII

### THE CHRONICLER AS EDITOR AND AS INDEPENDENT NARRATOR

#### I. THE CHRONICLER'S MAIN PURPOSE

The Chronicler is a writer who has received a good many hard knocks—often well deserved—from modern critics of every school, but one whose importance as a composer of Hebrew narrative seems to have remained everywhere unnoticed. He is not merely a compiler and editor, selecting and shaping materials which lay before him; he is also an original author, and possessed of some striking literary excellences, which appear in every part of his unaided work. It is the main purpose of the following investigation to show, more fully than was possible in my former treatise,<sup>1</sup> the extent and the nature of the Chronicler's independent contributions to the "post-exilic" history of Israel.

As I have already pointed out, and as will appear still more fully in the sequel, the Chronicler's great task was to establish the supreme authority of the Jerusalem cultus, in all its details (see the statements already made, pp. 153-55). It is evident that this authority had been sharply challenged, as, indeed, was quite inevitable. So long as the Hebrews were all, or mostly, settled in Palestine, and with a man of David's line occupying the throne in Jerusalem, there could be no question as to the center of the Israelite religion; but when, on the contrary, the Hebrew state was overthrown, and the people scattered abroad, while new Jewish temples were gaining in influence, the questions of authority and centralization became burning ones. Just as one and another of the great branches of the Christian church have striven, with varying success, to show the apostolic origin of their institutions, mainly to silence their opponents, so the Jews of the Second Temple found themselves called upon to prove, if they could, that they in distinction from their brethren elsewhere were the real successors and heirs of David and Solomon, and that their

<sup>1</sup> *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah*, 1896. The main conclusions there stated, though new and thus far only partially accepted by Old Testament scholars, are all, as I believe, quite certain.

local traditions of the temple administration and worship were really derived from Moses and Aaron.

Against the claims of the exclusive party in Jerusalem stood some formidable obstacles. Of these, the most important by far was the tradition, which had grown up, that Jerusalem and Judea were not only completely depopulated by the armies of Nebuchadrezzar, but that they remained thus vacant for a long time. Thus especially II Kings 24:14 ff.; 25:8-12, 26; Jer. 25:11 f.; 29:10, etc. This tradition—due chiefly to a misunderstanding of Haggai and Zecharaiah—was harmless at first; but when the new Israelite seat of worship was established at Shechem, a most effective weapon was put into the hands of this rival sect. The Samaritans could claim, and with much apparent right on their side, that *they themselves* were the rightful heirs and the true church. Jerusalem had had its long and glorious day, and would always remain the most sacred of cities to the Hebrew; but might not the center of gravity of Israel, and especially the principal seat of the cultus, now return northward? The contest of the Jews with the Samaritans was really a life and death struggle, and the latter possessed some important external advantages at the start. There were doubtless also facts connected with the religious tradition, to which they could appeal, and which could not easily be gainsaid. They could probably prove, in a great many instances, that not only individuals of priestly rank, but also whole priestly families, had migrated into the North-Israelite territory when Jerusalem was destroyed, and that their descendants were now pillars of the Samaritan church. These were sons of Aaron, and with them were Levites; were there any in Jerusalem who could show a clearer title? Probably not, until the Chronicler wrote his history, carrying back through the past centuries the genealogy of the families who in his day constituted the loyal Jewish church in Jerusalem and the neighboring towns, and excluding all others from legitimacy.

Nor was it merely with the Samaritans and other rivals in view that this work was undertaken. The Jews had need to justify themselves and their cult in the eyes of the greater world round about them; see above, pp. 147, 153, 155. Moreover, the glory of Jerusalem and of David's line was not duly appreciated, even in Judea, especially now that the horizon of the people had been greatly widened. Hence the Chronicler's marked interest

in foreign kings, and his frequent attempts to show the wide influence of the Hebrew power. He adds an east-Jordanic list of names at the end of I Chron. 11 (see below); describes David's magnificent army, in 12:23-40; besides incorporating (especially in chaps. 18-20) all the material of this sort from II Samuel. He expands greatly the story of Hiram of Tyre in his relations with Solomon (see below), and makes much of the incident of Josiah and Necho. Further illustration will be given in the sequel. It may be that the occasional accounts of great building operations undertaken in more or less remote regions by kings of Judah originated in this same tendency. And hence, certainly, the large numbers which he so often introduces. He wished his readers, and perhaps especially the youth of his people, to feel the might and splendor of the ancient time, of which the preserved record was so wretchedly meager (see below, p. 231, note). When for instance, he narrates how Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, sacrificed "22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep," we may regard the exaggeration as a small outburst of loyalty on his part. Not even Nebuchadnezzar, or Darius Codomannus, or Alexander the Great, those mightiest of all kings in the popular belief of the Chronicler's time, were able to make offerings on such a scale as this.

An important feature of his undertaking, and one in which he evidently took especial satisfaction, was the celebration of the Levites. In magnifying their office he magnified the ecclesiastical organization in Jerusalem, and at the same time filled what must have seemed to him a serious gap in the written history of Israel as it then existed. Side by side with the priests, these temple officials held a most conspicuous place in the public worship of his time. There was the main body of "Levites" with their prescribed part in the ritual and the service of the temple; there were also the special Levitical classes of "Singers" and "Porters;"<sup>2</sup> then, on a lower plane than the Levites, but doing an indispensable work, stood the class of temple servants called the "Nethinim." These all had their minutely regulated duties, and their own privileges and perquisites. The rights and duties of these classes might easily be challenged, however, for throughout the greater part of the history of Israel they were altogether ignored. The Mosaic and Aaronic institutions as described in

<sup>2</sup>On the relation of these to the Levites, see below.

the Pentateuch do indeed include the Levites, but in the subsequent history, from Joshua to the end of II Kings, they are rarely mentioned. The Singers, Porters, and Nethinim received no specific mention whatever, either in the Pentateuch or in the other writings. The Chronicler believed that the ritual in which he himself had an active part was the true Mosaic ritual; but he could not have proved, from the Hebrew historical writings, that it had been perpetuated in actual usage through the time of the kingdom. Moreover, the Chronicler was probably himself one of the temple Singers (as modern scholars have recognized), and was proud of the office and of his Levitical brethren. He took pleasure in doing them this tardy justice, showing in extended narrative the part which (as he would have said) they *must have played* in the history of the true Israel. But what he planned, as has already been said, was not merely a "history of the Levites;" it was a history which was designed to set the whole Jerusalem church on its feet, once for all.

He took his starting-point, as a matter of course, in the institutions of his own day. The Levitical organization as it then existed; the various duties and prerogatives of the clergy; the geographical distribution of "Israel and the priests and the Levites" in their cities and villages, as it was at that time; the details of the worship in the temple; all these things he carried back into the beginnings of Hebrew history, incorporating them there and in the record of every subsequent period. He of course made use of the already existing narrative, retaining every part of it which could be made to serve his very definite purpose. The institutions of the Jewish church were thus given a leading place—their rightful place, any zealous Jew would have said—in the stories of David and Solomon, of Jehoshaphat and Hezekiah and Josiah, as well as in Nehemiah's personal narrative.

He proceeded in a similar manner in compiling the genealogical tables, which, together with the story of the Return from the Exile, constituted the most important part of his work. The already existing lists, found in the Pentateuch and the Historical Books, he used wherever they seemed desirable. But in very many of the names which he repeats over and over again, especially in the post-exilic part of his history, we may be sure that we have the names of his own companions and friends, the most zealously "orthodox" of the third century B. C. These,

whether priests or temple-servants or laymen, constituted the inner circle of the Jewish church of his time; and they, like their cultus, were here legitimated. When he had finished his work, he had shown that none of the pure stock of Israel, none of the true representatives of the cultus, could be looked for outside the territory of Judah and Benjamin. And he had scattered the names of his like-minded contemporaries (in a rather helter-skelter way, it is true) all through his account of the Restoration; showing that these families were the ones which "returned" with Zerubbabel and Ezra, signed the pledge against foreign marriages and the agreement to support the cultus, built the wall of Jerusalem in the time of Nehemiah, and helped to dedicate it. Here he took the only possible way of placing orthodox Judaism safely beyond the reach of the Samaritans and of the rest of the **עַמּוּדָאֵי הָאֶרֶץ** (which included all the apostates of Israel): *the pure blood and the true worship were transmitted only by way of Babylonia.*

The zeal of the Chronicler for the pure blood of Judah and Benjamin—as well as of the House of Levi—was always, and must of necessity have been, a leading motive in his work. The true stock of Israel must keep itself separate from "the heathen of the land." Inter-marriage with these foreigners was unlawful. The northern Israelites, whose center was now at Shechem, had intermarried to some extent—and perhaps to a very considerable extent—with the Gentiles who lived near them. The Samaritan church, which was probably founded only a short time before the Chronicler wrote, came into being partly as a result of the runaway marriage of a Jewish priest with the daughter of an outsider.<sup>3</sup> So the Chronicler and those of his school lost no opportunity of asserting that the Samaritans were a heterogeneous mob of heathen, recruited from many lands. The Chronicler's aversion to the marriage of Hebrews with foreigners shows itself in many places. Perhaps the most striking single instance is found in the passage II Chron. 24:26, which is his own improved version of II Kings 12:21. The story of the assassination of King Joash of Judah is being told, and in the older account the names of those who conspired against him are given as "Jozakar the son of **שַׁמְרַת**, and Jehozabad the son of **שַׁמַר**." The two

<sup>3</sup> As I have already remarked (above, p. 168), it may well be that the Sanaballat of the Samaritan schism—in whatever time we suppose him to have lived—was a man of Hebrew origin. In that case, we must suppose that he was regarded as an apostate by the Jews of Jerusalem, for some good reason.



names here printed in Hebrew characters are both masculine, beyond much doubt; but the final ך of the former one looked to the Chronicler like the feminine ending, and this suggested to him his opportunity. In the story as he tells it, the one of the two conspirators (impious wretches in his eyes, even though the king had deserved his fate) was "the son of אַמְמוֹנִי the Ammonitess," and the other was "the son of מוֹאבִי the Moabitess." The alteration here made is one of the most instructive in all the Chronicler's work.

These are the principal aims, or rather, the principal features of the one great aim, of his book. Viewed according to our modern standards of judgment, this was an unlawful manufacture of history. From his own point of view, and that of his contemporaries, his purpose was a laudable one, and the method employed by no means illegitimate. All those who understood what he had done, but were not actually sharers in his intent, would, of course, simply ignore his version of the history. It does indeed seem for a long time to have received very little notice.

## II. THE CHRONICLER AS EDITOR

It is fortunate that we possess the most of the sources used by the Chronicler in constructing his own version of the history of Israel: we are thus enabled to see with the utmost clearness his method of using them.

### 1. *In the Books of Chronicles*

The Chronicler's proceeding is, of course, an eclectic one. He does not, as a rule, record the events of the history for their own sake, but merely for the aid which they give to his immediate purpose. He is not rewriting the whole history of Judah from the standpoint of his own religious interest; he is rewriting only that amount of the history which seems to him desirable.

Some considerable passages to which he can have had no objection in themselves are either greatly abridged or omitted altogether. In other words, it was not an object of his to incorporate *all* of the records of Judah which he himself would have regarded as both authentic and unobjectionable; what he attempted to do was to make a new edition, abridged in many places and freely expanded in many others. It is certain that he did not

mean to supplant the books of Samuel and Kings; he intended rather to supplement them. In the nature of the case, the chief significance of his undertaking lay in the material which he himself composed and added. The older narrative furnished the foundation and the lower framework, into and upon which he could build the new structure which (in his view) was so sorely needed. But both parts were necessary, the old as well as the new, and the former must have its due proportion. It was evident, for instance, that the text of Kings (namely, in the portions relating to Judah) could not be greatly abridged without defeating the end for which the new edition was made.

Wherever it is practicable, the Chronicler reproduces his source with little or no change. Thus, in I Chron. 10:1—11:47, the text of I Sam. 31 and II Sam. 23:8—39 is given in very nearly its original wording.<sup>4</sup> Of the two chapters thus reproduced, the one narrates the death of Saul and the accession of David to the throne, and was therefore important for the Chronicler's purpose.<sup>5</sup> The other gives a catalogue of David's most renowned warriors, and some of the anecdotes told of them. The reason why the Chronicler includes this (and adds to it also, in the next chapter especially) is not merely "his fondness for lists," it is rather because of the character of his book, as a repertorium of such official statistics as these. If the lists of the later history were to make the desired impression, those of the early times must be given in sufficient number and fulness. He has, indeed, made his own contribution to these two passages, in the shape of characteristic additions. These will be noticed below. Many other chapters, or long passages, from Samuel and Kings are transferred bodily in this same way. Thus, for example, I Chron. 17:1—20:8, in which we have a generally faithful transcript of II Sam., chaps. 7, 8, and 10; II Chron. 6:1—39 (=I Kings 8:12—50); 9:1—11:4 (=I Kings 10:1—48; 11:41—43; 12:1—24). II Chron. 18:3—34 is an almost exact replica of I Kings 22:4—35.

<sup>4</sup>It is of course to be borne in mind that the text of Gen.-Sam.-Kings which lay before the Chronicler differed somewhat from ours. The most of the many insignificant variations which we see are doubtless due to his source rather than to his own hand.

<sup>5</sup>The Chronicler must have had a keen personal interest in the many other narratives of David; the stories of his youth and his exploits; his friendship for Jonathan; his flight from Saul, and his magnanimity when he had the king in his power; and so on. But he could not repeat them here; they fell quite outside the scheme of his book, which follows everywhere its one definite aim, and is constructed with considerable attention to proportion. It is often said that the Chronicler omitted the story of Bathsheba because of its detriment to the character of David; but the fact is, it had no relation to his main purpose, and could not well have been included.

Similarly, 33:1-9 is a transcript of II Kings 21:1-9, and II Chron. 34:15-31 of II Kings 22:8-23:3, and there are numerous other cases of the sort. The passages thus transcribed include by far the greater part of the material derived by the Chronicler from Gen.-Sam.-Kings. Of them in general may be said that which is said by Benzinger of II Chron., chap. 23 (*Comm.*, p. 111): "Soviel als möglich ist vom Text . . . wörtlich geblieben." The Chronicler gives himself no unnecessary labor. Among the passages of the older history which he could use for his purpose, there were many which gave him no occasion to introduce his own special properties, since they offered no point of direct contact with the Jewish church and its institutions or its personnel. Such, for example, were I Chron., chaps. 10, 18, 19, II Chron. 9, 10, 18, among those which have been mentioned. Other passages, again, needed no revision since they were already conceived in the Chronicler's own spirit. Such were I Chron., chap. 17; II Chron., chaps., 6, 33:1-9; 34:15-31; as well as any lists of names which could give real or apparent support to the claim of the Jews in Jerusalem.

On the other hand, as is well known, there are many cases in which the Chronicler, while using material from his older sources, makes more or less extensive alterations on his own authority. These alterations include, first, *minor insertions and additions*, as well as occasional omissions. For example, in I Chron. 3:9 we have a simple editorial expansion (cf. 2:4), and in 4:33 he adds his favorite word **הַחִיָּה**. In II Chron. 34:30 he inserts "and the Levites," and such insertions as this are of course very often necessary from his point of view. He very frequently interpolates a verse or two in the midst of the matter which he is transcribing. Thus, at the end of the story of Saul's death he appends a remark of his own (I Chron. 10:13 f.) designed to show more clearly the significance of the events narrated. In the account of the bringing of the ark into the temple, II Chron., chap. 5, he inserts a characteristic passage, vss. 11-13, showing what an important part in the service was played by the Levitical musicians. In 7:6 the same thing takes place, and there are many other instances of the kind. In I Chron. 11:41-47 we have an addition of another sort, but equally characteristic. The source, II Sam. 23:24-39, had just given a list of the mighty men of David's armies, reproduced in I Chron. 11:26-41a. The Chronicler, one of whose chief con-

cerns is the extension of Jerusalem's sphere of influence, even into foreign lands (see above), seizes the opportunity to add the names of a number of men from the country east of the Jordan; why should this part of the Israelite territory be left out? The names are, of course, invented for the occasion; there is no more reason for supposing a written source here than there is in the case of the other insertions just described. There are still other pet interests of his, of lesser importance, out of regard to which he has occasionally inserted verses or longer passages. Thus, his fondness for mention of the homage paid by foreign kings and nations to Jerusalem and the house of David (see above) leads him to make such interpolations as II Chron. 9:26<sup>6</sup> and I Chron. 14:17. Other similar cases are II Chron. 26:7 f. and 27:5 f. He is always greatly interested in building operations, and especially in the buildings and the topography of Jerusalem. Hence the isolated statements concerning these things which he occasionally throws in for the purpose of giving fresh interest to his narrative. In II Chron. 26:6-10, after transcribing the few things which are said of King Uzziah in II Kings 15:1-3, he proceeds to describe in detail the king's greatness.<sup>7</sup> Vs. 6 narrates: "He broke down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Yabneh, and the wall of Ashdod; and he built fortresses<sup>8</sup> in Ashdod and (elsewhere) in Philistia." And vs. 9 proceeds: "Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the angle of the wall, and fortified them. <sup>10</sup>And he built towers in the wilderness," etc. In the following chapter, in telling the story of Jotham, similar notices are introduced. To 27:3*a*, which is taken from II Kings 15:35, "He built the upper gate of the house of Yahwè," the Chronicler adds: "and on the wall of the Ophel he built much. <sup>4</sup>Moreover he built cities in the hill country of Judah, and on the wooded heights he built fortresses and towers." Compare further 33:14, where it is said of King Manasseh: "He built an outer wall to the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the

<sup>6</sup> In vs. 23 of this chapter, on the other hand, it is probable that he found the word מלכר, "kings," in the text of I Kings 10:24 which lay before him. Observe the witness of the Greek and the Syriac, as well as that of the following verse.

<sup>7</sup> According to his custom, in order to draw sharp contrast with the passage which follows, vs. 16-20. This whole chapter affords one of the best illustrations of his qualities as a story-teller (see below).

<sup>8</sup> So apparently, the word ערים must be interpreted here, as occasionally elsewhere. The text of the verse seems to be sound.

valley, up to the entrance to the fish gate; and he compassed about the Ophel, and raised it to a very great height." Similarly in 32:30 it is said of Hezekiah: "He stopped the upper exit of the waters of Gihon, and brought them down on the west side of the city of David," in which we have merely the Chronicler's more vivid version of II Kings 20:20. Still another case of the same sort is in 36:8, in the passage which has been accidentally lost from our Hebrew but is preserved in Theodotion's Greek (as already shown): "So Jehoiakim slept with his fathers" (these words being taken from II Kings 24:6), "and was buried in the garden of Uzza with his fathers;" cf. II Kings 21:18, 26. In no one of these statements is there anything to make it probable that the Chronicler had any other source than his imagination. He understood the great value of "local color" for enlivening historical narrative, and here also he followed his usual custom of projecting into the past the things (in this case topographical features) which he saw with his own eyes. Some other minor additions to the text made by him in order to give greater liveliness to the narrative will be noticed below.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, *thoroughgoing alterations*. The passages of this nature are, as we should expect, comparatively few in number and brief in extent. They are of three kinds. The first case is where thorough revision is undertaken in the interest of the Chronicler's tendency: a thing which would very rarely be necessary, since ordinarily the unsatisfactory material could either be omitted or else set right by the insertion of a word or a verse here and there. The second case is that of abridgment, where material not especially valuable to the Chronicler is condensed. This, again, is a rare occurrence. The third is where the Chronicler composes freely a passage of considerable length on the basis of a few words contained in the original source. There are not many instances of this nature.

<sup>9</sup>Some apparent instances of arbitrary alteration by the Chronicler are probably not such in reality. In II Chron. 13:2 (cf. 11:20!), for example, it is presumably the text which is at fault, and the most probable supposition is that a scribe accidentally omitted one whole line of his copy. From the analogy of numerous other passages, and especially with the aid of I Kings 15:8, 10 (where "Absalom" is plainly a mistake caused by vs. 2), 13, we may restore with confidence as follows: **וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ [מִעֲנָה בַת אֲבִשְׁלוֹם . וְיָקָה לָּו . אִשָּׁה אֶת] מִעֲנָה בַת אֲוִירָאֵל מִן גִּבְעָה .** "And his mother's name was *Muacah* the daughter of *Absalom*. And he took to wife (cf. 11:18, etc.) *Maacah* the daughter of *Uriel* of *Gibeah*." The text of I Kings 15:10 which lay before the Chronicler had preserved the correct reading.

The most important illustrations of the first case have often been described at length, so it is not necessary to do more than mention them here. The chief instance is the story of the coronation of the boy-king Josiah, in II Chron. 22:10—23:21. The original account, given in II Kings, chap. 11, is here rewritten in order to make it correspond to the recognized usage of the third century B. C. The Levites, singers, and porters, and the machinery of the later temple service, are now introduced. It was possible to do this without omitting more than a very little of the original narrative; accordingly, the changes made by the Chronicler consist chiefly in additions, as may be seen in Kittel's polychrome *Chronicles*.<sup>10</sup> The passage which almost immediately follows, 24:4-14, shows a different problem and therefore a different mode of procedure. The older account, II Kings 12:5-17, in the most of its essential features runs directly contrary to the views and customs of the Chronicler's day, in a very disturbing manner.<sup>11</sup> The whole passage might have been simply omitted by the Chronicler; but it offered some very interesting suggestions, and, what is more, the impression given by the book of Kings really needed to be "corrected." This was not a case where a few omissions, or any number of additions, would be of any use; the only possible way of dealing with the passage was to rewrite it thoroughly, giving it a new form, *and therefore a new meaning*, in practically every verse. The Chronicler would never change the form extensively where the meaning remained unchanged. The only cause for wonder here is, that he has managed to retain so much (about three dozen words) of the original.<sup>12</sup> This is the only instance of just this nature. Another good example of the Chronicler's free treatment of his material in the interest of his greater purpose is found in his account of the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem. The first part of the story, I Chron. 13:6-14, can be left as it was in II Sam. 6:2-11, though a special intro-

<sup>10</sup> Kittel's edition, however, is an unsafe guide. His overlining of words and passages is usually misleading, and so also is his use of colors, other than the light red which marks passages taken from Genesis, Samuel, and Kings. The Chronicler's authorship of the passage I Chron. 23:24-32, for example, is manifest in nearly every line.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Kittel's *Comm.*, p. 149, where the various points of difficulty are mentioned in detail.

<sup>12</sup> Benzinger, *Comm.*, p. 113, makes the following rather careless comment on this passage: "Im Unterschied von der Athaljageschichte zeigt sich diese Erzählung auch in der Form unabhängig von Reg; der Text von Reg ist hier gar nicht benutzt, vielmehr haben wir eine ganz selbständige Erzählung vor uns. Das ist nicht die Arbeitsweise von Chr [!], sondern er hat die Geschichte so schon in seiner Quelle vorgefunden." As though an unusual case might not necessitate an unusual method.



duction to it has to be written. But in the latter part, 15:25-28, the text of II Sam. 6:12-15 requires considerable revision to bring it into accordance with the Levitical ritual. I Chron. 21:1-30, again, is a most instructive example of free editing. It is the narrative of David's sin in numbering the people, and his purchase of the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. The original story, II Sam. 24:1-25, was unobjectionable so far as it went, and the Chronicler retains the greater part of it. But to his mind it fell short of doing justice to the theme. This was the time when King David was led to choose the spot on which the temple was afterward built, and therefore one of the most momentous occasions in all the history of Jerusalem. The Chronicler's imagination was aroused, and he embellishes the tale in characteristic manner. When it leaves his hands, it has become more impressive; the scenes are more dramatic, and the incidents more striking; and in numerous places the language has been altered in such a way as to increase the interest of the tale.<sup>13</sup> David sees the destroying angel in the heavens with his drawn sword stretched over Jerusalem; Ornan also sees the angel, while his four sons (unknown to the original narrative) hide themselves in terror; and so on. Every feature of this embellishment is in the Chronicler's own unmistakable manner. The story of Josiah's reforms, told in II Chron., chap. 34, is altered from the account in Kings in much the same way as the story of the coronation of Joash in chap. 23. The older narrative, II Kings 22:1—23:20, is improved upon by the introduction of the Levites, as well as the singers and porters. The long account of the removal of the abominations from the land, told in II Kings 23:4-20, is condensed into four verses (4-7), and transposed in order to show that the king instituted these reforms before the finding of the book of the law. The wording of the narrative in Kings is retained as far as possible.

The extensive alterations of the second class, namely abridgments, are fewer in number. In some cases, where the material of the older history was extended over more space than the Chronicler could well give to it, he presents a mere summary. One example of this proceeding has just been given, namely II Chron. 34:4-7, which is a condensation of the account of Josiah's

<sup>13</sup>The Chronicler is not long-winded, he is usually concise; and in a good many places he shows that he has the power of suggesting a scene with sufficient clearness by the use of half a dozen words, where most authors would need as many as sentences.

reforms given in II Kings 23:4-20. Another case is II Chron 22:7-9, where matter relating chiefly to the Northern Kingdom—and therefore not wanted—has been reduced to the smallest possible compass, giving only a bare statement of the events which concerned the king of Judah. Verse 7 summarizes II Kings 9:1-26, vs. 8 is the abridgment of II Kings 10:11-14, and vs. 9 is that of II Kings 9:27 f. In this case it seems plain that the Chronicler is abridging the narrative of Kings from memory, as indeed we might expect that he would.<sup>14</sup> Still another example is the story of Sennacherib and Hezekiah, as told in II Chron. 32:1-23. Here again the Chronicler abridges from memory. The original narrative, II Kings 18:13-19:37,<sup>15</sup> was much too extended for his purpose, and contained many things which he can have had no wish to reproduce. On the other hand, the reign of Hezekiah was a very important one in his scheme of the history, and the events of this siege, which were very well known, could not be passed over altogether. So he tells the story briefly in his own words, making it over entirely, retaining neither the form nor the substance of the older narrative. This again is an altogether unusual case, though it presents no difficulty.

The following are instances of the third class, where the Chronicler improvises at some length on a brief theme provided by his source. The short story of Josiah and Necho of Egypt, told in II Chron. 35:20-24, is typical of the cases in which the Chronicler builds up an edifying tale of his own on the basis of a few words in the older history. In the first place, the reason of the king's fate is made plain: he had disobeyed the command of God. Then the details of the brief story show the writer's passion for the picturesque, and the extreme vividness with which he himself saw, in imagination, the things which he merely suggests to his readers. In this case, he has introduced features of another narrative which ranks among the most dramatic in the books of Kings, namely the story of the death of Ahab at Ramoth-

<sup>14</sup> Kittel, *Comm.*, p. 145, and Benzinger, *Comm.*, pp. 110 f., are wrong in thinking that the narrative in Chron. contradicts that in Kings. "Samaria" in 22:9 is the *province*, just as in II Chron. 25:13, Ezr. 4:10 (see my note on that passage, above, p. 186), Neh. 3:34, etc., not the *city*. There is no discrepancy whatever between the two accounts. It is neither said nor even implied in Chron. that the events of vs. 8 were chronologically subsequent to those of vs. 7; on the contrary, vs. 7 is intended as the general summary of the whole matter. Nor is it said (as Benzinger asserts) that Ahaziah was buried in Samaria(!).

<sup>15</sup> The Chronicler had before him also Isaiah 36-39, as is evident from II Chron. 32:32 (where we must read סַרְסַר, as is shown both by the context and also by the witness of the Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions). In all probability, the book of Isaiah which he had was of the same extent and form as our own.

Gilead, I Kings 22: 29-38. The Chronicler had incorporated it in his own history, II Chron. 18: 28-34; and it seems to have been again suggested to him here by the statement regarding Josiah, in II Kings 23: 30, that the dying king was brought back from the battlefield to Jerusalem in his chariot. This brought the whole scene before his eyes, and he sketched it afresh. The incident of the disguise<sup>16</sup> would suit here very well, as it would show why the king's attendants were permitted to take him away from the field of battle. As in the former instance, the king was slain by random arrows, shot by archers who did not know his rank. The fact that the story of Ahab was in the Chronicler's mind is shown further by one striking verbal reminiscence, the phrase **בִּי הַהֶלִיתִי**, whose verb occurs only in these two passages. A much more prominent instance belonging to this class is furnished by II Chron., chaps. 2 and 3, the account of the building of Solomon's temple. The motive for editorial alteration here was of course the same as that which we saw at work in I Chron. 21; the older narrative was too meager for the theme. In that instance, a few additions here and there sufficed; in the case now before us, the Chronicler took the history into his own hands, building up two new chapters on the basis of materials contained in I Kings, chaps. 5 ff. Especially characteristic is the way in which the correspondence between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre is expanded (cf. the mention made above, p. 146). A very good illustration of the Chronicler's literary skill is his transposition of the first men-

<sup>16</sup>The word **הַתְּחַפֵּשׂ** in 35: 23 has often been challenged, partly because the "disguise" comes so unexpectedly, and partly because the versions do not give the usual equivalent of this word. The Greek of Theodotion renders as though **הַתְּחַזֵּק** stood in the text. I Esdr. 1: 26 (*ἐπιχελερεῖ*) and the Vulgate of Chron. (*praeparavit*) render **הַתְּחַפֵּשׂ**, but with an attempt to keep near to the usual root-meaning of **הַפֵּשׂ**, "seek." The Syriac is ambiguous—very likely led astray by the Greek, as so often happens—but certainly did not have **הַתְּחַזֵּק**. The massoretic reading is undoubtedly right, and in all likelihood it is the reading which lay before every one of the translators named, even Theodotion; though in this last case the Hebrew may have been foolishly corrected.

Verse 21 has given the commentators unnecessary trouble, for the text is perfectly sound. The sentence: **לֹא זָלִיד אֶתָּה הַיּוֹם כִּי אֵל בַּיִת מִלְחַמָּתִי** must be rendered: "Not against thee (am I coming) today, but to the country with which I am at war." **בַּיִת** **דָּאר חַרְבִּי** = **מִלְחַמָּתִי**. The omission of the Hebrew equivalent of the words in parenthesis is nothing unusual in Chron.; see Driver's list of the Chronicler's usages, no. 27. Theodotion probably rendered freely, but his Hebrew text may have been corrupt. I Esdr. and Jerome try to make **מִלְחַמָּתִי** the subject of the sentence, and then each attempts in his own fashion to solve the resulting difficulty. (The "critical" apparatus in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* suggests that the Vulgate read **בַּיִת אַחֵר**, which in turn might have been a corruption of **בַּיִת אֲשֶׁר**! Further, we are directed by this same apparatus to read **אֲנִי אֶתָּה** in place of the pronoun **אֶתָּה**. But even the Chronicler himself would not have perpetrated such curious Hebrew as this.)

tion of Hiram (or Hiram),<sup>17</sup> the Phoenician craftsman, from the account of the actual building of the temple (I Kings 7:13 f.) to the letter written by the Tyrian king, II Chron. 2:12 f. Aside from these examples taken from the Chronicler's narrative, there are others, equally instructive, which show how freely he could deal with the statistics which came under his hand; using what he needed, and manufacturing what he pleased, always with his eye fixed either on the actual circumstances and regulations of the time in which he lived, or else on certain ideal conditions suggested by those existing in his own day. Thus, in I Chron. 27:2-15 he takes names which are given in II Sam., chap. 23, and builds about them in characteristic fashion. What he aimed to establish here was the regular monthly succession of these twelve great captains, each with his twenty-four thousand men (the Chronicler is especially fond of multiples of twelve). Another example of the same sort is I Chron. 6:46-48 (61-63), which is a free composition by the Chronicler on the basis of material in Joshua 21:5-7.

This will suffice for a description of the Chronicler's editorial proceedings in the first part of his history, from Adam to Nebuchadnezzar. As was stated at the outset, he ordinarily transcribes his source practically unaltered, selecting the chapters which he needs, and transferring them in solid blocks with substantially the original wording. It remains to ask whether the edited portions, where the original source is expanded or rewritten, are entirely the work of his own hand, or partly that of some other editor. It often happens, of course, that definite marks of the Chronicler's presence are not to be found. His peculiarities of style and linguistic usage are strongly marked, it is true, but such peculiarities generally have little opportunity to show themselves in passages which contain merely a refashioning—even a thorough refashioning—of older material. Nevertheless, the purely linguistic evidence of his handiwork is satisfactory;

<sup>17</sup> The Chronicler wrote in every case "Hiram," for both the king and the craftsman. The name of the latter, which has caused great discussion, is found in II Chron. 2:12 (corresponding to I Kings 7:13), 4:11, 16 (= I Kings 7:40, 45). In II Chron. 2:12, **לְהָרִים אֲבִי** must be rendered: "Namely Hiram, my trusted counselor;" and in II Chron. 4:16 the translation of the words **הָרִים אֲבִיו לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה** must be: "Hiram, the trusted counselor of King Solomon;" for the peculiar construction in this latter case, paralleled several times in the later Hebrew of the Old Testament, and especially in Chron., see König, *Syntax*, pp. 256 f. The Hebrew text (saving the variations Hiram—Hiröm—Hüram) is correct in all of the six passages involved. It is by one of the Chronicler's best literary touches that the man whom he had made King Hiram describe as his own "intimate adviser" is later on styled the "intimate adviser" of King Solomon.

a tell-tale word or construction appears every now and then, especially in the verses which have been interpolated by him. But far more important than any testimony of words and phrases is the evidence of the editorial purpose. We have before us a man in a definite historical situation, with a great problem confronting him which we can at least partially understand. We know something of the surroundings in which he lived, and a little concerning his personal sympathies and prejudices. He had before him our Old Testament historical books, and wished to use them as a foundation for a new history of his own. He preferred to make his extracts in the easiest way—by mere transcription—as a general rule; but where alteration was necessary or desirable for his purposes, he was ready to take any liberty with his sources (as every Old Testament scholar recognizes in such cases as the story of David bringing back the ark, the account of the coronation of Joash, the frequent substitution of very large numbers, and so on). The question is, then, whether this editor of whom we know can reasonably be supposed to have done all the editing and expanding of Gen.-Sam.-Kings which we see before us in the books of Chronicles. And the answer is plain. There is no internal evidence, anywhere, of an intermediate source between our Old Testament books and the Chronicler. On the contrary, every minor or major alteration which appears in I and II Chron. finds its obvious explanation in the Chronicler's aims which have already been indicated. There is not even one passage in which his proceeding is hard to understand. As for the "sources"—a long list of them—which he names from time to time (though he nowhere directly claims to have used any of them!), they are a mere show, as will appear presently. He himself, then, is the only editor with whom we have to deal.

## 2. *In Ezra-Nehemiah*

In the Chronicler's history of the Jews after the exile we are obliged, unfortunately, to depend chiefly upon internal evidence for our conclusions as to the sources which he used. We have merely what he himself has given us, and from that and our knowledge of his habits in the pre-exilic history we must form our opinion of his editorial proceedings here.

We know that he has used at least two documents; namely, an Aramaic story, *Ezr.* 4:8—6:18, written by one of his own school,

and probably of his own generation; and the "Words of Nehemiah," including (as I have shown elsewhere) the greater part of the first six chapters of Nehemiah.<sup>18</sup> The methods which he employs, in incorporating these documents in his narrative, are, so far as we are able to judge, identical with those employed in the books of Chronicles.

It certainly seems to be the case that both documents have been left untouched throughout the greater part of their extent. I have already discussed elsewhere the traces of the Chronicler's hand in the Aramaic story (see above, pp. 158 ff.). From Ezr. 4:8 to 6:8, and again through 6:11-14, there is no sign of his presence. It is quite possible that single words, or even phrases, may have been altered or added by him, here and there; just as we have seen him make insignificant verbal changes in some of the chapters in Sam. and Kings which he transcribes. But we may be sure that he has contributed nothing of importance to the Aramaic passages just named, and it is quite likely that he has not even changed a single word. Again, in Neh. 1:1-2:6; 2:9b-20; 4:1-6:19, we seem to have solid blocks of the Nehemiah narrative, transmitted with little or no editorial alteration. Here also we must conclude that if the Chronicler took any independent part, it was too slight to deserve consideration. In one place, 5:13, we seem to have one of those minor interpolations which he occasionally makes, namely the phrase: "And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised Yahwè."<sup>19</sup> A few other things, here and there, appear to give evidence of his presence, but it is hardly possible to go beyond the mere suspicion. The language and style throughout these long sections are totally different from those of the Chronicler,<sup>20</sup> and it would be out of the question to think of him as the author of any extended passage.

The way in which the Chronicler makes considerable editorial additions to these two documents in Ezra-Neh. corresponds exactly to his mode of proceeding in the books of Chronicles. The Aramaic story in its original form (as I have elsewhere argued; *loc. cit.*, p. 161) probably began with the words: "*In the days of Artaxerxes the king wrote Rehum the reporter*

<sup>18</sup> See my *Composition of Ezra-Neh.*, pp. 35-49; and above, pp. 157-61.

<sup>19</sup> *Composition*, p. 39.

<sup>20</sup> This, of course, does not apply to the prayer, 1:5-11, which is built up of stock phrases, mostly Deuteronomic, and might as well have been written by the Chronicler as by anyone else.



and Shimshai the scribe," etc., as in Ezr. 4:8. The Chronicler composed two introductory verses, 6, 7, at the same time altering slightly the beginning of the incorporated passage. This is just what he does over and over again, all through the earlier part of his history; see, for example, I Chron. 11:10, 13:1 ff., II Chron. 1:1 ff., 2:1, 18:1 f., 24:4 f., 34:14. In the letter of Darius to Tattenai and his associates he has made one of his characteristic interpolations, Ezr. 6:9 f. This passage, brief as it is, is filled with the tokens of his presence, as I have elsewhere shown. It is not a case of revision, both verses are entirely his own. Brief passages of this sort are interpolated in many places in the pre-exilic history; with this particular instance cf. especially II Chron. 2:9, 14, observing the addition to the text of Kings. At the end of the Aramaic story, moreover, the Chronicler appends a passage of his own, Ezr. 6:15-18, filled to the brim with characteristic material. So with the additions to the Nehemiah story. Three verses, Neh. 2:7-9a, are interpolated at the point where the king grants his permission. The Chronicler saw a good opportunity to introduce one or two features in which he elsewhere shows great interest. Cf. especially I Esdr. 4:47b-56 (and my notes on the passage, *loc. cit.*, pp. 125 ff.), and see also my *Composition*, p. 36, where the numerous parallels are indicated. His always lively imagination shows itself here in the same varieties of embellishment with which we are familiar. He gives the name (his favorite "Asaph"! ) of the keeper of the royal forest, and shows his customary interest in the buildings of Jerusalem; see above, p. 216. In chap. 3, vss. 1-32 are from the Chronicler's hand. This passage appears to be an independent creation of his, not based on anything written by Nehemiah, and it will therefore be mentioned later. The immediately following passage, 3:33-38 (English trans., 4:1-6), has always seemed to me to be at least in part the work of the Chronicler. I formerly thought (*Comp.*, pp. 38, 50) that the most of it might be saved for Nehemiah, but further study has convinced me that the six verses are all from the Chronicler's hand. The passage sounds like his writing throughout its whole extent, but the subject-matter is so unusual that characteristic words and phrases are not to be found. With רָפָא, "restore," in vs. 34 cf. I Chron. 11:8. The collocation of the two words רָפָא and צְבָא occurs elsewhere only in II Chron. 28:14. And what was the "army of Samaria," before which

Sanaballat made his speech (vs. 34)?<sup>21</sup> The Chronicler's imagination pictured a standing army of hostile Samaritans; it is less likely that Nehemiah himself would have used the phrase **הֵיל שְׂמִרָה**. Later than this (4:2) he speaks of a coalition and the collecting of an army to come against Jerusalem, which is something different. It is to be observed, furthermore, that the three passages, 2:19 f., 3:33 ff., and 4:1 ff., repeat one another rather awkwardly, and that the awkwardness is very much increased when the Chronicler's interpolation, 3:1-32, is removed. And finally, in regard to vss. 36 f. Siegfried, *Comm.*, writes: "Neh. bewegt sich durchaus in den Wendungen der nach-exilischen Psalmendichtung." This is not altogether easy to believe of Nehemiah, but we know it to be true of the Chronicler; and to the latter it seems best, for every reason, to attribute the whole passage.<sup>22</sup> His purpose in inserting it is precisely the same which he had in inserting I Chron. 12:38-40, or II Chron. 21:12-15, or the many other equally striking episodes; namely, the purpose of a first-class narrator to take full advantage of the most important situations. The passage 6:16-19 I am also inclined to attribute to the Chronicler for reasons which I will not take the time to discuss here.<sup>23</sup>

Cases of thoroughgoing alteration of material are of course not to be found in Ezra-Nehemiah. It is not likely that any such alteration took place here; nor, if it had, should we be able to recognize it. The Aramaic story would never have been corrected in the interest of the Chronicler's aim; its tendency, from beginning to end, was substantially the same as his own. There is nothing whatever to indicate that it has been either abridged or expanded by him, or that any change in it was made, aside from the few additions which have already been described. So also with the Nehemiah narrative. If there has been any more extensive editing than that which has just been pointed

<sup>21</sup> Of course it is probable, as I have said before, that the Sanaballat of the Elephantine papyri is the one mentioned by Nehemiah.

<sup>22</sup> I formerly thought (*Comp.*, pp. 35, 47) that the presence of the word **יהודים**, "Jews," testified against the Chronicler's authorship. This is not the case, however; he uses the word in I Esdr. 4:49, 50, as well as in Neh. 13:23. It is merely accidental that he does not use it oftener.

<sup>23</sup> It is quite likely, further, that the prayer of Nehemiah, 1:5-11a, has at least been edited by the Chronicler. Among the occasional words and phrases which I have suspected of belonging to the latter writer are: the name, "Hanani," in 1:2 (cf. 7:2); possibly 2:13 f. 7; the last clause of 2:20; the "Ashdodites" in 4:1; and the whole middle part of 5:14, from **מִשְׁנֵה** to **שְׂרָה** (cf. 13:6). The last-named passage is an important one.

out, we have at least no evidence of the fact. It appears that Nehemiah's own personal memoir ended either with 6:15 or with 6:19. If the following chapters, 7, 11, 12, and 13,<sup>24</sup> are in any way based on material originally provided by Nehemiah, they at all events contain nothing to indicate the fact. On the contrary, they seem to be filled full with the Chronicler's own familiar themes and materials (not at all like the things in which Nehemiah himself shows interest!), and are couched throughout in his own language. Knowing, as we do, his method of writing the pre-exilic part of the history, where he originated by himself about as much material as he obtained from others (see below), no theory of editorial alteration in the last chapters of Nehemiah can have scientific value.

### III. THE CHRONICLER AS INDEPENDENT NARRATOR

#### 1. *The Sources, Real and Imaginary, in I and II Chron.*

The sixty-five chapters which make up the books of I and II Chron. occupy fifty pages in Kittel's polychrome edition. Of this amount, nearly one half is printed in plain black and white by Kittel. That is, about one half of the material of this important document is known to us only as it comes from the hand of the Chronicler, being altogether independent of any other documents with which we are acquainted. Whoever approaches the book with the idea that it is merely an edition of the canonical history (as it is sometimes styled) will be amazed to find out how much of this added matter there is. And the character of the matter, if anyone examines it carefully, will soon tell its own story in unequivocal fashion. It does not consist of mere appendages to the older history, *it is itself the important part*. The whole work was planned and executed for the sake of these independent chapters and paragraphs. Its author, as we have seen, was a man with a definite and important aim, and it was just here that his purpose was carried out.

The Chronicler, as he wrote, had before him the Pentateuch, and the historical books of the Old Testament, from Joshua to II Kings; the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and probably all, or nearly all, of the other prophetic writings known to us; also the greater part of the Psalter. So far as we are able to judge, the

<sup>24</sup>As I have shown elsewhere, chaps. 8-10 originally belonged to the Ezra story, and were transferred to the book of Nehemiah through the error of a copyist.

form in which he had these books was substantially identical with the form in which we have them now. Against the probability that any other historical material of value was at his command stand some very potent facts, as many scholars have remarked. The Jews of the third century B. C. did not even have in their possession historical traditions regarding the first half of the Persian period (see above, p. 156), to say nothing of a still earlier time. In the books of Samuel and Kings, which were given their present form some considerable time after the fall of Jerusalem, was embodied all that was known of the history of the Hebrew kingdoms; there is no likelihood whatever that other records, not used by the editors of Kings, were in existence and survived until the Chronicler's day.

Nevertheless the Chronicler, in a series of allusions scattered through his book, presents us with the names of a most impressive collection of historical works, of which certainly the most, and probably all, are otherwise unknown to us. These are the following:

1. The Acts (דברי) of Samuel the Seer. I Chron. 29:29.
2. The Acts of Nathan the Prophet. I Chron. 29:29, II Chron. 9:29.
3. The Acts of Gad the Seer. I Chron. 29:29.
4. The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite. II Chron. 9:29.
5. The Vision of Iddo the Seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat. II Chron. 9:29. (The writings named thus far are said by the Chronicler to contain information regarding the deeds of David or of Solomon.)
6. The Acts of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer. II Chron. 12:15.
7. The Teaching (מידרש)<sup>25</sup> of the Prophet Iddo. II Chron. 13:22.
8. The Acts of Jehu the son of Hanani, "which are included in the Book of the Kings of Israel." II Chron. 20:34.
9. A book written by "Isaiah the son of Amoz, the prophet," containing "the rest of the acts of Uzziah." II Chron. 26:22.
10. The "acts of seers" who are not named. II Chron.

<sup>25</sup> The precise meaning of the word, occurring here and in no. 15, is uncertain. It must at any rate be connected with the common use of the verb דרש in the meaning "search (for truth)," "inquire into," and the like. Perhaps originally this noun formed with the prefix *ma-* denoted the "place where the inquirer is to search," and thence "authoritative teaching." It is hardly safe to assume that the word in these two passages had the very same connotation as the later technical term, "*midrash*."

33:19.<sup>26</sup> These are the seers who lived in the time of Manasseh, and are said by the Chronicler to have written down his acts.

11. The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah. I Chron. 9:1,<sup>27</sup> II Chron. 27:7, 35:27. It is possible that in this and the three (or four) following numbers we have merely variations of the same title. It is plainly not *our* Book of Kings to which reference is made; see especially I Chron. 9:1, II Chron. 20:34, 27:7, 33:18, 36:8.

12. The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. II Chron. 16:11, 25:26, 28:26, 32:32.

13. The Book of the Kings of Israel. II Chron. 20:34 (see the reference to this passage above, in no. 11).

14. The Acts of the Kings of Israel. II Chron. 33:18. Said to contain the prayer of Manasseh, and the words of the seers who warned him.

15. The Teaching (שִׁנְיָה)<sup>28</sup> of the Book of Kings. II Chron. 24:27.

The Chronicler nowhere expressly quotes from any one of these works; he does not even say that he himself made use of any of them as sources. But he plainly wishes to give the impression that he is writing with authority, and concerning matters which were well known, at least to the inner circle in Jerusalem which preserved the true tradition. Obviously, some of these titles are a mere literary adornment, designed to give the impression just described, and any close study of the evidence leads to the same conclusion in regard to all the titles in the list.

The material which has come to us only through the books of Chronicles is perfectly homogeneous, the work of a single hand. It is impossible to suppose that any part of it is excerpted, as the Chronicler habitually excerpts from the sources which we know him to have used. It is certainly not the case that Samuel, Nathan, Gad, Ahijah, Iddo, Shemaiah, Jehu, Isaiah, and the authors of the other "sources," used all exactly the same language and style, and wrote with the selfsame tendency. But this is not all. The language, style, and tendency, throughout these long

<sup>26</sup>The text of the verse seems to be corrupt. MT and Jerome read "Hezai," a proper name. Theodotion probably had before him חֲזַיָּה (without the article), and this is the most likely reading; cf. vs. 18. The Syriac has "Hanan the prophet."

<sup>27</sup>So, of course, the verse must be punctuated, as in all the old versions.

<sup>28</sup>See no. 7, and the note there.

and important chapters and sections, *are those of the Chronicler himself and of no one else*. This is well stated by Driver, *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. "Chronicles," col. 772: "The style of the Chronicler has remarkable peculiarities. It is not merely that it presents characteristically late linguistic novelties, . . . but it has also a number of special mannerisms. . . . So constant are [these marks] that there is hardly a sentence, *not excerpted from Samuel or Kings*,<sup>29</sup> in which they are not observable." And yet Professor Driver, sharing the traditional disinclination to believe that the Chronicler himself invented any *long* passages—though he supposes him very frequently to have invented *short* ones!—expresses himself as follows in his *Introduction*<sup>2</sup>, p. 493. After drawing the conclusion that all this added matter must be either the composition of the Chronicler or derived from *a contemporary writing*, he adds, in a footnote: "The former alternative is decidedly the more probable; but the latter cannot be absolutely excluded. The author of the 'Midrash of the Book of Kings' *may*, for instance, have used a style and diction similar to those of the Chronicler." But this is lame reasoning. What logical value is there in the suggestion that some (why not all?) of the added matter may have been composed not by the Chronicler, but by another writer who wrote at the same time, with the same aim (*ibid.*, p. 498), and employing the same peculiar language and style? This is really a *reductio ad absurdum*. It is time that scholars were done with this phantom "source," of which the internal evidence is absolutely lacking, and the external evidence is limited to the Chronicler's transparent parading of "authorities;" while the evidence against it is overwhelming.<sup>30</sup> It may be added, that the hypothesis of a "midrashic" source, of which such very free conjectural use has been made by modern scholars, does not at all suffice to explain the Chronicler's added matter. The latter does *not* consist, for the most part, of moral and religious lessons, nor is it an expansion or explanation of an older text. It is motivated history; and the one thing which is fundamental to it everywhere is the studied purpose of an earnest man. Nothing is included by accident, nowhere is any other aim than the Chronicler's apparent. What we have is a consistently altered picture—the Chronicler's own picture—of the whole history, every single portion sup-

<sup>29</sup>The italics are mine.

<sup>30</sup>If Chronicles had not been a sadly neglected book, these manifestly untenable theories could not have held the field for so long a time.



porting and supplementing every other portion. As has already been said, it was this added material that formed the all-important part of the work.

The Old Testament writers, in their methods and practices, seem generally to have followed the traditions of their time; and in thus making an impressive (though equivocal) show of authorities, the Chronicler was doing what many ancient writers of note have done.<sup>31</sup> What he aimed at was partly literary adornment,<sup>32</sup> but partly also an apologetic advantage. He certainly could not count on the immediate success of his improved version of the sacred history, and it might be that even these allusions to ancient writings, presumably known in Jerusalem, would be of assistance against the rivals of the Jews. I believe, however, that the literary motive was the principal one. Be that as it may, the necessary conclusion as to the origin of the material of I and II Chron. not derived from our canonical books is this, that it was all freely composed by the Chronicler himself, in the pursuit of his apologetic aim.

## 2. *The Chronicler's Characteristics as a Narrator*

So much has been said on this subject already, in the course of the preceding argument, that it is possible to be brief here. The Chronicler has some very strong points as a story-teller, though they have been generally overlooked because of the traditional view of him as a mere compiler. I have already given some examples of the way in which he occasionally "retouches" the older narrative by introducing into it local color and fresh incident (above, pp. 217, 219). The story of Ornan the Jebusite, as retold by him in I Chron. 21, furnishes a typical instance. His imagination is not the mere bondservant of his tendency. He very frequently creates new pictures and invents striking details with a dogmatic purpose, it is true, but perhaps quite as often with a purely literary aim. Few, if any, of all the narrators of the Old Testament could surpass him in vividness of imagination. Every

<sup>31</sup> See, for illustration, Bernheim, *Historische Methode*, 272 ff.; James, *Apocrypha Anecdota* ii, p. xvii.

<sup>32</sup> I have no doubt that it is a purely literary embellishment when the latest editor of the Books of Kings speaks of "The Book of the Acts of Solomon," "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," as of works which at least had been in existence: "The rest of his acts, . . . were they not written, etc.?" It is not in the least likely that this editor had seen such chronicles, nor does he say that he had. But he wished to offset in this harmless way, so far as he could, the humiliating effect of this extremely meager account of the Hebrew Kings. I Macc. 16:23 f. is a very similar case, as I have argued elsewhere (*Encycl. Bibl.*, III, col. 2862 f.).

scene stands out clearly before his eyes, as his thought creates the successive incidents. Everything is alive, and in movement. He is fond of putting things in the most concrete form, giving places, names, and dates, even when he is thus taking liberties with the older history. If his skill—or care—in telling the story were equal to his power of invention, he would stand among the first of Hebrew writers. But this is unfortunately not the case. In constructing his narrative he is often careless, sometimes extremely so; his language is inelegant, even for the time in which he lived; and his style is slovenly to the last degree.

The following instances, picked up at random, may serve to illustrate further his chief characteristics. II Chron. 22:11*b*; the statement that Jehosheba was the wife of Jehoiada the priest is the addition of a true story-teller. This is perhaps a little more than a literary touch, to be sure, since by means of it the credit for the rescue of the boy king is given entirely to the priests and Levites. II Chron. 21:12–15; the introduction of the letter from the prophet Elijah to Joram of Judah is the same sort of lively editing which we have in the case of the Hiram-Solomon correspondence (mentioned above). Of a similar nature are the speeches which the Chronicler is so very fond of putting into the mouth of his characters.<sup>33</sup> Their purpose is simply to lend a certain dramatic vividness to the narration. A good example is I Chron. 12:18. In II Chron. 21:16 *f.* the Chronicler removes in a picturesque way all the sons of the wicked queen Athaliah, excepting only the one (the youngest) who afterward reigned. The inveterate fondness for furnishing a date is illustrated in 16:12: "And in the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa was diseased in his feet" (cf. I Kings 15:23). And it is with names as it is with dates; where the ordinary narrator merely tells the occurrence, the Chronicler gives the name of the man. Thus 14:8: "There came out against them Zerah the Ethiopian." There is no reason for thinking of possible "written sources," in the many cases of this kind. No one was better able to invent such names than the Chronicler himself.

II Chron. 24:15–22 is a bit of narrative which illustrates both the Chronicler's didactic habit and also his manner as a narrator. Vs. 20, in particular, is characteristic: "And the spirit of God came upon Zechariah the son of Jehoiada the priest; and he

<sup>33</sup> See Driver, *Encycl. Bibl.*, *loc. cit.*, col. 772, and note 2.

stood above the people, and said unto them, Thus saith God, Why transgress ye the commandments of Yahwè?" The motives which led the Chronicler to create this episode are obvious. The sad end of Joash (II Kings 12:17-21), who had done so many good things in his lifetime, needed some preparation in the preceding history, and this was accordingly provided. Even after the death of Jehoiada (the narrator would say), the king and the princes were not left without admonition; the son of that famous priest began to rebuke them, but was slain by the command of the king. This was all laid close at the narrator's hand by the needs of the situation; but the enlivening touches, the spoken words, and the picture of the young priest "standing above" the people, are marks of the Chronicler's individuality. II Chron. 16:7-12 is another case which affords an excellent parallel. Here the good king who goes astray is Asa. The prophet who warns him is Hanani.<sup>34</sup> Asa, like Joash, is enraged, and puts the seer in a dungeon. Then this king also, like the other, comes to a mournful end (as told in I Kings 15:23). The story of Uzziah is another parallel. Here we are told in II Kings 15:5 that the good king became a leper, and the Chronicler tells the reason why; II Chron. 26:16-20. This time it is a priest who withstands the king and utters the rebuke which is quoted. Cf. further 20:14-17, and 28:9-13.

The following are minor touches illustrating the Chronicler's imaginative way of narrating. I Chron. 11:23: "In the Egyptian's hand was a spear *like a weaver's beam*" (cf. II Sam. 23:21). We might also expect the Chronicler to give the name of this Egyptian. 12:8: David's Gadite warriors were men "*whose faces were like the faces of lions*, and they were as swift as the roes upon the mountains." And among these same warriors were those (vs. 15) "who went over Jordan *in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks.*" And in vs. 39, those who came to Hebron to make David king "were there with David *three days, eating and drinking.*" 28:2: "Then David the king *stood up upon his feet*, and said, Hear me, my brethren," etc. II Chron. 13:4: "And Abijah *stood upon Mount Zemaraim*, . . . and said, Hear me, Jeroboam and all Israel." 16:14: When Asa was buried, "they laid him *in a bed which was prepared with per-*

<sup>34</sup> Known in I Kings 16:1, 7 only by name, as the father of the prophet Jehu. The name Hanani(ah) is one of the Chronicler's favorites, being introduced by him wherever there is opportunity. See for example II Chron. 26:11.

*fumes and spices of many kinds*' (Asa was one of the Chronicler's favorite characters). 20:5: "And Jehoshaphat stood in the congregation of Judah and Jerusalem, in the house of Yahwè, *before the new court.*" Vs. 16, speaking of a coming encounter with the forces of Edom, Ammon, and Moab: "Ye shall find them *at the end of the valley,* before the wilderness of Jeruel." The Chronicler's imagination locates the scene exactly, as usual. Vss. 18 f.: Jehoshaphat and all the people bowed down with their faces to the ground, "and *the Levites . . . stood up* to sing praises," etc. 26:16 ff., the story of Uzziah's trespass: As the king stood there in his anger, "the leprosy *broke forth in his forehead* in the sight of the priests. . . . And they thrust him out quickly from thence; yea, *he himself hastened to go out.*" 28:7: "And *Zikri, a mighty man of Ephraim, slew Maaseiah the King's son,*" and others whose names are likewise invented with the sole purpose of giving life to the narrative. 29:3 f.: King Hezekiah, "*in the first year of his reign, in the first month,* opened the doors of the house of Yahwè, and repaired them. And he brought in the priests and the Levites, and gathered them together *into the broad place on the east.*" 35:20, at the time when Josiah went out to meet Necho, the latter was marching to battle "*at Carchemish* on the Euphrates."

All the embellishment of this kind, which is purely literary, is valuable for the light which it throws on the Chronicler's qualities as a composer of narrative. It has received little attention hitherto, for the obvious reason that it has been customary to relieve the Chronicler of the responsibility for this material, supposing him to have derived it from older writers, especially "the mid-rashic source" and "the lost book of Kings." But every particle of it bears the plain stamp of one man's hand.

Those independent contributions to the history which have been made by the Chronicler in the interest of the Levitical organization, and of the religious beliefs and practices of his day, have been treated often and well; though they have not been adequately studied from the literary side, and even those who have discussed them most fully have been content to leave open the bewildering possibility that they (or some of them) were not written by the Chronicler, but by another man who lived at about the same time, had the same views, and wrote in the same peculiar manner. Examples of narrative which originated in the Chroni-

cler's well-known prejudices may be passed over here, important as they are. But, as I have already shown, he was not a mere dealer in *midrashim*, but the champion of a great cause. His interest in the Levitical organization was only one feature (though a very important feature) of his interest in all the peculiarly Jewish religious institutions. And he repeatedly invents historical episodes in which his controversial purpose can be seen.

His defense of the sole authority of the church in Jerusalem, and his half-concealed polemic<sup>35</sup> against the Samaritans in particular, make their appearance with emphasis as soon as he comes in his history to the dividing of the kingdom. The reason why the Northern Kingdom of Israel is generally left out of account by him is mainly because it lay outside the sphere of his chief purpose,<sup>36</sup> but is found also in the fact that in his own day rival Hebrew organizations, and especially the church on Mount Gerizim, were using the existence of this Northern Kingdom as a weapon against the pretensions of the Jews. At the very beginning of his account of the schism, in the story of Abijah and his war with Jeroboam, the Chronicler lays down his main thesis in a very conspicuous manner. The king of Judah delivers an oration, II Chron. 13: 4-12, in which, after showing that the men of the northern kingdom were apostates and idolaters (vss. 5-8), he utters these words: "Have ye not driven out the priests of Yahwè, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made for yourselves priests from the people of the land?<sup>37</sup> Whoever cometh to consecrate himself with a young bullock and seven rams, he may become a priest to your false gods. <sup>10</sup>But as for us, Yahwè is our God, and we have not forsaken him. We have priests ministering to Yahwè, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites in their work. <sup>11</sup>And they [i. e., the priests]<sup>38</sup> burn unto Yahwè every morning and every evening burnt offerings and sweet incense; the showbread also is set in order on the pure table, and the golden candlestick with

<sup>35</sup> He was of course much too shrewd a man to introduce into his history any open polemic against the Samaritans. Anything resembling this must immediately have spoiled the effect of his whole work. If it could easily be recognized as a party document, he might as well have spared himself the trouble of writing it. His whole hope of success lay in giving the appearance of history, built up out of material which antedated the Samaritan schism.

<sup>36</sup> And yet we can imagine that the Chronicler, with his zeal for the glory of the Hebrew people as over against the other peoples of the earth, might have been glad to make mention of the external prosperity of such reigns as those of Ahab and Jeroboam II.

<sup>37</sup> Read מִצְמִיר הָאָרְצוֹת, following the Greek, ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς γῆς.

<sup>38</sup> The Chronicler, in his usual slovenly style, attaches the participle מְקַטְרִים to its predecessor מִשְׁרָתֵיכֶם as though nothing had intervened.

its lamps, to burn every evening. *For we keep the charge of Yahwè our God, but ye have forsaken him.*" The purpose of all this is as plain as day. It is precisely the main purpose of the whole book of Ezra, and of chaps. 7-13 of the book of Nehemiah; namely, to show that the Samaritans, who claimed to be the heirs of the Northern Kingdom, and a legitimate branch of the people of Yahwè, had no right to recognition. The Chronicler here, as elsewhere, insists on the pure blood, not contaminated by intermarriage; and he enumerates the details of the orthodox forms of the worship, as it existed in his day in Jerusalem, but nowhere else, not even on Mount Gerizim. The Samaritan priests are men of the **לְוִיִּם הַקְּדוֹשִׁים**, however near they may keep to the regulations of the Pentateuch.<sup>39</sup> So also with the rest of the officials and the apparatus of the temple. In the church which had its center at Shechem, the Levites of the Chronicler's Jerusalem, with their important tasks and elaborate organization, did not exist.<sup>40</sup> Jerusalem preserved the true tradition of the cult; in departing from it these northern rivals were apostates. In the development of his theme the Chronicler composes here an elaborate narrative of 18 verses, containing the account of an ambush, the slaying of 500,000 men of the Northern Kingdom (thus the pure Hebrew stock there suffered a great diminution at the very beginning!), and the names of the cities which Judah captured on this occasion.

Another instance of this nature is II Chron. 25:6-10, 13. Amaziah, in undertaking an important expedition against the Edomites, hires a large body of warriors from Israel. A prophet warns him that "Yahwè is not with" the people of the Northern Kingdom; so he sends the army back, and it returns home "in fierce anger." Bent on revenge, it lays waste the cities of northern Judea. Similar in its motive, again, is the story told in 28:6-15. This is very lively, and full of incident. The principal scene is vividly sketched, two speeches are reported *verbatim*, and the names of nine characters, otherwise unknown, are given. This

<sup>39</sup> With the "young bullock and seven rams" of vs. 9 compare Exod. 29:1, 35, etc. Perhaps the Chronicler is not trying to be exact in these verses, but it may well be that we are to recognize in them both what *was* and what *was not* included in the official ritual of the Samaritan church in the Chronicler's day.

<sup>40</sup> The term "Levites" here of course includes "porters" and "singers," just as it does everywhere else in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. where there is no special reason for distinguishing the separate classes. In the following narrative, vs. 12, 14, the priests appear with trumpets as in I Chron. 15:24, Ezr. 3:10, Neh. 12:35, etc. This occasion (actual battle!) would be no place for the "singers." Kittel, *Comm.*, p. 130, writes without due consideration.



affords a very good example, in brief compass, of the Chronicler's skill as a novelist.

A considerable part of the Chronicler's independent narrative is not controversial at all, but simply composed with a didactic aim. In the cases of this kind, as in the others, it is his habit to carry back into the history of earlier times the things which he either saw, or would like to see, in his own day. A very good example is furnished by the two passages, II Chron. 17:7-10 and 19:4-11. King Jehoshaphat wished all his people to know the Pentateuch and be governed by it. He therefore in the third year of his reign appointed men to visit all the cities of Judah, teaching the law of Moses and acting as judges in accordance with it (17:7 ff.). This worked so well that "the fear of Yahwè fell upon all the kingdoms of the lands that were round about Judah, so that they made no war against Jehoshaphat" (vs. 10). Some years later, accordingly, after the king had become well established in his kingdom, he renewed this appointment of judges and teachers, making the organization more formal and thorough, as well as more permanent (19:4 ff.). The result was just the same as in the former case. Jehoshaphat and his people immediately triumphed over a great hostile army, without the necessity of striking a single blow (20:1-28). "And the fear of God was on all the kingdoms of the lands, when they heard that Yahwè fought against the enemies of Israel" (vs. 29). These judges and teachers are said by the Chronicler, in both cases, to consist of prominent men of Judah, priests, and Levites.<sup>41</sup> Through their co-operation was made possible a uniform knowledge of the divine law, and a uniform administration of it, all through the land. Beside the local seats of justice there was the central seat, in Jerusalem (19:8). All this, as has often been remarked, corresponds closely to conditions which actually existed in the land at the close of the last century B. C. (see Josephus, *Antt.*, iv, 214-18, and Schürer, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, II, 176-79), and probably also in the time of the Chronicler. He doubtless had in mind a still more thorough and efficient system, and hoped to see it extended. How fundamentally important it seemed to him may be seen from II Chron. 15:3, Ezr. 7:10, 25 f., 10:14. Ezra the priest was a judge and a teacher himself, administering the law of Moses, and he appointed others for the same important work. On the Levites

<sup>41</sup> In 17:7 f., "princes, Levites, and priests," exactly as in Neh. 10:1, etc.

as judges and teachers, see also I Chron. 23:4, 26:29, Neh. 8:7, 9; and with II Chron. 19:11 cf. especially Neh. 11:22-24.<sup>42</sup>

### 3. The "Ezra Memoirs"

From what has been said, above, as to the character of the Chronicler's work, that it is an elaborate historical apology for the Jewish institutions of his time, it is obvious that the center of gravity in it must lie in his account of the restoration. The one possible key to the situation which confronted him was a formal and thoroughgoing "restoration" through the medium of the Babylonian captivity (see above, pp. 208, 212). There was no other way in which the primacy of the Jewish church, and the exclusion of its rivals, could be assured—now that those ill-fated verses, II Kings 24:14 ff., 25:8-12, 22, 25 ff., had been written and widely circulated. It was absolutely necessary to show that the genuine old Hebrew church, both its men and its institutions, came straight from Babylonia to Judea, and that the ancient stream of tradition had been kept uncontaminated.

We should accordingly expect that the Chronicler, in passing on from the story of the kingdom to that of the Persian period, would begin to show the measure of his best work. That is, in fact, what we do see. The amount of the independent material which he contributes is proportionately but little greater here, it is true, than in the earlier sections. In I and II Chron., as we have seen, nearly one-half of the whole was composed by him; and here in Ezr.-Neh. his contribution amounts to about two-thirds, consisting largely of lists of names. But it is in some respects work done more thoroughly (not more carefully; the Chronicler never did anything with great care) than any of that which preceded it. So far as the author's manner and his literary habits and devices are concerned, the Chronicler's narrative in Ezr.-Neh. presents nothing at all that is new, excepting the (very natural) use of the first person in the story of Ezra, in imitation

<sup>42</sup> Benzinger's amazing comments on the two passages, II Chron. 17:7 ff. and 19:4 ff., are characteristic of the manner in which he has hastened through the books of Chronicles (*Comm.*, p. 104): "Das erbauliche Element in der Erzählung fehlt gänzlich. . . . Sodann ist nicht einzusehen, wozu die Erfindung der Namen der obersten Beamten 17:7 gedient hätte. Bei einem Produkt freier Phantasie hätte sich Chr. resp. seine Quelle an den Priestern und Leviten genügen lassen. . . . Chr. und seine Zeit hätten die Verkündigung des Gesetzes den Leviten und Priestern allein überlassen, deren Amt das war; vgl. die Gesetzesverlesung Neh. 8, bes. v. 7, 8" (and yet it is obvious that in Neh. 8:4 laymen are intended, and the most of the names are actually found, as names of "chief men of the people," in Neh. 10:15-28 and Ezr. 10:25-43). And both Benzinger and Kittel find it noticeable that the laymen are mentioned first, in 17:7 f. In 19:8 point of course וְיִשְׂרָאֵל.

of the memoir of Nehemiah. But the opportunity which he had here to show his inventive ability and his constructive skill was much greater than any which he had had previously. He had before him, as usable material, two documents. The first was an Aramaic popular tale of the building of the temple, recently composed by one of his own way of thinking. It was dated, unmistakably, in the reigns of Artaxerxes I and Darius II. The second was the memoir of Nehemiah, telling of the building of the city wall. This was dated in the reign of a certain "Artaxerxes," who, if the Aramaic story was right, must have been Artaxerxes II. So the Chronicler evidently reasoned, on the basis of Ezr. 4:19-24. Aside from these two documents, and the few data in the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, the whole Persian period was a blank, which he was free to fill as he saw fit.

From his account of the last days of the kingdom of Judah and the destruction of the temple (nearly all of II Chron. 35, and 36:13-21, being his own free composition) he proceeds directly to narrate the restoration at the beginning of the Persian rule. This is told in his well-known manner, with primary attention to all the details connected with the Jewish church, and the smallest possible amount of other narrative. There is no evidence, nor likelihood, that he had any written source, other than those already named. He tells of the proclamation of Cyrus (Ezra, chap. 1), and how the king restored the sacred vessels; he also gives (in I Esdras 4:47-56) the contents of the letters of Cyrus to his Syrian officials, with prescription for all the principal institutions and ordinances of the Jewish community as the Chronicler imagined it. He gives the date (of course!) of the great return, and the names and lineage of the leaders (I Esdras 5:4-6); and then the all-important *list*, outside of which there was no ecclesiastical salvation. In Ezra 3 and 4:1-5 he narrates how the returning exiles settled in the land, restored the worship as far as possible, and began building the temple. In 3:12f. we have one of those descriptive touches of which he is master. It is worthy of especial notice how in 4:1-5 he does the same thing which he had done in II Chron. 13:4-11 (see above). Just as the speech of Abijah, made after the division of the kingdom, showed that the true tradition was in Jerusalem and not in northern Israel, so here, immediately after the return, the fact is stated with emphasis that the Samaritans (purposely called by the non-

committal term, "adversaries of Judah and Benjamin") have no part in the true worship of the God of Israel, although they claim to have it.

But the story of Ezra is the episode of especial interest in this "post-exilic" history, and the one which best illustrates the qualities which have been described. It is "the Chronicler's masterpiece" (*Comp.*, p. 57). I showed in my former brief treatise that he is the sole author of this, and the proof there given, while it might have been extended much farther, was more than sufficient.<sup>43</sup> It is singular that the fact should have remained so long unrecognized. A generation or more ago, when it was still believed that there was a "post-exilic style" of Hebrew prose, it was easy to believe that these supposed three men, the Chronicler, Ezra, and Nehemiah, could all write in exactly the same way. But the time for such an easy-going theory is long past, now that we know that the authors of the books Joel, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Jonah, Ruth, Nehemiah (in chaps. 1-6), Koheleth, Esther, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the writer of the "Priestly Narrative" in the Pentateuch—not to mention still others—wrote each in his own individual manner, and no one of them in a style which at all resembles that of the Chronicler.

First, as to the fact that the whole of the "Ezra memoir" (especially *Ezr.* 7:27—10:44 and *Neh.* 7:70—10:40) is written in the Chronicler's own words, whether created by him entire or merely rewritten. It is only necessary to ask three questions: (1) Is there such a thing as a characteristic style; i. e., a recognizable individuality in the use of words and phrases and in the manner of expressing ideas? (2) Did the Chronicler have a style which can be recognized? (3) In what passages or chapters of *Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.* is it to be found with certainty? The first of these questions must of course be answered affirmatively. The answer to the second is, or ought to be, known to every student of Hebrew. There is *no writer*, in all the Old Testament, whose peculiarities of language and style are *so* strongly marked, or who can *so* easily and certainly be recognized, as the Chronicler.<sup>44</sup> In answer to the third question I make the follow-

<sup>43</sup>Most of the reviewers of my *Composition* passed very hastily over the evidence of language and style, as though these were matters of minor importance! In nearly every case, however, they acknowledged the justice of the claim which I had made (p. 16), that my lists of words and usages were trustworthy so far as they went. One reviewer, Löhr, in the *Theol. Rundschau*, 1898, pp. 331 f., asserted the contrary, with a succession of statements which are not only misleading but in part positively unfair.

<sup>44</sup>See the statement of Professor Driver, already quoted (above, p. 230).

ing assertion, which is the assured result of a good deal of hard study: *There is no portion of the whole work Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. in which the Chronicler's literary peculiarities are more strongly marked, more abundant, more evenly and continuously distributed, and more easily recognizable, than in the Hebrew narrative of Ezr. 7-10 and Neh. 8-10.* Sufficient proof of this can be seen by anyone even in the long "list of peculiar usages" published in Driver's *Introduction*, or in that given in Geissler's *Litterar. Beziehungen der Esramemoiren*, 1899, pp. 5-11,<sup>45</sup> without the necessity of going farther. How does it happen that the Chronicler, and "Ezra" (everywhere), and Nehemiah (everywhere excepting in chaps. 1-6!) all write just the same very peculiar Hebrew? So far as this phenomenon has been noticed at all, it has been customary to explain it by saying that the Chronicler *as editor* gave the writings of Ezra and Nehemiah a stylistic revision: "weil ja der Verf. (Chroniker) die Denkschrift Esra's umgeschrieben und in sein Buch aufgenommen hat, wobei sich leicht seine Sprachfärbung dem Texte mittheilte" (von Orelli, in the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1898, p. 290). But those who attempt this explanation show that they neither realize the extent of this "revision" nor have an acquaintance with the Chronicler's editorial methods. He also edited Neh., chaps. 1, 2, 4-6, but left all this apparently untouched, saving a few verses which he added or inserted, and which contain the only sure marks of his hand. More important still, we know just how he has edited the multitude of long extracts from the books of Samuel and Kings. The material of which he has made use there has *not* been given his "Sprachfärbung." His peculiar words and usages, such as those given in the long list just mentioned, are almost never found in the chapters and paragraphs which he has transferred; and even in the comparatively few cases where he has revised or expanded the older narrative they are not at all common. The only passages in which his characteristics

<sup>45</sup>Geissler's investigation is industrious and useful, but his conclusions in the matters now under discussion are singularly at variance with the evidence which he presents. After showing the enormous extent to which the literary stock-in-trade of "Ezra" coincides with that of the Chronicler, he goes on to discuss the words and phrases occurring both in "Ezra" and in the Hexateuch (pp. 12-21), presenting an array of evidence which proves nothing more than this, that the Chronicler wrote Hebrew and had read his Bible. He then presents (pp. 22 f.) the linguistic material peculiar to the "Ezra memoirs." What is gained from this very meager list, and from the remarks which follow it, is merely the certainty that a few words and phrases found in Ezra are not found in Chron., and *vice versa*; i. e., that the Chronicler really had at his command as large a vocabulary as he might be expected to have.

appear frequently, in successive verses and many times on a single page—as they appear all the time in the Ezra story—are the paragraphs and chapters which he has composed independently. This is a statement concerning which there can be no dispute. It can easily be verified by anyone who will take the trouble to study the books of Chronicles in Kittel's edition, with the aid of the lists already mentioned. As I said in my *Comp.*, pp. 51 f.: "The Chronicler incorporates his documentary sources entire, so far as practicable, not rewriting them or working them over, but enriching them occasionally with an added clause or inserted paragraph." I have now given sufficient illustration of this (see above), and it is a fact well known to those who have studied the books of Chronicles.<sup>46</sup> So when, for example, Kraetzschmar, in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1897, col. 350, would make the concession, "dass der Chronist in die Esra-Memoire stärker eingegriffen hat, als man bisher im Allgemeinen annahm" (cf. also Geissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 f.), he is proposing an explanation of the facts which is entirely inadmissible.

Then, as to the significance of the fact that the Ezra story lies before us in the Chronicler's own language. There is only one possible conclusion to be drawn from the abundant material which we have to guide us, namely this, that the story is entirely his own composition. Kraetzschmar, *loc. cit.*, objects: "Es wäre ein Leichtes, nach des Verfassers Methode auch diese Kapitel [I Chron. 21 and II Chron. 28 f.] und noch viele andere auf älteren Quellen beruhende der Chronik als vom Chronisten frei erfunden und gänzlich ungeschichtlich hinzustellen." Of course! That is the only treatment possible to one who knows the Chronicler and has any idea what a scientific method is. In the two chapters, II Chron. 28 f., and all others like them, *whatever the Chronicler himself has written*, in the way of either addition or alteration, is "frei erfunden und ungeschichtlich." Since Kraetzschmar has pointed out these three chapters by way of illustration, it may be well to notice, in passing, what they really illustrate. In II Chron. 28 f. there are no marks whatever of the Chronicler's hand in any of the verses which contain material from II Kings. But in the remainder of the two chapters, where he cuts loose

<sup>46</sup> Thus Benzinger, *Comm.*, p. 113, decides that the story of Joash's repairing of the temple, II Chron. 24:4-14, cannot come from the Chronicler, simply because the story told in Kings has been thoroughly rewritten (and altogether changed in its contents, be it noted!).



from his source and composes his own narrative, the characteristic words and phrases appear. In I Chron. 21, where he has merely made extensive superficial alteration, while retaining a good deal of the material of his source, no traces of his language and style appear (and this, as I remarked above, is the rule in such cases). This chapter, therefore, stands on an altogether different footing from those in the Ezra story. With the narrative which does not appear to have been written by the Chronicler we have at present nothing to do.

Further, the narrative which gives evidence of coming from the Chronicler's hand cannot possibly be treated as substantially representing an older source. It is not simply that we have no guarantee that in introducing his own form of words he has not altered the material contents of his source; we know with certainty that in all such cases he has altered them fundamentally. The evidence of I and II Chron. is conclusive on this point, as I have shown. Wherever he employs his own language, the substance also is his; and if the traces of his presence are numerous throughout any considerable piece of narrative, the overwhelming probability is that he had no written source at all for it.

Now, as a matter of fact, there is nothing whatever to make it seem likely that the Chronicler had any source, written or oral, for his story of Ezra. If we have any definite knowledge at all of this "Ezra," we know that he was a man precisely like the Chronicler himself: interested very noticeably in the Levites, and especially the class of singers; deeply concerned at all times with the details of the cult and with the ecclesiastical organization in Jerusalem; armed with lists of names giving the genealogy and official standing of those who constituted the true church; with his heart set on teaching and enforcing the neglected law of Moses throughout the land (see above, pp. 237 f.); and—most important of all—zealous for the exclusion of the "people of the land," the condemnation of mixed marriages, and the preservation of the pure blood of Israel! There is not a garment in all Ezra's wardrobe that does not fit the Chronicler exactly. To suppose that the latter could have *rewritten* the words, and twisted the ideas, of this kindred spirit, whose testimony was of such immense importance to all his own special interests, is out of the question; his intelligence was not of such

a low order as this; and we know, besides, that his habit was directly opposed to any such proceeding, even when the material was not exactly suited to his purpose.

One literary feature of the "Ezra document" is referred to over and over again as conclusive proof of its genuineness, namely the occasional appearance of *the first person*. "I was strengthened" (Ezr. 7:38); "the princes drew near to *me*" (9:1); "and *we* cast lots" (Neh. 10:34). Such verses as these, it is said, must surely come directly from Ezra himself; for anyone else would have narrated in the third person—as is done in Ezr. 10 and Neh. 8, for example. Thus Orelli, in the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1898, p. 292, asks how it is possible to deny the authentic memoir—"ihr Vorhandensein bekundet deutlich genug noch das ungesuchte Auftreten der ersten Person des Erzählers." But surely no extensive acquaintance with ancient literature is needed in order to recognize this very transparent and very common literary device. Such touches as these, used often brilliantly, but hardly ever consistently, are the Chronicler's regular stock-in-trade. If we had no direct proof that narratives written in the first person were known to him, we might hesitate a little to suppose that he (with all his power of living in the scenes which he depicts) had adopted this form of composition. But he actually had the Nehemiah memoir in his hands! As for the change from the first person to the third, and back again, which has so thoroughly mystified our Old Testament scholars, it is not even necessary to make it a special reproach to the Chronicler's carelessness, since it occurs, in precisely the same way, in many other ancient works of fiction. A good example is found in the fourth chapter of Daniel. I quote from Bevan's *Commentary*, p. 87: "One peculiarity which cannot fail to strike the reader, is that in the middle of the narrative (4:25-30 [English trans., vss. 28-33]) the author, forgetting for the moment that he is writing in the name of Nebuchadnezzar, speaks of the king in the third person, but afterwards returns to the first (vss. 31-34)." Another instance, equally instructive, is furnished by the same book. From 7:2 onward, to the end of the book, all of the narrative is given in the first person, with the exception of 10:1, where the third person is temporarily introduced. Are we to conclude that the authentic memoirs of Daniel begin at 7:2, and that 10:1 has been "überarbeitet," or inserted by the redactor? Excellent

illustration is given by the book of Enoch, in more than one place. 12:3, for example, begins one of the "Ichstücke" (observe vss. 1, 2). Shall we not suppose that one of the extracts from the genuine personal memoir of Enoch begins at this point? And, again, there is the story of Tobit. Chaps. 1-3 (in both of the principal Greek recensions) are composed in the first person; but in chaps. 4-14 the narrator lapses into the third person. In the seventh chap. of the Book of Jubilees, where the narrative is in the third person, in vs. 26 it suddenly passes over, without any warning, into the first person, and so continues to the end of the chapter (vss. 26-39), after which the third person is resumed.<sup>47</sup> A similar thing happens in the ancient *Protevangel of James*, where a part of the narrative, told by Joseph, suddenly adopts the first person—simply because the writer's imagination happened to work in that way. Excellent illustration from the Gentile narrative literature is afforded (for instance) in the various recensions of the *Thousand and One Nights*, in numerous places; also in the Arabic story of *Sūl und Schumūl*, ed. Seybold, p. 79, lines 14 f.; p. 85, line 16. In all these cases, and many similar ones, and in the Chronicler's change from "I" to "he" in telling Ezra's story, the determining factor is the same: whether the narrator uses the first person or the third depends simply on the mood of his imagination; whether, as he sits down to write a fresh chapter, he happens to identify himself with his hero, or not.<sup>48</sup>

It is a most significant fact, in this connection, that the very verses and passages which contain "Ezra's" first person are often those which are most noticeably filled with the telltale signs of the Chronicler. Thus, the verses 7:27—8:1 which form the beginning of the first "memoir section" show a remarkable aggregation of such marks, including some of the most characteristic of all (see my *Composition*, pp. 16 f., 20 f.). Geissler, *op. cit.*, p. 12, records his conclusion that the traces of the Chronicler's

<sup>47</sup>There are many illustrations of such sudden change, back and forth, in the Jewish apocalyptic literature. Thus, the "Life of Adam and Eve," § 53 (Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 524, bottom); the cases noted in James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii, pp. lv, xc, xcii, xciv f., 124 ff.; also these same *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, II, 2, pp. 146 f.; further, Fleck, *Wissenschaftliche Reise* (Leipzig, 1837), ii, 3, and the trans. by Bornemann, *Zeitschr. Wiss. Theol.*, 1844, 3. Heft, pp. 20 f.

<sup>48</sup>It cannot be insisted too often, that these writers were not trying to "forge documents." The device of using occasionally the first person (like that of presenting fictitious material in the form of edicts and letters in full official dress; see above, p. 150) was always adopted with a literary purpose, never chiefly in order to gain credence—though this aim may possibly also have been present in some cases.

hand are as numerous in 7:28—9:15 (i. e., in the "Ichstück"! ) as in chap. 10, and even more numerous than in Neh., chaps. 8—10.<sup>49</sup> But if even these cherished "I" verses were composed by the Chronicler, where then can we hope to find traces of Ezra's handiwork? Bertholet, *Comm.*, p. xiv, in blissful ignorance of the true state of the case, writes as follows: "Am leichtesten lässt sich herauschälen, was Chr von jenen Memoiren in unverändertem Wortlaute [!] mitteilt. Es ist von den Eramemoiren: 7:27—8:34, 9:1—15." But can Bertholet point out, anywhere in these sections, half a dozen consecutive verses which (after examining Geissler's lists) he can confidently pronounce free of the suspicion of being at least "überarbeitet"? On the contrary, the style is everywhere and unmistakably that of the Chronicler. And the whole argument for the genuineness of these "Ichstücke"—the supposed *ipsissima verba*—rests on the assumption that they have *not* been rewritten.

To all this must be added, finally, that the literary qualities of the narrative in Ezr. 8—10 and Neh. 8—10 are exactly those of the independent narrative in I and II Chron. Reference has already been made, in the preceding pages, to some important illustrations of this point. Both the subject-matter and the manner of treating it are the Chronicler's own. The proportion of the material is just the same as usual; the same which we have remarked in the opening chapters of Ezr., for example; a great deal of space given to ecclesiastical matters and machinery, and the minimum of narrative. Levites are mustered, and temple vessels numbered and weighed; feasts are celebrated, and reforms instituted and accepted by "the congregation" on the basis of the law. The Chronicler's omnipresent number twelve appears here also; thus, in 8:3—14, 24, 35 (cf. 6:17), 10:25—43 (in the original form; see the Greek of vss. 38 ff.), Neh. 9:4 f., twelve including Ezra; see the Greek text at the beginning of vs. 6; and

<sup>49</sup>In regard to the chapters in Neh., however, Geissler, like some of his predecessors, is strangely blind. He writes (*loc. cit.*): "Auffällig ist es, dass die Gebete Ezr. 9:6—15, Neh. 9:6—37 viel weniger Verwandtschaft mit der Sprache von Ch verraten als die erzählenden Abschnitte." This shows how very slight his acquaintance with the Chronicler is. These prayers, like all the many others which the Chronicler introduces into his history, consist chiefly of a tissue of quotations from Deut., which was the favorite devotional book of the Jewish community throughout the most of the Persian and Greek periods, until it was finally supplanted by the Psalms. And it would be nothing short of a marvel if more than a very few traces of his hand should appear, even in the unusually long prayer in Neh. Geissler speaks of the section Neh. 8—10 as "considerably longer" (i. e., for the purposes of his linguistic investigation) than Ezr. 8—10. But it is really shorter, when the lists of names and the prayers are left out of account.

probably also originally in Neh. 8:4, 7 (cf. Ezr. 2:2 = Neh. 7:7). The didactic utterance in Ezr. 8:22*b* is one of his especial favorites; see II Chron. 13:18, 14:7, 11, 15:2(!), 17:9 f., 20:6, 17, 20, 24:20, 25:8 f. The usual short speeches are uttered, e. g., Ezr. 8:28 f., 10:2 ff., 10 ff., Neh. 8:9 f., 11. Names and dates are given in the customary profusion. The style of the narration is as lively as ever. Observe the following very characteristic touches, which remind us at once of the flashes of life and local color which appear all through the independent narratives of I and II Chron. Ezr. 8:15: "And I gathered them together *at the river at Ahava*, and there we encamped *three days*." 9:3: "I rent my garment, *and pulled out the hair of my head and of my beard*." 10:6: "Then Ezra arose . . . and *went into the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib*." Vs. 9: "And all the people sat *in the broad place before the house of God*, trembling because of this matter, *and because of the great rain*" (see also vs. 13). Neh. 8:1: "And all the people gathered themselves together as one man *into the broad place before the water gate*" (see also vs. 16). Vs. 5: "And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people—*for he was above all the people*" (cf. vs. 4, and II Chron. 6:13!), "and when he opened it, *all the people stood up*." 9:4: The Levites "*stood up upon the stairs*." Cf. the passages cited above, pp. 233 f.

The Chronicler's "creation of the character" of Ezra is not an especially noteworthy achievement for him. His immediate purpose drew the indistinct outlines. To what I wrote regarding this matter in my *Comp.*, pp. 57-62, the following may be added, as to considerations which must have chiefly influenced him in fashioning the story. It was necessary that the sin of intermarriage with foreigners—the thing which the Samaritans had done—should be severely scored. There was only one natural way to do this, namely, by telling how the returned exiles once fell into this evil way (in their partial innocence!),<sup>50</sup> were rebuked by one who had authority; and how they then gave solemn promise, in public assembly, to do so no more. Given the obvious necessities of the Chronicler's aim, and the creation of "Ezra the scribe" just as he appears, and the general out-

<sup>50</sup> As the narrative everywhere says or implies, the people had sinned grievously in neglecting the law; and yet they had the partial excuse that its use had for a long time and of necessity been suspended, and there had been no "expert scribe" to teach it to them (cf. II Chron. 15:3!).

line of the events in which he figured, follow as matters of course. Compare also what is said below, regarding the character of Nehemiah.

4. *The Chronicler's Narrative of Nehemiah*

What has just been said in regard to the story of Ezra can also be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the considerable addition to the Nehemiah memoir which the Chronicler has made; namely, Neh. 7:1-69;<sup>51</sup> 11:1-13:31. These two passages, when joined together by the removal of the interpolated section 7:70-10:40, form a solid block of the Chronicler's own very characteristic material, self-consistent, perfectly comprehensible in every part, and in the same order and extent which he himself originally gave it; excepting, of course, that the text has suffered some corruption. It is all the unaided work of his hand, and there is no part of it concerning which there can be any reasonable doubt when the evidence has been examined. I presented the argument briefly in my *Comp.*, pp. 39-49, and the force of what was said there is much increased by the demonstration of the Chronicler's aims and characteristics which I have given here.

11:1 is the immediate and necessary continuation of 7:69. Just as soon as the statistics are finished, and the narrative is resumed in 12:27 ff., it is the Chronicler, unmistakably, who is the narrator. The Nehemiah who told his story in chaps. 1-6 was a man of affairs; truly religious, but giving no sign of any interest in the ritual of the temple. But the Nehemiah of 12:27-13:31 is simply Ezra (i. e., the Chronicler) under another name. Subject-matter, manner, language, and style, all bear the same witness in every paragraph; and here also, as in Ezra, it is precisely the "Ichstücke" which are most characteristically and certainly the composition of the Chronicler. The current "analysis" of 12:27-43, which saves for Nehemiah every verse which happens to contain "I" or "me," and pronounces all the others "edited," is a curious specimen of literary criticism. The fact is, there is no excuse for analysis here anywhere. In vss. 37 ff. we see once more the Chronicler's ever-present interest in the topography and buildings of Jerusalem (above, p. 216). In chap. 13 the main features of those orthodox institutions in the interest of which the whole history Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was composed are

<sup>51</sup> As I have already said (p. 226), I suspect the passage 6:16-19. It seems to me safer, however, to leave it with the Neh. memoir for the present. 7:69 is 7:68 in Baer's edition.



brought forward for the last time. "Ezra" had recently given them his powerful support, and now Nehemiah is made to do the same—often in a remarkably similar form of words; adopting, in fact, the peculiar language of the Chronicler. There is the zeal for the pure blood of Israel, vss. 1-4, 23-28; the care for the perquisites of the temple officials, vss. 5-13, 30 (cf. especially 10:35-40!); the rebuke of those who break the sabbath, and especially of those of the "people of the land" who bring wares to Jerusalem for sale on that day, vss. 15-22 (cf. especially 10:32!); and, most striking of all, the curious *veiled allusion* to the Samaritan schism, in vss. 28 f. (see above, p. 235, and *Comp.*, p. 48).<sup>52</sup> The circumstantial manner of the narrative is the one with which we are familiar; see for instance 12:31 ff. (where the Chronicler's personal leaning toward Ezra appears in vs. 36!), 13:8, 21, 24 f. In all this, again, as in the story of Ezra, there is nothing whatever to indicate a written source.

The lists in chaps. 7, 11, and 12 were very important, from the Chronicler's standpoint. This was his final presentation of the historical antecedents of the Jewish official church, bringing down "the true Israel" almost to his own day. In 7:5 Nehemiah is made to "gather together the nobles, and the rulers, and the people, that they might be reckoned by genealogy." The principal result of this gathering was the finding of the "book of the genealogy of those who came up," which is evidently represented as containing not only 7:6-69, but also 11:1-36. Further fruit of this effort on the part of Nehemiah is given in 12:1-26. As has already been remarked, the Chronicler believed Nehemiah to have flourished under Artaxerxes II; he therefore would naturally have supposed him to survive until the time of Jaddua (12:11) and Darius III (12:22), and could easily represent him as the compiler of all these lists in chap. 12.<sup>53</sup>

In his list of those who helped to build the wall, in the time of Nehemiah, Neh. 3:1-32, the Chronicler presents the usual names; and doubtless rejoiced the hearts of many of his contemporaries. For specific marks of his hand here, see *Comp.*, pp. 37 f.

<sup>52</sup> It may be that the Chronicler believed Nehemiah to have been living at the time of the rupture with the Samaritans, but that he did not quite dare to connect him definitely with the event. Compare what is said, below, in regard to his chronology of Nehemiah.

<sup>53</sup> Hence in II Macc. 2:13 *Nehemiah is identified with the Chronicler*, or at all events is declared to have been the one who collected the documents embodied in the compilation Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.! As for the "book of chronicles" referred to in 12:23, we have no reason to suppose that it was anything more than one of this writer's fictitious sources, like those which have received mention above.

The "great list," 7:6-69, had already been given in full by the Chronicler, in *Ezr.* 2:1-67. He repeats it here, partly because of its fundamental importance, and partly because it formed an integral part of the material the rest of which he wished to present in 11:1-12:26. It is entirely his own composition, and (like everything else of his) is put together with insufficient care. Hence the great difficulties it has always presented to those who have tried to take it seriously. See, for example, Bertholet, *Comm.*, p. 8, where it is shown, on the best of modern authority, (1) that this cannot possibly be a genuine list of returning exiles; and (2) that it cannot ever have been intended as any other kind of a list!<sup>54</sup>

The Nehemiah of chaps. 7 and 11-13, as already observed, is in nearly all respects the same character as the Ezra of *Ezr.* 8-10, *Neh.* 8-10. One would expect that a writer of the Chronicler's ability would at least have given the latter hero some pronounced characteristics (other than a mighty fondness for Levites and singers), and that he would have studied Nehemiah's memoir for the very purpose of recognizing salient traits which he could then reproduce in his own added chapters. But the only thing of this kind which he has done is to introduce into chap. 13 several of the brief interjected prayers (vss. 14, 22, 29, 31) which are so striking a feature of the genuine narrative (3:36, 37, 5:19, 6:14).

In general, it is evident that the Chronicler became an editor more from necessity than from choice. By taste and gift he was a novelist. He would doubtless have preferred to give freer rein to his imagination in composing the story of the Jews and their

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<sup>54</sup>As has already been observed, the names in these manifold tables of the Chronicler are largely or wholly those of his orthodox contemporaries. It would be interesting to know what lay beneath the express degradation of certain families, 7:61 f., 63 ff. It may be worth while to recall the fact that Delaiah (vs. 62) is given in the Elephantine papyrus as the name of Sanaballat's elder son; though the coincidence may be only accidental. Regarding the number of "the whole congregation," 42, 360 (so in *all* the texts, and therefore pretty certainly original), the conjecture may be hazarded that it is the result of one of the Chronicler's computations. Josephus, *Antt.*, x, 8, 5, reckons 3,513 years from the creation down to the destruction of the temple. If we suppose the Chronicler to have reckoned the number at 3,530, his total number of the new congregation would have included twelve men for each year of that period. To show the possibility of some such computation: creation to Exodus = 2,666 years, according to MT; Exodus to building of temple = 440 years, in the Greek version of I Kings 6:1; 36 = remaining years of Solomon (I Chron. 3:2, 9:30); 258 = synchronistic years of the two kingdoms, in MT; fall of Samaria to destruction of temple = 134 years, in MT. Total, 3,534 years. After deducting the four years which are counted twice, where these five periods overlap, final result, 3,530 years. Regarding the Chronicler's infatuation for the number *twelve*, see above, pp. 222, 246.

antecedents. But he was now writing not to interest, but with an apologetic purpose. The support of the recognized history was indispensable; outside this, it was important that he should confine himself to what was necessary. In the pre-exilic period, he could not well avoid incorporating at least a part of the well-known history of every king of Judah. In the post-exilic period, he certainly seems to have made the most of the two documents which were available. And his view of the history ultimately gained general acceptance, though it seems to have made its way slowly. The evidence that he was an earnest and devout man is abundant and striking. No one ever believed more sincerely than he that human prosperity rests only upon the fear of God; and from time to time, throughout his history, he puts into the mouth of his characters some expression of his own conviction, that if the people, all through the land, could be thoroughly instructed in the divine truth, all their serious troubles would be over.

## VIII

### THE EZRA STORY IN ITS ORIGINAL SEQUENCE

Any attempt to "restore the original form" of an ancient document, by rearranging its chapters, paragraphs, or verses, ought to be met with suspicion and subjected to the severest criticism. In the great majority of cases, either the traditional form can fairly claim to be the original one, in spite of seeming contradictions, or else the evidence enabling us to make a *sure* restoration is not to be had. Many of the grave inconsistencies which trouble us did not disturb the author himself, simply because he understood, better than we do, what he meant to say. Even where it is a demonstrated fact that the text which lies before us has suffered from transposition of some sort, it is not enough for the would-be restorer to rearrange the passages logically, or symmetrically, or so as to bring the whole into perfect accord with some plausible theory. Very many ancient writers did not bind themselves to observe logical sequence; did not care especially for symmetry; and would have been greatly astonished, or angered, or amused, if they could have heard attributed to them the views which they are now believed to have held. It is not our concern, after all, to find the best possible arrangement of the material—that would often be very easy; our business is to find the arrangement actually made by the author—and that is usually very difficult. Nevertheless, perfectly convincing reconstructions by transposition, based solely on internal evidence, are sometimes possible; the history of literature contains a good many instances. In each case it is simply a question of whether the evidence can satisfy the rigorous tests which the nature of the problem demands. The proposed new arrangement must really remove the difficulties which it is designed to overcome; it must create no new difficulties; it must enable us to explain how the disorder was brought about; it must give clear evidence of being the order originally planned by the author himself, and must harmonize with all that we certainly know regarding his purposes and methods; and it must be recognized as the *only* order which can meet these requirements.

If any single link in the chain of evidence is missing, or defective, the critical theory may be tolerated, but it cannot be accepted as demonstrated. I am confident that it will be agreed that the demonstration given in the following pages is a conclusive one, and that this is a case in which the original order of a disarranged narrative has been restored with certainty.

In all the narrative part of the Old Testament, there is nowhere else such an appearance of chaos as in the story of Ezra, as it stands in our received text. Part of it is found in one place, and part in another. Moreover, the two principal fragments, thus separated from each other, are incoherent in themselves. No one of our modern interpreters has succeeded in obtaining a continuous and comprehensible account of events from either Ezr. 7-10 or Neh. 8-10. The sequence of the several scenes is plainly out of order; the chronology is all wrong; and the bearing of the successive (?) incidents upon one another is far from clear. Ezra makes his journey to Judea in order to teach and administer the law (Ezr. 7: 10, 14, 25 f.), but it is not until thirteen years (!) after his arrival that he first presents it to the people (Neh. 8:2, cf. 1: 1 and Ezr. 7:8). In Ezr. 9, the people are rebuked for a grievous sin against the law, the manner of the rebuke implying obviously that the law was already known to them; and their representative, indeed, after confessing the transgression, proposes to make reparation "*according to the law*" (10:3).<sup>1</sup> But in the narrative as it now lies before us, the

<sup>1</sup>That the public reading of the law had already taken place, is necessarily implied not only in 10:3, but also, and only a little less obviously, in 9: 1, 4, 10 ff., 14. The "commandments of God," which the people had "forsaken" and "broken," were the commandments of the written law; they could not possibly have been anything else. Those who "trembled at the words of the God of Israel" (9:4, 10:3) were those who were dismayed at the transgression of statutes which were definitely known to them; the context in each case makes this certain. Bertholet, in his remarks on Ezr. 9:1 (*Comm.*, pp. 38 f.), declares that Ezra's reform in the matter of foreign wives was "vorbereitet durch die Gedankenwelt des Deuteronomiums, eines Hesekiel, Maleachi und Tritojesaja," but this is a very lame explanation. It is sufficiently obvious that when Ezra tore his clothes, pulled out some of the hair of his head and beard, and spoke and prayed in such passionate language of the "great guilt" of the people, he was not reproaching them for a sin against a *Gedankenwelt*! In order to argue in this way, it is necessary that one should first shut his eyes. It is not only said, in so many words (10:3), that the people already know the Torah, the fact is also certainly implied in the account of the way in which they received Ezra's rebuke (10:2 ff., 12 ff.). In Neh. 8:9, 13 it is made plain that the commandments of the law were quite new to all, princes, priests, and common people alike, when Ezra first read them. In Ezr. 9 and 10, on the contrary, the people accept as indisputable the charge that they have grievously transgressed; they themselves know what commandments have been broken; and Ezra in his prayer for them actually quotes (loosely) the words of Lev. 18:24 f., 27, Deut. 7:3, 23:7, 11:8. This was a part of that law which he had come to teach—and had already taught. What is more, it was not Ezra who discovered this "trespass of the exiles," it was certain of their own

law had not yet been made known! Furthermore, although this evil of mixed marriages is discovered and corrected soon after Ezra's arrival in Jerusalem, the time when the people formally repent of it, in solemn assembly, and vow never to do so again, is thirteen years later (Neh. 9:1).

The manifest incongruity between Neh. 8 and the two following chapters has also been the subject of much comment. There is nothing in the narrative as it now stands which can account for the sackcloth and ashes in 9:1. Or it would be a more correct statement of the case to say, that the reason for the mourning is given, but is incomprehensible in the present form of the story. Kusters, *Wiederherstellung Israels* (1895), pp. 85 f., remarks that the occasion of the penitential ceremony in chap. 9 was, plainly, the separation of Israel from foreigners. This is indeed made evident by the two passages, 9:2 and 10:29-31; the former of which must necessarily be regarded, because of its position, as giving the principal reason for the assembly, while the other, for a like reason, must be held to give the primary feature of the solemn covenant.<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*<sup>1</sup>, p. 135, n. 2, feels the same difficulty as Kusters, and says: "Wunderlich an seiner Stelle ist der erste Satz von Neh. 9:2." But Wellhausen certainly would not wish to suggest that the first clause of this verse is not in its right place in the chapter. The trouble is, of course, that the preceding narration has not prepared the way for such a scene as this. That is, just as Ezr. 9 must have been preceded by an account of the public reading of the law, so Neh. 9 must have followed directly after a chapter which told of the separation from foreign wives.

And just here the fact also stares us in the face that the story of Ezra's reform is not suitably concluded by Ezr. 10:44, even when the verse is restored to its original form (see below). We

leaders. 9:1 says: "When these things were finished, the chief men drew near to me, saying: The people of Israel . . . have not separated themselves from the peoples of the land," etc., and these princes thereupon proceed to quote from the laws in question (vss. 1, 2)! This is either the sequel of Neh. 8, or else it is inexplicable.

<sup>2</sup> No neater demonstration of this exegetical necessity could be asked than is furnished by the "Neapolitan Synopsis" of the Old Testament, published by Lagarde in his *Septuaginta Studien* II. The following is its summary of that part of the Ezra narrative which is contained in the book of Nehemiah (*ibid.*, p. 84, ll. 27-34): . . . καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἐσδρας ἀναγινώσκων διεστέλλεν ἐπιστήμη κυρίου, ὁ δὲ λαὸς συνήκεν ἐν τῇ ἀναγνώσει. καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ πάσχα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ ἐποίησε τὴν νηστειάν καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν ὡς γέγραπται. . . . Ἐσδρας δὲ ἑωρακίως ἐπιμύεισας γυναῖκας ἀζωτίους τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, πενήσας, ἐπέισε πάντας ἐπαγγεῖλασθαι φυλάττειν τὸν νόμον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐξέβαλε τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς παράνομον γάμον. καὶ ὤμοσαν φυλάξει τὸν νόμον.



should expect to see at least some promise for the future, some indication that the misery, the crime against human nature, wrought on this occasion made such an impression on the people that they took measures to prevent the recurrence of anything of the sort. The subject could not have been dismissed with this one verse following the list of names. No modern commentator has doubted that the original narrative continuation has been accidentally cut off, or displaced, in some way.

It is abundantly evident, from all this, that the trouble with the story of Ezra lies simply in the transposition of a passage, namely the passage which contains the account of the reading of the law. Aside from the internal evidence, we have also external evidence that transposition of some sort took place, for in the old Greek version (I Esdras) and Josephus the four Ezra chapters (7-10) are immediately followed by the three Nehemiah chapters (8-10).<sup>3</sup> The sequence of the chapters there is an absolutely impossible one, to be sure, yet this witness to the tradition that all seven of them originally formed one continuous piece is very valuable.

The obvious way of removing all the difficulties thus far mentioned is, as I showed in my *Composition*, pp. 29-34, to restore Neh. 8 to its original place between Ezr. 8 and 9. The key to the solution of the whole problem lies in the neglected and misunderstood passage Neh. 7:70-73 (69-72). If it had not been for these four verses, the disarrangement of the Ezra story would never have taken place; in consequence, the restoration of the true order must begin with them. As soon as the peculiarities of their form and surroundings are observed, it becomes evident that they furnish the desired explanation of the whole process. All modern interpreters have regarded Neh. 7:70-73 as a mere variant of Ezr. 2:68-70. Some ancient interpreter conceived the same idea, and wrought great mischief as a result. As a matter of fact, the two passages differ considerably in their contents, and were written for very different occasions. Why the remarkable disagreement between them, and who has ever explained it? There is a third passage, I Chron. 29:6-8, which resembles them almost as closely as they resemble each other, and all three simply illustrate the Chronicler's well-known habit of repeating himself.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 31 f.

We have already seen that the narrative of the first public reading of the law, which is the immediate sequel of the four verses mentioned, must have preceded Ezr. 9. That being the case, it is startling to observe that the four verses are the natural continuation of Ezr. 8. That is, in fact, the *only* context which suits them. Ezr. 8:33-36 had just recounted how the gifts of gold and silver brought from Babylon were delivered in Jerusalem, where they were to be used "for the service of the house of God" (7:19, 8:25); how the sacrifices were then offered in the temple; and how, finally, the king's satraps and governors in the Transflumen gave their aid to the cult in Jerusalem (8:36). Then would follow, almost of necessity, some statement regarding the aid which the leaders of the Jews themselves gave to the service of the temple (לְמִלְאכָה, Neh. 7:70). This is precisely what we have in Neh. 7:70-72. Furthermore, the statement that "the priests, the Levites, and the people," and so on, those who had come from Babylonia, settled down "in their cities" (vs. 73a) is just as indispensable at the end of the story of the expedition under Ezra (Ezr. 8) as it was in the case of that under Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Ezr. 2). To sum the matter up, the passage Neh. 7:70-73 is necessary as the sequel of Ezr. 8; while it is quite out of place in the story of Nehemiah, and inexplicable as a variant of Ezr. 2:68-70.

It is evident, then, that if we should cut out the whole passage Neh. 7:70(69)—8:18 from its present context, and put it between Ezr. 8 and 9, every difficulty resulting from the present order of chapters and sections in the Ezra story would disappear. In addition to the points already mentioned, the sore need of a sequel to Ezr. 10:44 and of a suitable context for Neh. 9:1f. would also be supplied, the one chapter being followed directly by the other. The probability that we have found at last the passage whose transposition brought about all the mischief in Ezra-Nehemiah becomes at once very strong.

But it is first necessary to show why and how the transfer was made, and how it happened that a part of the Ezra story was put into the book of Nehemiah. The mistaken arrangement was made by a copyist; and as already observed, the resemblance of the passage Neh. 7:70-73 to its counterpart Ezr. 2:68-70 was the cause of the error. The two passages would inevitably seem to a copyist to be one and the same, with their generally identical

phraseology;<sup>4</sup> and what is more, each is immediately continued by the words: "And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel being in their cities, the people assembled." The man who wrought the mischief, therefore, holding in his memory the continuation of the "great list" Ezr. 2:2-67 by verses 68-70 and 3:1, attached the similar passage, with its sequel, the story of the reading of the law, to the end of the same list in Nehemiah. He had just copied, we may suppose, the book of Ezra as far as 8:36, and then saw in the next following section what he believed to be the true sequel of the list in Neh. 7. He accordingly transferred the section, which of course included the story of the reading of the law (cf. Neh. 7:73*b* and the beginning of 8:1 with Ezr. 3:1!), to the book of Nehemiah.<sup>5</sup>

This transfer was an easy one, requiring hardly any thought at all; but when it was once made it was certain to be permanent, at least so far as the verses 70-73*a* were concerned, since they would henceforth always be regarded as a mere repetition of Ezr. 2:68-70. Moreover, the transfer—and this was possibly not foreseen at first by the one who made it—rendered a second transposition absolutely necessary. The chapters containing the story of the people's repentance, and of the covenant which they made, alluded in more than one place to *the public reading of the law by Ezra* (Neh. 9:3, 10:29 f., 35, 37), and it was therefore obviously and totally impossible that they should precede Neh. 8. The only thing that could be done with them was to put them immediately after the last-named chapter. There can be little doubt that this was done by the same copyist-editor who had begun the rearrangement—for he cannot have failed to see the necessity of this second step;

<sup>4</sup>The mention of the "Tirshatha" in Neh. 7:70 would also immediately suggest the occurrence of the word just before, in vs. 65 (Ezr. 2:63)!

<sup>5</sup>Such transpositions, more or less consciously made, are familiar enough in the history of the manuscript transmission of ancient documents. It sometimes happens, indeed, that transcribers perform feats which might well have been deemed impossible. For example, in the manuscripts of the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, immediately after John 8:2 stands a colophon, "*End of the Gospel of John.*" etc.! The explanation is presumably this, that in some old manuscripts of the Gospels the pericope *de adultera*, 7:53-8:11, was placed at the end as a sort of appendix, and that in at least one such codex the transposed section contained merely 8:3-11 (cf. the transposition of Neh. 7:73 ff., instead of vs. 70 ff., in I Esdras!). Then, in the Syriac manuscript from which the text of the Lectionary was derived, this appendix, 8:3-11, was again transferred, this time being put back into what was naturally supposed to be its original place (cf. I Esdras). But along with it was transferred the colophon of the Gospel, which stood just before it! (See the *Palest. Syr. Lect.*, ed. Lewis and Gibson, p. xv, where an explanation similar to this is given on the authority of Rendel Harris.) This is by no means an isolated instance of the stupidity of a copyist.

but whether by him or by another, it must in any case have been accomplished very soon. Thus it came about that the "great list" in Neh. 7 received this most incongruous sequel: the account of the gifts to the temple on Ezra's arrival (Neh. 7: 70-73*a*); the reading of the law (73*b*—8: 18); and the two chapters (Neh. 9*f.*) which had originally formed the end of the Ezra story, immediately preceding the first chapter of Nehemiah. Ezr. 9 and 10 were of course left where they were, as the account of the work performed by Ezra in his "first period." Thus the books of Ezra and Nehemiah received their present shape,<sup>6</sup> by a process each step of which is perfectly comprehensible. The first step was almost mechanical, and might even have been purely accidental; the rest then followed inevitably.

The date of this transposition of chapters was probably near the end of the third century B. C., at about the time when the Story of the Three Youths was interpolated in the first chapter of Ezra, as already described. For some reason which we can only conjecture,<sup>7</sup> the rearranged edition completely supplanted the original one. Not long after, some one made the attempt to restore the Ezra chapters to the book of Ezra; it was a matter of tradition that they had once formed a part of it. The best that he could do, naturally, was to chop out Neh. 7: 73 (!)—10: 40, and put it between Ezr. 10: 44 and Neh. 1: 1; and this did not by any means remove the existing difficulties. His version gained such acceptance, however, that it was the standard recension at least from the early part of the second century B. C. until the time of the historian Josephus (cf. what I have said in regard to "Edition B" in the chapter dealing with the Nature and Origin of First Esdras). Even before the time of this last transposition, the interpolation of Nehemiah's name into the three ill-gotten chapters of his book had begun to take place, judging from I Esdr. 5: 40 (= Ezr. 2: 63), Νεεμίας (!) καὶ Ἀθαρίας.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The mixing of the Ezra story with that of Nehemiah naturally brought about the interpolation of Nehemiah's name in certain passages where "the governor" was mentioned. On the form and history of these interpolations see below, the notes on Neh. 8: 9 and (especially) 10: 2.

<sup>7</sup> As I have remarked already in several places, the evidence seems to show that the Chronicler's book was little known during the first generation or two after it was written (neither Bar Sira nor the author of Enoch 89: 72 had ever heard of Ezra, for example). It may have been a good while before it was copied at all; then when its real vogue began, the copies were made from the rearranged and interpolated edition, which was the popular one.

<sup>8</sup> This means, apparently, that in some text older than Edition B the name "Nehemiah" had been interpolated in Neh. 7: 65, and then had been carried over thence, through carelessness, into Ezr. 2: 63.

This interpolation was afterward made in other places (already mentioned) in "Edition A," and their presence was doubtless the chief reason why this latter recension was ultimately made authoritative.

I print here the story of Ezra in its original sequence, as the best possible demonstration of the correctness of the conclusions just stated. How does one who is attempting to restore a dissected map or picture know when he has succeeded? The story as here arranged shows perfect order instead of complete chaos, the obvious design of the narrator carried out in a harmonious way from beginning to end. It is the one arrangement to which logic compels, a dozen different lines of argument all pointing in the same direction. And it is the *only* arrangement which can meet all the tests named at the beginning of this chapter. The comparison of the dissected picture is an unjust one in two respects, since (1) it suggests numerous pieces, and (2) he who restores the picture has no need to explain the disorder in which he found it. In the case of this narrative, the shifting of one single block, Neh. 7:70—8:18, brings back the original order of the Ezra chapters—a solution whose simplicity puts it in strong contrast with every other one which has been proposed; and the explanation of the displacement, a thing not to be dispensed with, is provided.<sup>9</sup>

Ezra goes to Jerusalem in order to bring back the people to the neglected and forgotten law of their God, i. e. the Pentateuch. He is sent by the king, who gives him full power, and he and his companions carry contributions for the improvement of the temple service. Arriving in Jerusalem, they present their gifts, and the governor and the leaders of the people also contribute liberally. Two months later, at the beginning of the sacred

<sup>9</sup> Professor H. P. Smith, in his *Old Testament History*, adopts my restoration of the Ezra story, but proposes to modify it in one respect, suggesting (p. 393, n. 1) that the list in Neh. 7 also belonged originally to the story of Ezra, Ezr. 8:36 having been continued by Neh. 7:5 ff. What I have written in the preceding pages is perhaps a sufficient answer to such a suggestion, but I will add: (1) There would then be no plausible way of explaining the presence of the chapters in the book of Nehemiah. (2) The passage 7:70-73 would be deprived of any natural connection; and it would look like a mere variant (a very corrupt variant!) of Ezr. 2:68-70. (3) In Ezr. 8 there is no obvious reason for a census; in Neh. 7, on the contrary, vs. 4 prepares for this very thing, and chap. 11 continues it without a break! The Chronicler represents Nehemiah as interested in the census of the community (see also above, pp. 249 f.), and the list there serves an important purpose; while in the Ezra story it could serve no purpose at all. These considerations are quite decisive.

Another Old Testament scholar, Professor H. G. Mitchell, accepts some of my conclusions while rejecting others (*Journal of Bib. Lit.*, 1903, pp. 92 ff.). I think it will be seen that every objection which he raises is fully met in the present chapter. His own hypothesis seems to me to leave both the stories of Ezra and Nehemiah in a hopeless muddle.

“seventh month,” Ezra prepares his great assembly at Jerusalem, and reads the law of Moses in public. The first fruit of the reading (as is fitting) was joy and good cheer, for the people found themselves summoned to undertake at once the celebration of a festival which had been lost to sight. But results of a less pleasant nature were bound to come soon. The restoring of a neglected law means reform. The princes had heard, with dismay, the statute forbidding intermarriage with the heathen, and now come to Ezra to confess the sin of the people. He charges the guilty ones with their crime; they confess, and agree that “the law must be followed” (יִעָשֶׂה בְּתוֹרָה, Ezr. 10:3). A thorough work of investigation, occupying three months, is instituted, and all the foreign wives and the children born of them are sent away. Then, after a breathing spell of about three weeks, all the people assemble once more at Jerusalem, and the solemn covenant, which crowns the work of Ezra, is drawn up and signed.

Here is a clear and consistent story, the only clear and consistent story dealing with Ezra that has ever been told by any one. That it is the story actually told, in the first place, by the Chronicler himself, is still further attested by *the chronology*. The dates given in such profusion throughout the narrative are now all intelligible for the first time. No other single fact could give so striking a vindication as this of the correctness of my restoration, and for this reason I have printed the successive dates in the margin, so that their mutual relation can be seen at a glance. The “unity of time” in the story also deserves to be emphasized. The initial date of Ezra’s undertaking, according to 7:9, was the first day of the first month,<sup>10</sup> in the seventh year of Artaxerxes;<sup>11</sup> that is, April 1,<sup>12</sup> 398 B. C. The whole series of events of which he is the hero<sup>13</sup> occupies just one year and twenty-four days (cf. Neh. 9:1 with Ezr. 10:17). The multiple of twelve is not accidental; notice also how in Ezr. 8:31 the date of the actual beginning of the journey is given as the twelfth day of the first month. Compare the many similar

<sup>10</sup> Observe that the Chronicler’s date for the beginning of the former expedition, under Cyrus, was also the first day of the first month (above, pp. 131, 134).

<sup>11</sup> Artaxerxes II Mnemon; see above, pp. 38 f., 170, 239.

<sup>12</sup> Merely for the sake of convenience, I have used this inaccurate terminology, calling the first month “April,” and so on throughout the year.

<sup>13</sup> Of course it is to be remembered that the Chronicler brings him in again for a moment, in very characteristic fashion, in the story of Nehemiah, a dozen years later (12:36).



cases, in all parts of the Chronicler's narrative, which have already been mentioned.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to reiterate, that in all this there is not a word said about the introduction of a new law. What is represented is everywhere and consistently this, that the old law, of whose existence the leaders of the people well knew, and whose main prescriptions they were of course following all the time, but which had been sadly neglected, so that many of its commands were quite forgotten, was now reinstated in its completeness by one who had authority. This, as I have already shown, is one of the Chronicler's favorite ideas, to which he returns again and again, in his history of Israel. See above, especially pp. 237, 247. More than this, the picture of a revival of the law immediately followed, as a result, by a formal covenant entered into by the people, is one which he delights to paint. According to his narrative in II Chron. 14:4, the Judean king Asa restored the law. It had been neglected then in the same manner as in the time of Ezra; the people had no opportunity to read it, and there was no "expert scribe" to teach it to them. As one of the prophets of Asa's kingdom said (15:3): "Now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and *without a teaching priest*, and without law." After the law had been restored, the people gathered together at Jerusalem (vss. 10-13) and entered into a covenant "to seek the Lord, . . . and that whosoever would not seek the Lord should be put to death." So also in 34:32, after repeating from Kings the story of Josiah's public reading of the law, and of the covenant which the king made, the Chronicler adds: "And he caused all who were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to stand to it. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem did according to the covenant of God." In like manner after the first reading of the law by Ezra, when the need of the first great reform is seen, one of the leaders of the people says (Ezr. 10:3): "Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God, to put away all such wives," etc. And then finally, after still another public reading and expounding of the law (Neh. 9:3), the people are represented as signing and sealing a more comprehensive covenant, embracing those things which were commonly neglected, and yet (in the mind of the Chronicler) were of the greatest importance. There is never a hint of such a thing as

accepting a new law, only the familiar idea of renewing an old one which had been neglected.<sup>14</sup>

Before leaving the story of Ezra, the question deserves to be raised once more whether some valuable material, however small, for the history of the Persian period may not be found in it. It is the Chronicler's own tale, his composition from beginning to end, that is certain; but even so, every witness in its favor must be given a fair hearing. I have already shown with sufficient detail of proof, that the whole Ezra narrative is motived history, composed with the very same purpose which produced the similar narratives written to supplement the accounts of Samuel and Kings; and that there is not a particle of evidence that any other story of Ezra, written or oral, lies behind this one (see above, pp. 238, 242 f.). The only question that can arise is this, whether the Chronicler has not used events or names of persons which can legitimately be received by us as historical material. But the answer to this question, the only answer justified by the evidence, is an unqualified negative. I have remarked elsewhere upon the fact that the Chronicler, in all this tale, recounts no events at all except such as serve his apologetic purpose. What is told of the Ezra expedition is just that which was narrated of the former "return" in Ezzr. 1-3: a royal edict; names of the participants; enumeration of vessels for the temple; special mention (for the purpose of praise or blame) of certain men or groups of men; the fact that the several classes duly occupied "their" cities. So also in the next episode: the same magnificent liberality, and told in the same words, in Neh. 7:70-72 as in Ezzr. 2:68 f. and I Chron. 29:6 ff. The account of the reading of the law is merely repeated from the Chronicler's story of the dedication of Solomon's temple, in II Chron. 5-7; it is the very same scene, with the same principal incidents (for details, see my *Comp.*, p. 59). All the ideas found in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, and

<sup>14</sup> Bertholet, *Comm.*, pp. 75 f., argues that a chapter must have fallen out after Neh. 9, namely a chapter telling how the people formally pledged themselves to accept "the new law;" Neh. 10, he insists, cannot be the continuation of chap. 9, because in the covenant which it contains nothing is said about adopting any new code! This is perfectly typical of the whole treatment of the Ezra narrative which prevails at present; the rule everywhere followed appears to be this: Let the documents go, but keep the present "critical" theory; never this rule: Let the theory go, but hold to the documents. No part of the Old Testament, in fact, has brought forth so much perverse exegesis as this tale of Ezra. It will doubtless long be customary to cite it as the account of "the introduction of the Priest-code," though this view of it has not the least foundation of any sort. The narrative says nothing of the kind; the laws quoted and accepted in the story *do not belong, as a rule, to the priestly legislation* (read Bertholet, *loc. cit.*, p. 76!); and finally, as I have said elsewhere (pp. 136 f.), there is neither evidence nor likelihood that any "Priest-code" ever existed.

most of the phrases in which they are couched, are commonplaces in the Chronicler's history. The story of the reform in the matter of foreign wives differs only in the nature of the case from the stories told by him of the reforms of Asa, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah. The manner of the narrative is just the same, and the properties and personages are as nearly identical as they can be. The details introduced by way of embellishment (Ezra's violent manifestations of grief; the storms of rain; the stairs on which the Levites stood, etc.) are like the similar ones found in every part of the earlier history, devised solely with the purpose of giving life to the story, not in order to give it the semblance of truth—and it does not, indeed, sound in the least like truth. And finally, the account of the signing of the covenant is, as I have just shown, one of the Chronicler's specialties, a thing which he brings into his history over and over again. And all the items of the covenant are those which he reiterates elsewhere, in about the same words, in such chapters as II Chron. 31 and Neh. 13.

In all this there is not a word which sounds like popular tradition, nor a single incident which stands outside the direct line of the Chronicler's tendency. As for names of persons and places, what appears to be opulence in this regard is really the extreme of poverty. We have only the same old threadbare stuff, names of "the chief of the people, the priests, and the Levites" which have been paraded in every chapter of the book since the time of Moses. "Ezra" himself is the personification of the Chronicler's interests, completely identical with the Nehemiah of Neh. 13 and (*mutatis mutandis*) with each of the long list of ecclesiastical heroes and reformers created by the Chronicler and introduced by him into his history of the Judean kingdom. It is a most significant fact, among others, that the Chronicler did not know who the governor of Judea was during the first part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. He could not leave him out, and therefore speaks of him simply as "the Tirshatha" in Neh. 7:70, 8:9, and 10:2 (see the note on the last-named passage).<sup>15</sup> He did undertake to present, as a matter

<sup>15</sup> It appears to be a similar instance of caution when he employs the term, without the name, in Ezr. 2:63 and Neh. 7:65. The reason for this is obvious. The Aramaic tale, incorporated by the Chronicler, says expressly (Ezr. 5:14) that Sheshbazzar was the פהה "governor" of the Jews at the time when the foundation of the temple was laid; while the same document (6:7) gives Zerubbabel the title פהה "governor." In the face of these conflicting statements, there was only one prudent course. It was doubtless from the same motive—caution—that the Chronicler chose the unusual term תרשהא "Tirshatha." Just as soon as he gets back to firm ground, in Neh. 12:26, he writes "Nehemiah the governor" (הפהה).

of course, a list of the high-priests during the Persian period. Regarding the list, which contains too few names, and gives other evidence of being artificially created, I shall have more to say later. It is uncertain whether he intended the persons named in Ezr. 10:6, "the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib," to belong to the high-priestly line, or not (cf. Neh. 13:4); if that was his intention, so much the worse for his chronology.

Certain words of Bernheim, *Die historische Methode*<sup>1</sup>, p. 426, are so nearly applicable to the present case that they are worth quoting. He writes: "In einer eigenthümlichen Lage befindet sich die Kritik manchen Zeugnissen gegenüber, die, einzig in ihrer Art, durch andere Quellen weder positiv noch negativ zu kontrollieren sind, weil aus derselben Zeit, bzw. über dieselben Thatsachen gar keine anderen Quellen erhalten sind, während wir obendrein wissen, dass die Zeugnisse nicht durchweg Zuverlässig sind; . . . und aus einer gewissen Schwäche des Gemüts sind wir geneigt, obwohl wir nicht recht trauen, dieselben gelten zu lassen, solange wir sie nicht kontrollieren können, weil wir gar keine Kenntnis über die betreffenden Thatsachen besitzen, falls wir sie aufgeben." In one respect, indeed, the case before us differs slightly from the one described by Bernheim, in that the documents which he characterizes are "not altogether trustworthy;" while in the writings of the Chronicler we have the work of an author who is well known to us as thoroughly untrustworthy, and, what is far more important, as one who composes history with a motive which is obviously furthered by this very narrative. That being the case, it is plain that no use whatever can be made of any part of the Ezra story as a source for the history of the Jews in the Persian period. The same is of course true of Neh. 7:1-69 and chaps. 11-13, with the solitary exception of the list of high-priests in 12:10 f., 22, where we are able partially to control the Chronicler's statements by the help of other sources.

The translation which here follows is based on an emended text, the reason for the emendation being given in each case. Our massoretic text is in the main excellent, standing probably very close to what the Chronicler himself wrote. The other texts (rendered by I Esdras, Theodotion, and Jerome) are inferior. I have omitted the lists of names and the long prayer in Neh. 9, as not essential to my present purpose, which is to print the narrative as it originally stood.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE EXPEDITION<sup>a</sup>

(Ezr. 8:1-36; Neh. 7:70-73a)

**Ezr. 8**<sup>1</sup> And these are the chief of the fathers,<sup>b</sup> and their genealogy, those who went up with me from Babylonia<sup>c</sup> in the reign of Artaxerxes the king. <sup>2</sup>Of the sons of Phinehas, Gershom, . . . etc. (*Then follows, in vs. 2-14, the list, composed in the Chronicler's characteristic manner.*) <sup>15</sup>I assembled them at the river which flows into the Ahava,<sup>d</sup> and there we encamped for three days. And I took account of the people,<sup>e</sup> and of the priests, but of the sons of Levi I found none there. <sup>16</sup>So I sent Eliezer, Ariel, Shemaiah, Elnathan, Jarib,<sup>f</sup> Nathan, Zachariah, and Meshullam, chief men; and Joiarib and Elnathan, men of discernment; <sup>17</sup>directing them to Iddo, who was the chief in the place Casiphia. And I instructed them what to say to Iddo my brother,<sup>g</sup> and to the Nethinim in the place Casiphia, to bring us servants for the house of our God. <sup>18</sup>And by the good hand of our God upon us they brought us a man of understanding, of the sons of Mahli, son of Levi, son of Israel; even<sup>h</sup> Sherebiah, with his sons and his brethren, eighteen; <sup>19</sup>Also Hashabiah and<sup>i</sup> Jeshaiiah, of the sons of Merari, with their brethren<sup>i</sup> and their children, twenty. <sup>20</sup>And of the Nethinim,

<sup>a</sup>For a translation of the narrative immediately preceding, see above, pp. 205-7.

<sup>b</sup>Cf. Ezr. 1:5, and especially I Esdr. 5:4. See the texts and annotations given above, pp. 120-35.

<sup>c</sup>"Babylonia," not "Babylon;" cf. my notes, above, on II Chron. 36:20, Ezr. 5:12, 6:1.

<sup>d</sup>The name is known only from this chapter, and the translation is accordingly uncertain.

<sup>e</sup>The Chronicler has no fixed order of mentioning these three classes: "people (or, 'Israel'), priests, Levites." The order found here occurs very frequently; thus I Chron. 9:2, 23:2, II Chron. 17:7 f. (contrast 19:8), 34:30, 35:8 f., Ezr. 1:5, I Esdr. 4:53 ff., Ezr. 2:2 ff., 6:16, 7:7, 13, 9:1, Neh. 8:13, 10:23, 11:3. See also above, p. 238, note.

<sup>f</sup>The "Elnathan" which follows this name in MT is due to the error of a copyist whose eye strayed to the same pair of names just one line below. Our text is otherwise correct. Cf. with this vs. II Chron. 17:7! The Chronicler's style is not like that of any one else.

<sup>g</sup>It is obvious that אהי והתנינים must be divided אהי והתנינים.

<sup>h</sup>The occasional use of an "explicative *waw*" in both the Hebrew and the Aramaic of the Greek period is well attested. Cf. my notes, above, on I Esdr. 3:1, 6, Ezr. 6:8, 9; further, I Chron. 28:1, Neh. 8:13, 9:16, 10:29. Theodotion's Hebrew had here ושרביה ובניו, instead of ושרביה ובניו.

<sup>i</sup>Reading אהיהם and אהיהם.

whom David and the princes gave for the service of the Levites: two hundred and twenty Nethinim, all registered by name.

<sup>21</sup>And I proclaimed a fast there, at the river Ahava, that we might humble ourselves before our God, to seek from him a prosperous journey, for ourselves, our little ones, and all our goods. <sup>22</sup>For I had been ashamed to ask of the king an armed and mounted guard, to protect us from enemies on the way; because we had said to the king: The hand of our God is upon all those who seek him, for good; but his power and his wrath are against all who forsake him. <sup>23</sup>So we fasted, and besought our God for this, and he accepted our prayer.

<sup>24</sup>And I set apart twelve men of the chief priests, . . . . Sherebiah and Hashabiah and ten of their brethren.<sup>k</sup> <sup>25</sup>And I weighed out for them the silver, and the gold, and the vessels; the offering for the house of our God which the king, and his counselors and princes, and all Israel there present had offered. <sup>26</sup>I weighed into their hand six hundred and fifty talents of silver, and one hundred silver vessels worth . . . . talents;<sup>1</sup> one hundred talents of gold; <sup>27</sup>twenty bowls of gold worth a thousand darics;<sup>m</sup> and twelve vessels of fine polished bronze,<sup>n</sup> precious as gold. <sup>28</sup>And I said to them:<sup>o</sup> Ye are holy unto Yahwè, and the vessels are holy, and the silver and the gold are a freewill offering to Yahwè the God of your fathers. <sup>29</sup>Watch and keep them, until ye weigh them out before the chief priests and Levites and the chief of the fathers of Israel, in Jerusalem, in<sup>p</sup> the chambers of the house of Yahwè. <sup>30</sup>So the priests and the Levites received the weight of the silver and the gold, and the vessels, to bring them to Jerusalem to the house of our God.

<sup>k</sup>Probably something has fallen out after the numeral "twelve," either the single word **וְיִמְהַלְלֵיהֶם** or else a longer passage. We should expect twelve priests and twelve Levites, cf. vss. 30 and 33. The **ל** before "Sherebiah" was pretty certainly written by the Chronicler himself.

<sup>1</sup>The numeral seems to have fallen out; it must have stood just after the word "talents."

<sup>m</sup>The word **דַּרְכָּמֶן**, derived from *δρακίος*, originated in the Greek period and was formed after the analogy of **דְּרַחְמָן**, "drachma." The Chronicler uses it also in I Chron. 29:7.

<sup>n</sup>The numeral here was originally **עֶשְׂרִים**, as I Esdr. 8:56 (*δέκα δύο*) shows. See also Josephus, *Antt.* xi, 136. **נַחֲשֵׁת** is construct state, and **מִצֵּהָבָה** (a noun, of course, with collective meaning) is probably correct.

<sup>o</sup>Cf. I Chron. 15:12, II Chron. 29:5, 35:3-6. Very characteristic.

<sup>p</sup>The text is slightly corrupt.



<sup>31</sup>And we set out from the river Ahava on the twelfth<sup>q</sup> day of April 12 the first month, to go to Jerusalem. And the hand of our God was upon us, and he delivered us from the power of the enemy and the lie-in-wait, on the way. <sup>32</sup>So we came to Jerusalem, and there we abode for three days. <sup>33</sup>And on the fourth day the August 1 (See 7:8 f.) silver, the gold, and the vessels were weighed in the house of our God, under the direction of Meremoth the son of Uriah, the priest, with whom was Eleazar the son of Phinehas; and with them were Jozabad the son of Jeshua and Noadiah the son of Binnui, the Levites. <sup>34</sup>(They received) the whole by number and by weight,<sup>r</sup> and all of the weight was written down at that time.

<sup>35</sup>The children of the exile, those who had just come from the captivity, offered whole burnt offerings to the God of Israel: twelve bullocks for all Israel, ninety-six rams, seventy-seven lambs, and twelve he-goats for a sin offering; all this as a whole burnt offering to Yahwè. <sup>36</sup>And they delivered the orders of the king to his satraps and the governors of the province Beyond the River;<sup>s</sup> these accordingly aided the people and the house of God. **Neh. 7**<sup>70</sup> And some of the chief of the fathers made donations to the work. The Tirshatha<sup>t</sup> gave into the treasury a thousand drachmas<sup>u</sup> in gold, fifty basins, thirty priests' garments, and five hundred [minas of silver].<sup>v</sup> <sup>71</sup>And some of the chief of the fathers gave to the treasury of the work<sup>w</sup> twenty thousand drachmas of gold, and two thousand and two hundred minas of silver. <sup>72</sup>And that which the rest of the people gave was twenty thousand drachmas of gold, two thousand minas of silver, and sixty-seven priests' garments.

<sup>73a</sup>And the priests, the Levites, the porters, and the singers, some of the people, and the Nethinim, even all Israel, dwelt in their cities.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>q</sup>The Chronicler's favorite number, again, for this most important date.

<sup>r</sup>The same peculiar construction, and the same words, in I Chron. 28:14 ff.

<sup>s</sup>Concerning these officers, see above, pp. 125, 174 f.

<sup>t</sup>That is, the governor of Judea. The Chronicler employs the title in Ezer. 2:63, Neh. 7:65, 8:9, and (probably) 10:2; in these passages, also, as a non-committal designation, *the name not being given*. "Nehemiah" in 8:9 and 10:2 is an interpolation; see the notes on the two passages.

<sup>u</sup>Observe the Greek word.

<sup>v</sup>It is probable, as many have observed, that the words **קָסָה מְנִיָּים** originally stood between **וְ** and **הַמִּשָּׁה**.

<sup>w</sup>With this whole passage cf. I Chron. 29:6 ff. (obviously the work of the same hand!), II Chron. 29:31 ff., 35:7 ff.

<sup>x</sup>Cf. I Chron. 9:2 and Ezer. 2:1 (end)! Our text of the verse is probably just what the Chronicler wrote.

## THE READING OF THE LAW

(Neh. 7: 73b—8: 18)

October 1

7<sup>73b</sup> And when the seventh month was come, the children of Israel being in their cities,<sup>y</sup> 8<sup>1</sup> all the people assembled as one man at the open place before the water gate;<sup>z</sup> and they sent word to Ezra the scribe to bring the book of the Law of Moses, which Yahwè had commanded to Israel. <sup>2</sup>So Ezra the priest brought the law before the congregation, both men and women, and all that could hear with understanding, on the first day of the seventh month. <sup>3</sup>And he read in it, over against the open place before the water gate, from early morning until midday, before the men and women and all who could understand; and the ears of all the people were attentive to the book of the law. <sup>4</sup>And Ezra the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood<sup>a</sup> which had been made for the purpose; and there stood beside him Mattathiah, Shema, Anaiah, Uriah, Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his right hand; and at his left hand Pedaiah, Mishaël, Malchijah, Hashum, Hashbaddanah, and Zechariah.<sup>b</sup> <sup>5</sup>And Ezra opened the book in the sight of all the people (for he was above the people), and as he opened it they all stood up. <sup>6</sup>Then Ezra blessed Yahwè, the great God; and all the people answered, Amen, amen, lifting up their hands, and they bowed down and worshiped Yahwè with their faces to the ground. <sup>7</sup>Moreover Jeshua, Bani, Sherebiah, Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodiah, Maaseiah, Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, and Pelaiah, the Levites,<sup>c</sup> instructed the people in the law, while all remained in their places. <sup>8</sup>And they read in the book of the law distinctly,<sup>d</sup> and gave the sense, so that the reading was understood.

<sup>y</sup> Compare I Chron. 13:2, which is an instructive parallel.

<sup>z</sup> See above, pp. 234, 247; and compare also II Chron. 5:3, 29:4.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the brazen pulpit used by Solomon on a similar occasion, II Chron. 6:13 (not in Kings). Just as Neh. 7:70-72 is repeated from I Chron. 29:6-8, so the whole scene in Neh. 8 is, in its main features, a repetition of the one pictured in II Chron., chaps. 5-7. See my *Composition*, p. 59.

<sup>b</sup> Neither Greek version gives "Meshullam," and it obviously originated in a marginal variant of מִשְׁמַל or מִשְׁשָׁל. These *twelve* names are intended as those of laymen; cf. 10:15-28, and Ezer. 10:25-43.

<sup>c</sup> Omit 7. The number of these names was probably *twelve* originally, but there is no good ground for emending the text. In Theodotion's original, the resemblance of מִבְּיָיִם (מִבְּיָיִם) had caused the accidental omission of eleven words.

<sup>d</sup> The usage elsewhere, and the evident intent of the grammatical connection here, combine to render this meaning certain.

<sup>9</sup>And the Tirshatha,<sup>c</sup> and Ezra the priest the scribe, and the Levites who taught the people, said to all the people: This day is holy unto Yahwè your God; mourn not, nor weep. For all the people wept, when they heard the words of the law. <sup>10</sup>They<sup>f</sup> also said to them: Go, eat the fat and drink the sweet, and send portions to him that hath no provision; for this day is holy unto our Lord. And be ye not distressed; for the joy of Yahwè is your strength. <sup>11</sup>And the Levites quieted all the people, saying: Be still, for the day is holy; neither be ye distressed. <sup>12</sup>So all the people went away, to eat and drink, and to send portions, and to make great rejoicing, for they gave heed to the things which had been told them.

<sup>13</sup>Then were assembled |<sup>g</sup> on the following day the chief of the October 2 fathers of all the people, the priests, and the Levites, unto Ezra the scribe, even that they might give attention to the words of the law. <sup>14</sup>And they found written in the law, that Yahwè had given command, through Moses, that the children of Israel should dwell in booths during the festival of the seventh month; <sup>15</sup>and that they should proclaim<sup>h</sup> and publish in all their cities and in Jerusalem, saying: Go forth to the mountain, and bring olive branches, and branches of wild olive, also of the myrtle, and the palm, and other leafy trees, in order to make booths according to the prescription. <sup>16</sup>So the people went forth, and brought them; and they made for themselves booths, upon their own roofs, and in their courts, and in the courts of the house of God; also in the open places before the water gate and the gate of Ephraim. <sup>17</sup>And all the congregation, those who had returned from the captivity,<sup>i</sup> made booths and dwelt in them; for the children of Israel had not done thus from the days of Joshua the son of Nun unto that

<sup>c</sup>The words **נהמיהה הוה** are a later addition, as the old Greek version shows. See the note on 7:70. Theodotion's original had simply *substituted* the name "Nehemiah," both here and in 10:2.

<sup>f</sup>Third pers. sing. for indefinite subject, as very often elsewhere. So also vs. 18.

<sup>g</sup>Here ends the fragment originally plucked from the middle of the old Greek translation, and known to us as "First Esdras." See above, p. 36.

<sup>h</sup>A good example of the Chronicler's careless way of narrating (cf. above, pp. 158 f.). What here follows is, of course, *not* what they found in the law, but what Ezra said to those who had come to him. (It is possible, to be sure, that the original text had **ויראמר אשר** in place of **ויראש**.)

<sup>i</sup>Cf. Ezr. 6:21. 8:35.

October 22 day.<sup>k</sup> And there was very great rejoicing. <sup>15</sup>And they read in the book of the law of God day by day, from the first day unto the last. So they observed the feast seven days, and on the eighth day was a festal assembly, according to the ordinance.

### THE EXPULSION OF THE GENTILE WIVES

(Ezr. 9:1—10:44)

November (?) **Ezr. 9** <sup>1</sup>Now when these things were finished, the chief men drew near to me, saying: The people of Israel, the priests, and the Levites, have not separated themselves from the peoples of the land, with<sup>1</sup> all their abominations, namely the Canaanites, Hittites, Perizzites, Jebusites, Ammonites, Moabites, Egyptians, and Amorites. <sup>2</sup>For they have taken of their daughters, for themselves and for their sons, and thus the holy race hath been mixed<sup>m</sup> with the peoples of the land. Moreover, the hand of the chief men and the rulers hath been foremost in this trespass. <sup>3</sup>When I heard this thing, I rent my garment and my cloak, and plucked out some of the hair of my head and of my beard, and sat as though stunned. <sup>4</sup>Then were assembled unto me all those that trembled at the words of the God of Israel, because of the trespass of the men of the exile; but I continued sitting as though stunned, until the evening offering. <sup>5</sup>And at the time of the evening offering I arose from my humiliation, even with my garment and my cloak rent; and I fell upon my knees, and spread out my hands unto Yahwè my God.<sup>n</sup> <sup>6</sup>And I said: O my God, I am confounded and

<sup>k</sup>Meaning, of course, that the festival had not before been observed so universally and completely, since the time of Joshua. The statement is merely a parallel to the one found in II Chron. 35:18. The Chronicler had several times, in the earlier history, mentioned the celebration of this festival, and with emphasis. See not only Ezr. 3:4, but especially II Chron. 7:8 ff., 8:13, in both of which passages he has deliberately altered the text of Kings. He could not possibly have put into his book, here in the Ezra story, a flat contradiction of the statement which he had previously made with so evidently studied purpose.

<sup>1</sup>I believe that the reading of our text (with **2**) is correct. This is probably one of the Chronicler's ellipses.

<sup>m</sup>Cf. Ps. 106:35, and especially Neh. 9:2, 13:3. (In the last-named passage Meyer, *Entstehung*, p. 130, would emend to "Arabs"!)

<sup>n</sup>Cf. II Chron. 6:13. This part of the Ezra story is written in the Chronicler's liveliest style—not, however, a whit more lively than 10:1-14, where the story is told of Ezra in the third person. See above, pp. 234, 246 f. The prayer which follows is also thoroughly characteristic.

ashamed to lift up<sup>o</sup> my face unto thee; for our sins have multiplied exceedingly,<sup>p</sup> and our guilt hath mounted high as the heavens. <sup>7</sup>Since the days of our fathers we have been exceeding guilty, unto this day; and for our sins, we, our kings, and our priests, have been given into the power of the kings of the lands, for slaughter, for captivity, for plundering, and for humiliation, as at this day. <sup>8</sup>But now for a moment grace hath been given from Yahwè our God, to save for us a remnant, and to give us a secure fastening in his holy place; that our God may restore the light to our eyes, and grant us a little reviving in our bondage. <sup>9</sup>For bondservants we are;<sup>q</sup> yet in our bondage our God hath not forsaken us, but hath extended to us favor in the sight of the kings of Persia. to grant us a reviving, to raise up the house of our God, and to repair its ruins, and to give us a wall of protection<sup>r</sup> in Judea and Jerusalem. <sup>10</sup>Now therefore, O our God, what shall we say after this? for we have forsaken thy commandments, <sup>11</sup>which thou didst command by thy servants the prophets, saying:<sup>s</sup> The land which ye are entering, to possess it, is a land foul with the filth of the heathen peoples, with their abominations, since they have filled it from end to end with their uncleanness. <sup>12</sup>Now therefore give not your daughters to their sons, nor take for your sons their daughters, nor seek their peace or their welfare, for ever;<sup>t</sup> that ye may be strong, and eat the good of the land, and make it the perpetual inheritance of your children.<sup>u</sup> <sup>13</sup>And after all that hath come upon us for our evil deeds, and for our great guilt,—and yet thou, O our God, hast spared us, punishing<sup>v</sup> less than our sins deserve, and hast given us such a remnant as this,—<sup>14</sup>shall we again break thy commandments, and intermarry with the people of

<sup>o</sup> With the peculiar interjection of אלהי at this point, cf. the similar case in I Chron. 29:17.

<sup>p</sup> The impossible רשע is merely dittography of the following רשע.

<sup>q</sup> Cf. especially Neh. 9:36.

<sup>r</sup> This is of course figurative!

<sup>s</sup> The manner of the following quotation, given as from "the Prophets" (by which word he means primarily *Moses*) and not truly representing any single passage, is exactly what we have already noticed in II Chron. 36:21 (see the note above, p. 120). The Chronicler quotes as he writes—carelessly and irresponsibly.

<sup>t</sup> All this is a most instructive example of misquotation!

<sup>u</sup> Cf. I Chron. 28:8 (not in Sam.-Kings).

<sup>v</sup> The Hebrew contains one of the Chronicler's ellipses.

these abominations? Wouldest thou not be angry with us to the point of cutting us off without residue or remnant? <sup>15</sup>O Yahwè, God of Israel, thou dealest righteously, that we are left a remnant as at this day; behold we are before thee in our guilt, for none can stand before thee because of this.

**10**<sup>1</sup> Now while Ezra<sup>w</sup> prayed and made confession, weeping and prostrating himself before the house of God, there were assembled unto him a very great congregation of the people of Israel, men, women, and children; moreover the people wept exceedingly. <sup>2</sup>Then Shechaniah the son of Jehiel, of the sons of Elam, said to Ezra: We have trespassed against our God, and have married foreign women of the peoples of the land; yet even now there is hope for Israel, in spite of this. <sup>3</sup>Now therefore let us make a covenant with our God, to put away all such wives,<sup>x</sup> and the children born of them, according to the counsel of my lord and of those who tremble at the commandment of our God;<sup>y</sup> and let obedience be given to the law.<sup>z</sup> <sup>4</sup>Arise, for the matter resteth upon thee, and we are with thee; stand firm, and do it. <sup>5</sup>So Ezra arose, and made the chief men of the priests, of the Levites, and of all Israel, swear that they would do according to this word. So they took oath.

<sup>6</sup>Then Ezra withdrew from before the house of God, and went to the chamber of Jehohanan the son of Eliashib,<sup>a</sup> and there he passed the night;<sup>b</sup> he ate no bread, nor drank water, for he was mourning because of the trespass of the men of the exile. <sup>7</sup>And they made proclamation throughout Judea and Jerusalem, to all those of the exile, that they should assemble at Jerusalem; <sup>8</sup>and

<sup>w</sup>The reason for the use of the third person in this chapter is simply this, that when the Chronicler sat down to write it he did not happen to identify himself, in imagination, with his hero. On the next occasion, in another mood, he might write in the first person; he was under no obligation to write always in the same way. See the remarks above, pp. 244 f.

<sup>x</sup>The qualifying "such" is of course understood from the context. The article is omitted just as in 1:11 (see my note, p. 124) and in vs. 17 of this chapter.

<sup>y</sup>That is: after my lord (Ezra) shall have consulted with the more devout of the leaders of Israel. See vs. 5.

<sup>z</sup>Namely, the law *which had just been read*, and from which the "chief men" (cf. 9:1 with Neh. 8:13) *had learned of the prohibition of foreign marriages*. See the introductory remarks, above.

<sup>a</sup>See the introductory remarks at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>b</sup>Reading  $\text{וַיִּלָּךְ}$  instead of  $\text{וַיִּלֵּךְ}$ .



that whoever did not come within three specified<sup>c</sup> days, according to the counsel of the chief men and the elders, all his property should be forfeited, and he himself separated from the congregation of the exile.

<sup>9</sup>Then all the men of Judah and Benjamin assembled at Jerusalem within the three days; it was<sup>d</sup> the ninth month, on the twentieth day of the month. And all the people sat in the open place before the house of God, trembling because of this matter, and because of the storms of rain. <sup>10</sup>Then Ezra the priest arose, and said to them: Ye have trespassed, and have married foreign women, adding this to the guilt of Israel. <sup>11</sup>Now therefore make confession to Yahwè, the God of your fathers, and do his will; and separate yourselves from the peoples of the land, and from the foreign wives. <sup>12</sup>Then all the congregation answered and said with a loud voice: Thus, according to thy word, it is our duty to do. <sup>13</sup>But the people are many, and this is a time of heavy rains, so that we cannot remain out of doors. Moreover it is not a work of one day, nor of two; for very many of us have sinned in this manner. <sup>14</sup>Let our chief men (that is, of all the congregation)<sup>e</sup> be stationed here, and let all those in our cities who have taken foreign wives come to them at stated times, and with them the elders and judges<sup>f</sup> of their several cities; to the end that we may turn back from us the wrath of our God because of<sup>g</sup> this thing. (<sup>15</sup>Nevertheless Jonathan the son of Asahel and Jahzeiah the son of Tikwah stood against this counsel, and Meshullam and Shabbethai the Levite seconded them.)<sup>h</sup> <sup>16</sup>And the people of the exile did so. Ezra the priest and<sup>i</sup> certain chief men according to

December 2

<sup>c</sup> If the definite article is original here (הַיָּמִים), this must be its meaning. That is, three days were appointed during which the men were to present themselves at Jerusalem for registration.

<sup>d</sup> Nothing is missing here! Cf. 7:8 and 6:15, and see my note (p. 195, note c) on the latter passage. This is a common and thoroughly Semitic construction.

<sup>e</sup> Cf. Neh. 9:32, II Chron. 23:4, 28:15, etc. The לְ explaining the suffix, as so often in Arabic.

<sup>f</sup> Cf. II Chron. 15:3, 19:5, Ezra 7:10, 25 f., and see above, p. 237.

<sup>g</sup> Read עַל הַדָּבָר, with Jerome, Theodotion (cf. vs. 9), and, almost certainly, the old Greek version (the *περὶ* of the L text, I Esdr. 9:13, is presumably derived from Theodotion, however).

<sup>h</sup> The Chronicler's imagination delighted in creating such incidents, as I have already shown with abundant illustration. Cf. also II Chron. 30:10 f., 18, I Chron. 21:6, Neh. 7:61-65, as well as such passages as II Chron. 28:12, etc.

<sup>i</sup> Read וְאֲנָשִׁים, with Theodotion and Jerome. The old Greek (= ἡγεμόνες) also gives sure evidence that the original verb was וַיְבַרְכֵם, for לְ is impos-

January 1 their families, all designated by name, were set apart; and they were in session on the first day of the tenth month to examine the matter. <sup>17</sup>And they finished with all the men<sup>k</sup> who had married foreign women by the first day of the first month.

April 1 <sup>18</sup>And there were found among the sons of the priests, who had married foreign women: of the sons of Jeshua the son of Jozadak, and his brethren;<sup>l</sup> Maaseiah, Eliezer, Jarib, and Gedaliah. <sup>19</sup>They gave their pledge that they would put away their wives; and for their trespass they were fined<sup>m</sup> a ram of the flock. <sup>20</sup>And of the sons of Immer; Hanani and Zebediah. (*Then follows, in vss. 21-43, the remainder of the list.*) <sup>21</sup>All these had taken foreign wives; and they sent them back (to their people), both wives and children.<sup>n</sup>

#### THE COVENANT AGAINST GENTILE MARRIAGES AND IN SUPPORT OF THE CLERGY

(Neh. 9:1-10:40)

April 21 **Neh. 9** <sup>1</sup>Now on the twenty-fourth<sup>o</sup> day of this month the children of Israel assembled, fasting, and in sackcloth, and with earth upon their heads. <sup>2</sup>And the seed of Israel separated themselves from all foreigners;<sup>p</sup> and they took their places, and confessed their sins and the iniquities of their fathers. <sup>3</sup>And they stood up in their places, and read in the book of the law of Yahwè

sible here. This latter blunder ultimately produced the text of which the translation (presumably by Aquila or Symmachus) has in this verse supplanted the rendering of Theodotus in the bizarre L recension.

<sup>k</sup>Read **בְּכָל אֲנָשִׁים**. The Chronicler omits the article here exactly as he does in vs. 3 and in 1:1; see the notes on these passages.

<sup>l</sup>See Note A, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>m</sup>**אָשָׁם**, like the Syriac **ܐܫܡܐ**, may take a direct object. On the elliptical clause (very characteristic) see p. 197, note k.

<sup>n</sup>The original was **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ בְּנֵי כֹהֲנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**. By an easy accident, the two letters **בַּר** were dropped from the first word. The resulting **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ**, which was absolutely impossible, naturally produced the variant, **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ מִיָּהֵם**. In our MT *both* of these readings are ingeniously used; the latter at the beginning of the clause, and the former, **וַיִּשְׁבְּעוּ**, inserted before **וּבְנֵיהֶם**. (For a similar case of ingenuity in combining two variant *Greek* readings, see the L text of Neh. 13:20.) The old *Greek* version, I Esdr. 9:36, renders the Hebrew which I have conjectured. See further, on the restoration of this verse, Note A, at the end of this chapter.

<sup>o</sup>Observe the multiple of *twelve*; see the note on Ezr. 8:31, and also p. 246.

<sup>p</sup>It is obvious that this is the immediate sequel of Ezr. 9:1-10:44. Cf. with this clause especially Ezr. 9:1 and 10:11; and see, further, the introductory remarks.

their God for a fourth part of the day; and for another fourth part they made confession, and worshiped Yahwè their God. <sup>4</sup>Then Jeshua and the sons<sup>a</sup> of Kadmiel, (namely) Shechaniah,<sup>a</sup> Bunni, Sherebiah, Bani, and Chenani, stood upon the elevated place of the Levites and cried with a loud voice unto Yahwè their God. <sup>5</sup>Also the Levites, Hashabneiah,<sup>a</sup> Sherebiah, Hodiah, Shebaniah, and Pethabiah, said: Come,<sup>r</sup> bless Yahwè your God. [And Ezra said: Blessed art thou, Yahwè our God,<sup>s</sup>] from everlasting to everlasting; and blessed be thy name, glorious and<sup>t</sup> exalted above all blessing and praise. <sup>6</sup>Thou, Yahwè, art (God) alone. Thou hast made the heavens, the heaven<sup>u</sup> of heavens, and all their host; the earth, and all creatures that are upon it; the seas, and all things that are in them. Thou givest life to them all, and<sup>v</sup> to thee the host of heaven boweth down. (*Then follows, in vss. 7-37, the remainder of the prayer, the last words of which are these:*) <sup>36</sup>Behold, we are vassals today; and as for the land which thou gavest to our fathers, to eat its fruit and its good things, we are bondmen upon it. <sup>37</sup>It<sup>v</sup> bringeth forth its abundant produce for the kings whom thou hast set over us because of our sins; they have power also over our persons and our cattle, at their pleasure. Yea, we are in great distress.<sup>w</sup>

<sup>a</sup>On the text of this verse and the following, see Note B, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>r</sup>It is possible that קָמַד is to be taken here in its literal meaning "stand up;" but more probably it means simply "up! come!" as in II Chron. 6:41, Ezr. 10:4, and many other passages; i. e., it is used here just as נִצַּח is used in the parallel I Chron. 29:20.

<sup>s</sup>Concerning the lacuna here, see Note C, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>t</sup>The conjunction, to which some have objected, is quite in place. The construction which is *virtually* adjectival is continued by one which is *really* such.

<sup>u</sup>Those who would emend here (and in many similar places) by inserting the conjunction וְ, should bear in mind that the Chronicler is fond of enumerating in the Aramaic way, omitting the conjunction in every place but the last.

<sup>v</sup>With the Chronicler's characteristic omission of the subject; cf. the note on Ezr. 10:19.

<sup>w</sup>The closing part of this prayer is strikingly similar to the close of the prayer in Ezr. 9. Vss. 33-37 here are the expanded counterpart of vss. 9, 13, and 15 there. The prayer in Neh. includes also supplication for mercy (vs. 32). Neh. 10:1 (9:38 in the English version) is *not* a part of the prayer, but the resumption of the narrative. It is not strange that some scholars should have thought the transition here "abrupt;" it is smoothness itself, however, com-

10 <sup>1</sup>In consequence of all this<sup>x</sup> we made an abiding covenant, in writing, and to sign it<sup>y</sup> stood our princes, our Levites, and our priests; <sup>2</sup>and at the head of the signers<sup>z</sup> were the Tirshatha<sup>z</sup> and Zedekiah.<sup>z</sup> <sup>3</sup>Seraiah, Azariah, Jeremiah; <sup>4</sup>Pashhur, . . . etc. (*Then follows, in vs. 4-28, the remainder of the list.*)<sup>a</sup> <sup>29</sup>And the rest of the people, and of<sup>b</sup> the priests, the Levites, the porters, the singers, and the Nethinim, even all those who had separated themselves from the peoples of the land unto the law of God, with their wives and their sons and daughters, all who had knowledge and understanding,<sup>c</sup> <sup>30</sup>stood fast by their brethren, their leaders, and entered into a curse and an oath, to walk in the law of God, which was given through Moses the servant of God, and to keep and perform all the commandments of Yahwè our Lord, and his ordinances and his statutes: <sup>31</sup>to wit, that we would not give our daughters to the peoples of the land, nor take their daughters for our sons; <sup>32</sup>and that whenever the peoples of the land should bring their merchandise or any sort of grain on the sabbath day to sell, that we would not take it from them, on the sabbath or on a holy day; and that we would forego the product<sup>d</sup> of the seventh year and the exaction of every debt.

pared to this same writer's transitions in I Chron. 28:19 (!), Ezr. 2:68, 7:27 (!), Neh. 12:27; to say nothing of the many places where he leaps from the first person to the third, or *vice versa*, without apparent occasion.

<sup>x</sup>I. e., all the events narrated in the preceding chapter and in Ezr. 9f. This covenant gave the finishing touch to *Ezra's reform*. The words רבכל פני give a very natural continuation.

<sup>y</sup>Evidently the technical term.

<sup>z</sup>On the text and interpretation of this verse and the preceding, see Note D, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>a</sup>On the *number* of the names, one of the Chronicler's multiples of twelve, see Note D, at the end of the chapter.

<sup>b</sup>The construction so often found in the Chronicler's writings; see Ezr. 8:29, 10:5, etc.

<sup>c</sup>This verse, which betrays the Chronicler's authorship with almost every phrase, fairly represents the whole chapter. From this point on to the end, we can recognize everywhere his peculiar style and diction, and his own special hobbies. Those who know his writings intimately will see this at once, for it is beyond all question; those who are not thus prepared will do well to read II Chron. 31:4-19 first of all.

<sup>d</sup>It is obvious that the word רבביא has been accidentally omitted, by haplography, after פני; see Ex. 23:10 f. and Lev. 25:3-7, the passages which the Chronicler had in mind. The law of the debtor's release, to which he refers, is of course Deut. 15:1-3.

<sup>33</sup>Moreover we imposed upon ourselves stated contributions,<sup>c</sup> charging ourselves yearly with the third part of a shekel, for the service of the house of our God; <sup>34</sup>for the showbread, the continual meal offering, and the continual burnt offering, as well as the offerings of the sabbaths and the new moons; for the feasts, the holy sacrifices,<sup>f</sup> and the sin offerings to make atonement for Israel; even for all the work of the house of our God. <sup>35</sup>Also we cast lots, the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood offering, to bring it into the house of our God, according to our fathers' houses, at appointed times year by year, to burn on the altar of Yahwè our God, as is prescribed in the law;<sup>g</sup> <sup>36</sup>and (we covenanted) to bring the first fruits of our land, and the first of every sort of fruit of any tree, year by year, to the house of Yahwè; <sup>37</sup>also the firstborn of our sons and of our cattle, as is prescribed in the law; and that we would bring the firstlings of our herds and of our flocks to the house of our God, for the priests who minister in the house of our God; <sup>38</sup>and that the best of our coarse meal, and of our heaps of grain(?),<sup>h</sup> and of the fruit of every tree, the wine and the oil, we would bring for the priests, to the chambers of the house of our God; also the tithes of our land for the Levites;—and they, the Levites, were to reckon the tithes in all the cities of our tillage, <sup>39</sup>and the<sup>i</sup> priest the son of Aaron was to be with the Levites when they reckoned the tithes; and the Levites were to bring up the tenth of the tithes to the house of our God, to the chambers belonging to the treasury; <sup>40</sup>for unto the chambers were the children of Israel and the sons of Levi to

<sup>c</sup>So also in 13:5, and in the post-Biblical usage.

<sup>f</sup>Namely those described in II Chron. 29:33 and 35:13.

<sup>g</sup>This is a very good example of the Chronicler's heedless and irresponsible mode of citation, giving merely what he happened to remember, or thought he remembered. See above, the notes on II Chron. 36:21 (p. 120) and Ezr. 9:11. Neh. 8:14 is another most instructive instance.

On the text of this verse Bertholet, *Comm.*, says: "L. nach LXX ךַּ vor םה הלוים und st. לבית אבותינו."! This is curious textual criticism.

<sup>h</sup>Read וּרְמֵתֵינוּ in place of וְרֵמֵתֵינוּ? The accidental substitution of the latter word would then be very natural in view of Num. 15:20 f., etc. In the text which lay before Theodotion the word had been canceled as corrupt. The supposition of a gloss has not much likelihood.

<sup>i</sup>Are we to regard the use of the article here as evidence that this was the custom followed in the Chronicler's own day?

bring<sup>k</sup> the offering of corn, and wine, and oil, and there also were the utensils of the sanctuary, and of<sup>l</sup> the priests who minister, and of the porters and the singers;<sup>m</sup>—and that we would not forsake the house of our God.<sup>n</sup>

NOTE A (on Ezr. 10:44)

There can be no doubt whatever that the original intent of this verse is expressed in I Esdr. 9:36, according to which I have restored the Hebrew text. The plan proposed, in Ezr. 10:3, 5, was to put away both the wives and the children. A complete census, town by town, was to be taken; every Israelite who failed to appear before the authorities was to be expelled from the congregation (vs. 8). The people agreed (vs. 12), and also acted according to the agreement (vs. 16). "By the first day of the first month" *all* of those who had married foreign women had appeared before the judges (vs. 17). The members of the leading priestly house are first mentioned, and it is said of them that *they* agreed to put away their wives of foreign birth (vs. 19). Then follows, without any other introduction, the remainder of the list. At its close must therefore have stood, in some form, the statement that *these all* put away their wives (and presumably the children also would be mentioned); no other continuation is possible. Furthermore, the immediate sequel in Neh. 9 f. asserts again that they did separate themselves completely, not only from the heathen wives and their children (10:29-31), but also from all the other foreigners (9:2, cf. especially Ezr. 9:1, 10:11). And

<sup>k</sup>The contradiction which many recent commentators have found in vss. 38-40 vanishes when they are understood as here indicated. It is not even necessary to appeal to II Chron. 31:5-7. This whole passage, however, is very characteristic of the Chronicler's loose-jointed way of thinking and writing.

<sup>l</sup>The usual construction; see the note on vs. 29.

<sup>m</sup>The status of these Levitical classes is the very same in all parts of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.—the writer being generally at no pains to express himself exactly. See my *Composition*, pp. 22f.; also above, p. 236, note 40—and Bertholet's *Comm.*, on Neh. 11:17 f.!

<sup>n</sup>The verb (נָשָׂא) in this last clause concludes the construction begun by נָשָׂא in vs. 31, and continued by נָשָׂא and נָשָׂא in vs. 32, and נָשָׂא in vs. 38. The Chronicler intended this whole passage, vss. 31-40, to give the substance of his "abiding covenant" (אָמְנָה, vs. 1), and he ends it with a clause which both sums up the preceding details and also forms a highly suitable close to the whole Ezra story. Notice that he ends his expanded story of Nehemiah in a very similar manner (13:31!).



yet our commentators and historians all wonder whether Ezra's reform was pictured as successful!

The Chronicler does, indeed, represent this evil of mixed marriages as present once more (in a few cases) in the time of Nehemiah, a dozen years later. The fact that he does so shows his own great interest in the subject, and that he realized the impossibility of preventing such alliances entirely; it also, no doubt, may be taken as an indication that the Jews in his day were *not* as exclusive as he wished to see them.

NOTE B (on Neh. 9:4 f.)

It is generally agreed that the lists of Levites given in verses 4 and 5 have been corrupted through copyists' errors. The chief reason for the corruption is, obviously, the fact that the one list follows the other so immediately, while each is introduced by the word הַלְוִיִּם. The presence of *three* names written בְּנֵי in vs. 4 is more than suspicious, and without much doubt the first of the three was originally בְּנֵי־יֵשׁוּעַ or בְּנֵי־יֵשׁוּעַ. It was the influence of the similar list in the preceding chapter (8:7) which caused the reading of the name "Bani" here, very naturally. Theodotion rendered: Ἰησοῦς καὶ υἱοὶ Καδμηλ, Σαχавια<sup>16</sup> υἱὸς Σαραβια,<sup>17</sup> υἱοὶ Χαναμ, but this is plainly the rendering of a text which is inferior to MT. For the "sons of Kadmiel," cf. Ezr. 2:40 and Neh. 7:43 (the text of the former passage probably correct, that of the latter certainly corrupt).<sup>18</sup> The possibility must not be overlooked that the original reading was "Jeshua *the son of* Kadmiel;" see Neh. 12:24.

The fact that "Shebaniah" appears also in vs. 5 makes it extremely probable that Theodotion is right with his "Shechaniah" in vs. 4; see above.

The first three names in vs. 5 came from vs. 4 (or a variant of it). The accident in copying was due to proximity *plus* the fact that the word הַלְוִיִּם immediately precedes. The name "Hashab-

<sup>16</sup>The Hexaplar MSS.,  $\aleph$  and B, have here the blunder Σαραβια. The coincidence of the A text with that of L (Σεχενιας) proves that Theodotion read שַׁכַּנְיָה. In the names immediately following, L has been conformed to MT, as usual.

<sup>17</sup>The very inferior character of the Hexaplar text is always apparent, from the beginning of I Chronicles to the end of Nehemiah; and the most corrupt form of it, in nine cases out of ten, is that given by Codex B.

<sup>18</sup>Guthe, in the *Polychrome Bible*, gives us a most astonishing "emendation" of Ezr. 2:40 based on one of the blunders of the Greek text in Codex B (in I Esdr. 5:26), where some careless copyist had converted the tachygram of καὶ (ς) into ε. With this help, Guthe restores the preposition εἰς, which is made to govern the genitive case.

neiah" is very likely a copyist's error for "Hashabiah," the man referred to in 12:24 as a "*chief* of the Levites."

The whole number of the Levite assistants on this occasion was eleven. The six named in vs. 4 began the ceremony with an invocation; then the five named in vs. 5 called upon the people to unite in prayer. The prayer was offered by Ezra, who thus joined himself, in a way, to the Levites of vs. 5, making the number of those conducting the ceremony to be *twelve* in all. Cf. especially 12:36, where the Chronicler makes his Ezra join a company of the Levite "singers."

NOTE C (the lacuna in Neh. 9:5)

It has been quite generally recognized that something has been lost from our Hebrew text here, at the point where the long prayer begins. Theodotion's Greek prefixes *καὶ εἶπεν* "Ἐζρας to the first words of vs. 6; and it is indeed obvious that some one man (and presumably Ezra) must have been named as the speaker of the following words, which occupy more than thirty verses. But it is even plainer that whatever lacuna there is must be sought further back than the end of vs. 5. The words *שֵׁם כְּבוֹד*, "*thy glorious name*," in the last clause of this verse, originally formed, beyond question, a part of the same address to Yahwè which is continued in vs. 6. The immediately preceding verb, *וַיְבָרֵכֵהוּ*, "*and let thy glorious name be blessed*" (literally, "*and let them bless*;" the common Aramaic use of the indefinite third person plural in place of the passive), shows the same thing. Moreover, the four words preceding this, *בְּן הָעוֹלָם עַד הָעוֹלָם*, are now in a strange context; how could *these people* be exhorted to "stand up and bless Yahwè *from everlasting to everlasting*"? They were not immortal, and had not been eternal. Apparently, no one has ever studied this verse carefully, for the explanation of the difficulty is clear almost at the first glance. The Chronicler is drawing a large part of his devotional material from the Psalms, as usual. This particular form of words, *בְּן הָעוֹלָם וְעַד הָעוֹלָם*, is found elsewhere only in the doxology appended to Psalms 41 and 106, and *quoted from the latter Psalm by the Chronicler in I Chron. 16:36*. The 106th Psalm is not only the Chronicler's favorite (see especially I Chron. 16:34-36, 41, II Chron. 5:13, 7:3, 20:21, Ezr. 3:11), but it is also one from which he is quoting in this very prayer; see especially vss. 27 f., where it is obvious

that we have, in the main, a free reproduction of Ps. 106:41-45 (with some very characteristic changes, such as רְבוֹתָ שְׁתִּים instead of פְּנִימִים רְבוֹתָ). The theme on which the Psalm is built is precisely the one which the Chronicler is developing here; and it is therefore most fitting that its doxology should be used by him as the introduction of the prayer. When in addition to these facts it is observed how in another favorite Psalm this doxology, slightly varied (Ps. 72:18), is continued in the words (vs. 19): "*and blessed be his glorious name (שֵׁם כְּבוֹד) for ever,*" there can no longer be any question as to the position of the lacuna and the reason for the accidental omission. The original text is to be restored as follows: וַיֹּאמְרוּ הַלְלוּם . . . קוֹמֵנוּ, בִּרְכוּ אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם. [וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׂרָא: בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, בֶּן הַעוֹלָם וְיִבְרַכְנוּ וְגו'] עַד הַעוֹלָם; וְיִבְרַכְנוּ וְגו'. The cause of the accident was the usual one: the very close resemblance of the omitted words to those immediately preceding them. In the Hebrew text which lay before Theodotion the words וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׂרָא had been restored (in the wrong place, necessarily) simply because it was well known that they had once stood at the beginning of the prayer; there is no other satisfactory way of explaining their presence.<sup>19</sup> It is barely possible that the τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν of the Greek is the veritable translation of אֱלֹהֵינוּ (in which case we should have either to regard the אֱלֹהֵיכֶם of our MT as the result of correction or corruption, or else to suppose that a similar accidental omission took place in the Greek version); but in view of the thousands of cases of confusion of ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν by Greek scribes it is much more likely that we have to do with a mere copyist's error. As for the original extent of the passage omitted from the Hebrew, it is not probable that it contained anything more than the words here restored.

There is one other very striking parallel to be noticed. In I Chron., chaps. 28 f. (not in Sam.-Kings), the Chronicler depicts a scene somewhat resembling the one which he has constructed here in his story of Ezra. All the people are assembled at Jerusalem, and David the king offers prayer before them. He calls upon them to "bless Yahwè," using the very words which are uttered by the Levites in Neh. 9:5; though in I Chron. 29:20

<sup>19</sup>It was a somewhat similar case when the three chapters, Neh. 8-10, were transposed again to the book of Ezra, in the recension represented by our I Esdras, and attached in the wrong place (necessarily). The thing was done simply because it was well known that they had once formed a part of the Ezra story.

the command **נא את יהוה אלהיכם** follows the prayer instead of preceding it. The prayer itself begins with the words (29:10): **ויאמר דויד: ברוך אתה, יהוה אלהי ישראל: גשולם ועד עולם**; and then continues in much the same way as Neh. 9:6. The Chronicler loves to repeat the incidents, and the set phrases, which he has already used.

NOTE D (on Neh. 10:1 f.)

It is not strange that the use of the participle in 10:1 (**לחבים, לרתים**) should have misled some translators, ancient and modern, into connecting the verse with the preceding prayer; all the more because the first person plural has just been used there, while in the introductory narrative, 9:1-5, the first person was *not* used. But it is certain that the verse is narrative; this would be sufficiently evident, indeed, even if it were not directly continued in vss. 29 f. by the same narrating participle (**באים, מנהימים**) and by the first person plural ("our Lord;" "*we* would not give *our* daughters," etc.). This whole passage affords one of the very best illustrations of the Chronicler's intolerably heedless way of carrying on a story; the best single parallels are perhaps I Chron. 28:19, Ezr. 7:27, and (carelessness of another sort) Neh. 13:1, 6.

In vs. 2, it is obvious that **ההתמיים** is impossible, and equally obvious (see, for example, the English versions!) that the plural number refers to the signers who are named in the following verses.<sup>20</sup> The original reading must have been **ההותמיים**, active participle, "those who sealed" the document. It may well be that Theodotion, who renders by *ἐπὶ τῶν σφραγιζόντων*, actually had this reading before him; we should have expected him otherwise to render by *ἐσφραγισμένων*, cf. the variant introduced into the text of Codex **N** by the corrector of the seventh century.<sup>21</sup> Our massoretic reading, **על ההתמיים**, is the result of a *lapsus calami* caused by the **על ההתמים** in the line above.

The name "Nehemiah the son of Hachaliah" is an interpolation; see the notes, above, on 7:70 and 8:9. The text as originally written by the Chronicler contained here only **התירשתא**, "the Tirshatha." The interpolation is the same one which has been made in several other places, as one of the inevitable results

<sup>20</sup> The desperate expedient of making the plural refer to a plural number of documents, or to the things (!) contained in the document, gives no help.

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 96, note 33.

of the transplanting of the three chapters of the Ezra story into the book of Nehemiah. In our Hebrew text, it has taken place also in 8:9, and in both cases the interpolated name "Nehemiah" stands side by side with the original "Tirshatha." In the Hebrew text rendered by Theodotion, the process had gone so far that the unfamiliar word "Tirshatha" had been dropped altogether.<sup>22</sup> In a few Greek manuscripts, moreover—notably in Codex B—the same thing has taken place even in 7:70(!), "Nehemiah" being simply substituted for "Tirshatha." In the old Greek version, on the contrary, the original reading, containing the title but not the name, is preserved in 8:9 (I Esdr. 9:49); and if we possessed the rest of this version we should doubtless find the same thing true in 10:2. Yet even earlier than the date of this translation, probably soon after the transposition of the chapters, the interpolation of the name "Nehemiah" began; a fact which receives very interesting illustration in the presence of *Νεεμίας* in I Esdr. 5:40(!).<sup>23</sup>

The "Zedekiah" of this verse is a character created simply in order to provide a companion for the anonymous "Tirshatha." The Chronicler did not know who the governor of Judea was during the first part of the reign of this Artaxerxes, and did not venture to give him a name; but it would not do *to appear not to know* who he was, hence the name of his associate, *בְּדָקִיָּה*, "at the head of" the list of signers. It may have been the case that he thought of the governor as a Persian, and wished to put beside him a representative of the people; but it seems more likely, on the contrary, that the official who had contributed so magnificently to the treasury of the temple (7:70), and then shortly after had helped Ezra instruct the people in the religion of Israel (8:9), and who now pledged himself to follow the law of Moses, to keep his family free from intermarriage with foreigners (10:31), and to show himself in all things a faithful member of "the congregation," was thought of as a Jew. Whether the Chronicler intended his "Zedekiah" to be a prince, or a private secretary, is a question of very slight importance, and

<sup>22</sup>The *ὁ καὶ Ἀθαρσθαῖς* of the L text in Neh. 10:2(1) is, of course, merely one of the Lucianic corrections from the massoretic Hebrew.

<sup>23</sup>The tendency to interpolate the name of the unnamed official, especially when he was believed to have been so important a person as Nehemiah or Zerubbabel, was of course very strong at all times. We see several instances of exactly this sort—interesting parallels to those just described—in I Esdr. 6:17, 26, 28, in all three of which verses the name *Ζοροβαβελ* has been interpolated for the purpose of identifying the "governor" who is mentioned.

one which it will never be possible to answer. The reason why Ezra's name does not appear among the signers is of course this, that he was regarded as above the necessity of taking this oath, which had in it something of the nature of a confession of evil-doing (see 9:1 f., 10:29 f., and **בכל זאת** in 10:1). The man who had come all the way from Babylonia in order to call the Jews to account for their neglect of the Pentateuch (Ezr. 7:14!), and under whose vehement rebuke they were now making this solemn promise to return to the right path, certainly had no need to sign the document.

The *number of the names* of the signers (**ההותמרים**) calls for especial notice. This written covenant, according to the representation of the Chronicler, marked an epoch in the history of Israel. The document was one, moreover, which contained a summary of his own pet interests, and those who signed it were the representatives of a community reformed according to his ideals. It is, therefore, a foregone conclusion that the number of names will be found to be a multiple of twelve; just as in his "great list," in Ezr. 2 and Neh. 7, he starts off with twelve "leaders" (Ezr. 2:2, Neh. 7:7), and makes the whole number of the people equal to twelve times the number of years which had elapsed since the creation of the world (see above, p. 250). Here in Neh. 10:2-28 the numbering is as follows: two leaders; twenty-one priests; seventeen Levites; forty-four laymen. Total, eighty-four.  $84 = 7 \times 12$ .



## IX

### THE EXILE AND THE RESTORATION

#### I. PREVAILING MISCONCEPTIONS

The Babylonian exile of the Judean Hebrews, which was in reality a small and relatively insignificant affair, has been made, partly through mistake and partly by the compulsion of a theory, to play a very important part in the history of the Old Testament. The successive steps of the process which resulted in the erroneous view are all plain to see. (*a*) The exaggerated account of the deportation of the people given by II Kings 25 (see further below) furnished the starting-point. (*b*) At about the time when the completion of the temple was undertaken by Zerubbabel, it became customary to speak of an interval of seventy years. The years were numbered from the destruction of the temple until its rebuilding; that is, employing the terms of our chronology, from 586 to 516 B. C.<sup>1</sup> This, the original "seventy years" period of distress, is twice mentioned by Zechariah, in 1:12 and 7:5. It had nothing to do with Babylonia or with the return of exiles. (*c*) Somewhat later than this arose, naturally enough, the poetical idea of the "sabbath rest" of the worn and weary land. The love of the devout Israelites for Jerusalem and the sacred province in which it lay was far stronger in the Persian period than it had ever been before, and their reflection on the chastisement of Israel assumed this characteristic form, among others. While the temple was in ruins, and the religious activity of the chosen people in the sacred place was suspended, or hampered, Yahwè was purposing to bring good out of evil. The people had merited his wrath, but his love for Zion, the holy city, who had already "paid double for all her sins," remained unabated. At last, after the interval which he had appointed, the new era dawned, and the abandoned work was taken up again. Jerusalem, after its day of rest, entered upon another week; the

<sup>1</sup>At that early period, there was of course no difficulty with the chronology from Nebuchadrezzar downward. At the time when Haggai prophesied, there were men living who had seen the first temple (Hag. 2:3).

land had "enjoyed its sabbaths" (Lev. 26:34 f., 43).<sup>2</sup> (d) The next step—taken probably many years later—was to connect the interval of seventy years with the desolation of the land, rather than with the disgrace of the sanctuary. Jerusalem and Judea were pictured as absolutely depopulated during this time, the whole country containing only uninhabited ruins. In Jer. 25:11 f. and 29:10, 14 we have a plain prediction that the land will be desolate for seventy years, at the end of which time it will be peopled again by returning "exiles" (that is, men of the Diaspora) who will come back to Judea "from all the nations" whither they have been scattered (29:14; cf. 23:3, 8, 31:8, 32:37, etc.). As a matter of course, the members of the deportation to Babylonia receive special mention (29:10; cf. 24:5).<sup>3</sup> The date of these passages can only be a matter of conjecture. The connection with the seventy years of Zechariah's prophecy is certainly not accidental,<sup>4</sup> and the altered conception of the period had its origin in a very natural misunderstanding. Zech. 1:12, with its mention of the long continued chastisement of *Jerusalem and the cities of Judah* (see also 7:5, 7!),<sup>5</sup> was supposed to refer to the

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean to insist on the date of Leviticus 26, or of any part of it. But it does seem to me sure that the idea here expressed, and this very manner of expressing it, originated in the time between Zechariah and the "seventy years" of the pseudo-Jeremiah (see below). The Chronicler, in II Chron. 36:21 (as already shown), combines the phrases of Leviticus with the prediction of Jer. 25:11, 29:10, but this is merely one of his easy-going misquotations. In Lev. 26 there is no allusion to a return from the Babylonian exile in particular. The people are scattered through the lands (*plural*) of their enemies, and will come very near to perishing there; yet Jerusalem and Judea will at last be restored to their ancient glory, since Yahwè is not false to his covenant.

<sup>3</sup> In the prophecies contained in the book of Jeremiah three distinct classes of exiles are taken into consideration from time to time. These are: (1) The "exiles" or "captives" scattered through all the lands of the Gentile world; or, in other words, the Jews of the great Dispersion. This usage, which is the customary one in all the Old Testament prophets (see below), is the usual one in Jeremiah also. (2) The choice company of Judean exiles in Babylonia. So, for example, 24:5 f., 29:4, 10. (3) The rest of the people who were carried or driven away from Jerusalem and the vicinity in the time of Nebuchadrezzar (II Kings 25:11, 26), who were regarded as the more guilty "remnant" (Jer. 24:8 ff., 29:16-19). It was predicted that these should utterly perish. See also below, on Jer. 42, etc.

<sup>4</sup> If the Jeremician authorship of the chapters in question were probable on other grounds, we could hardly refuse to admit the possibility that the prophet was using a round number, and that the twofold mention of a period of seventy years, by Jeremiah and Zechariah, was merely a remarkable coincidence. But the chapters are obviously much later than Jeremiah's time; notice, for instance, how 24:1 quotes from II Kings 24:14, 6. As a matter of fact, the view which I have here set forth as to the development of the idea of the "seventy years," and the dependence of Jer. 25:11, etc., on Zechariah, is the one held by the most recent commentators on these books; see Duhm on Jer. 25:12 and Marti on Zech. 1:12.

<sup>5</sup> As I showed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1898, pp. 17 f., the correct rendering of Zech. 7:7 is: "Are not these the words which Yahwè proclaimed through the former prophets, in the days when Jerusalem and the surrounding cities were still in quiet, and when the Negeb and the Shephela were still undisturbed?" Cf. the use of שָׁמֵחַ in this same idiom in 1:11.

devastation of the region. Hence Jer. 25:12, asserting that the seventy years will be ended by the final overthrow of the Babylonian kingdom (that is, by the Persians). It is conceivable that these passages might even belong to the Chronicler's generation, but it is easier to suppose that they are older. They seem at any rate to belong to that late period (presumably either near the end of the Persian rule, or else after the conquest of Alexander) when the chronology of the first Persian kings was a matter of some uncertainty, and it was becoming possible to transpose the reigns of Cyrus and Darius I.<sup>6</sup> (e) Last of all, when the rivals of the Jews, and in particular the Samaritans, had begun to use these existing notions of exile and desolation as a most dangerous weapon, was produced the theory devised and set forth by those of the school to which the Chronicler belonged. This theory, which is embodied in the Chronicler's own version of the Jewish history, and seems also to be presupposed (in less fully developed form?) in the Aramaic tale which he used, has already been described at length. According to its terms, all the genuine institutions and traditions of Israel, and all the "blue blood" of the old community, were kept safe and unchanged in Babylonia; while all the elements which had remained in Palestine during "the exile" became thoroughly heathen and corrupt. Judaism was "restored" completely by the return of the Babylonian Jews, who alone constituted the true church, from which "the people of the lands" were henceforth to be kept uncompromisingly separate.

In modern Biblical science the Babylonian exile has been given the central place, and made the dominating factor, in both the religious and the literary history of the Hebrews. This conception is, in fact, one of the most characteristic features of the critical theory which in our generation has been elaborated by Wellhausen, Robertson Smith, and their fellows and successors, and is now held by all of the more advanced Old Testament scholars. Straight across the face of Israelite history is drawn a heavy line, *the exile*, which is supposed to mark a very abrupt and complete change in almost every sphere of the people's life. Above the line is what

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 135 f. It is not likely that the transposition was made for the sole purpose of satisfying this theory of the seventy years. More probably the Jews had become persuaded, on other grounds, that a Median kingdom preceded that of the Persians; and along with the new theory had come the name of the monarch, Darius the son of "Abasuerus" (Dan. 9:1; originally "Hystaspes?" "Cyaxares?" Josephus has "Astyages").

is called the "prophetic" period, and below it the "legal" period, the latter being regarded as altogether inferior to the former. Before the exile, the great writers and preachers of Israel; after it, inferior teachers and imitators. In the earlier period, a continuous and admirable development, in national character, literature, and religion; in the later period, a low level at the start, and a steady decline, in all these respects. The theory of the exile itself, and of the nature of the "restoration" after it, is fundamental to these conceptions. According to the accepted view, the Jews who had been deported to Babylonia prepared the elaborate ritual code which was to regulate the life of the new community. And the restored Israel, after the long period of suspended animation, was a church founded from without, and a community devoting itself henceforth to the study and practice of the new ceremonial law.

This is a thoroughly mistaken theory. So far as the Jews of the Babylonian deportation are concerned, it is not likely that they ever exercised any considerable influence on the Jews in Judea. We have no trustworthy evidence that any numerous company returned from Babylonia, nor is it intrinsically likely that such a return took place. The "priestly law" was neither edited in Babylonia nor brought to Jerusalem from that country.<sup>7</sup> Hebrew literature contains no "exilic" elements. Every part of our Old Testament was written in Palestine;<sup>8</sup> if Jews of the Dispersion influenced its growth at any point, we have at least no evidence of the fact. The wider influence of Babylonian (or Assyrian) life and literature was potent in Judea long before the sixth century, and the transition to the Persian rule brought no marked change in this regard. The development of life and letters and religion in Jerusalem after the great calamity con-

<sup>7</sup>No Biblical narrative, it must always be emphasized, asserts or even implies that Ezra's book of the law originated or received its shape in the foreign land.

<sup>8</sup>My view in regard to the Second Isaiah, which has been more or less familiar to scholars in the United States for ten years past (see, for example, H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 371, 379; W. H. Cobb, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1908, pp. 5, 56, 64) is, briefly, this: The chapters Is. 40-66, together with 34 and 35, are the work of a single author who wrote in Palestine not far from the middle of the Persian period. The name "Cyrus" in 45:1 is interpolated, as is also the whole verse, 44:28. Likewise inserted are the words **בבבל** and **כשדרים** in 43:14, 48:14, 20. I hope to publish, in the near future, a volume (the most of which is now ready for the press) setting forth my view of this great poet and prophet, and giving a brief commentary on his poems. See also below, *passim*, and especially p. 314.

Ezekiel I believe to be a pseudepigraphon written in the Greek period. See the introduction to my "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel," published in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XV (1909).

tinued to be a genuinely native development, in which foreign elements played—as they always had—a relatively small part. The outlook of the people was not growing narrower, it was becoming broader all the time. The religion of Israel—meaning that of the whole people—was more liberal and more spiritual in the fourth century than it had been in the fifth; more so in the fifth century than it had been in the seventh. The ceremonial law played no such part in the thought and activities of the people in general as the modern theory has assumed. The catastrophe which included the destruction of the temple and the extinction of the monarchy was indeed a crushing blow, which left its deep and permanent imprint on the religious literature of the Jews. But the Dispersion was a calamity which was far more significant, and whose mark on the heart of Israel was much deeper. The dissolution of the nation began even before the fall of the kingdom, and continued at an ominously increasing rate, even after the building of the second temple. It was the influence of this fact, more than anything else, that revised the theology received from the old prophets, and gave it a broader scope: Israel, the savior of the world, even through its suffering. The monarchy was not necessary (I Sam. 8), and the community could, and did, recover from the catastrophe of 586. But the scattering of Israel to the four corners of the earth meant the death of the nation, and only the miracle of a second “return from Egypt” (Is. 43:16 ff., 48:21, etc.,) could restore the dead to life. The people were, indeed, “purified in the furnace of affliction,” and were spiritually the better for it, after they had once risen to their feet again. What their religious life suffered in the years immediately following 586 was merely the temporary arresting of a continuous and splendid development. They were not crushed to the point of despair, nor driven into any such selfish exclusiveness as is pictured in the Chronicler’s imaginary history. The prophets and (still more) the Psalms teach us better than that. The destruction of the temple was a turning-point, partly for evil, but more for good, seeing that the nation as a political entity was doomed in any case. At all events, it was this catastrophe, not the exile, which constituted the dividing line between the two eras. The terms “exilic,” “pre-exilic,” and “post-exilic” ought to be banished forever from usage, for they are merely misleading, and correspond to nothing that is real in Hebrew literature and life.

## II. THE DEPORTATION TO BABYLONIA

When Nebuchadrezzar made his last expedition against Jerusalem, in the year 586 B. C., he did his work of devastation thoroughly, sacking the city, razing its walls, and burning the temple, together with the other principal buildings. He and his captains also carried away, on this and two other occasions, a considerable number of Jews to Babylonia, planting them there as colonists. The total number of those deported, according to Jer. 52:28-30,<sup>9</sup> was 4,600. The majority of them came from Jerusalem, and they are said to have been chosen from the uppermost stratum of the people. Taking this statement at its face value, the most that it can mean is this, that Nebuchadrezzar and his officers carried away the best that they were able to lay hands on. The deportation was a small one,<sup>10</sup> and even if it really included the cream of Jerusalem, the life of the city could not have been endangered by the loss. The question which really meant life or death was this, whether there were sufficiently strong reasons why the fugitive masses of the population, who were scattered about in the neighborhood after the calamity, should return and rebuild the city after the withdrawal of the Babylonian army.

In regard to the subsequent history of those who were deported, there can be no question; like the members of every other deportation, they settled down promptly and permanently in their new surroundings, engaging in every sort of lucrative occupation which was within their reach, and adopting unreservedly for themselves and their posterity the country into which they had been transplanted. We can be reasonably certain, even without direct evidence, that within a generation or two the most of the principal merchants and financiers of the districts round about these colonies were children of Israel; and that all of the quondam exiles, of whatever trade or occupation, were hard at work, with the tireless industry and practical alertness which have always characterized the race. This is not the traditional view, to be sure. According to the apologists of the Chronicler's school, the Jewish exiles

<sup>9</sup>The source is a late one, but we have nothing better. The detailed enumeration given makes the impression of being based on good information, and is all the more worthy of credence because of its disagreement with the exaggerations which ultimately became current.

<sup>10</sup>For example, in the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, chap. 52, the narrator tells how in the year 502 A. D. the Arab king an-Nu'mān deported 18,500 of the people dwelling in the neighborhood of Harran. The blow was severe, but the recovery complete, judging from the subsequent history of the region.



were so insecurely planted in Babylonia, even after "seventy" years, that more than forty-two thousand of them could undertake the journey back to Judea. According to the 137th Psalm, which plainly draws a favorite picture, the sons and daughters of Zion were held by their captors in an unhappy confinement in the strange land, like beasts in a cage. They sat by the rivers of Babylon and wept, while their harps hung silent on the neighboring willows. A well-known writer on Old Testament subjects has remarked in a recently published volume, that in "*the leisure of the exile*" the Jews were able to work out problems for which they would have had no time in the busy life in Palestine. The leisure of the exile! The use of this marvellous phrase is of itself sufficient to show how far removed even the modern current theory of these events is from any historical possibility. As for the religious experiences of the exiles, we may be sure of this, at least, that they very speedily found that they could be faithful children of Abraham, and acceptable worshipers of the God of Israel, in a strange land. So their predecessors, who had emigrated from Palestine into the outside world, had learned; and so also in later years did the great multitude of the Dispersion who went forth and remained true to their faith, but never came back. Of one thing in particular they must have been well persuaded, namely, that an elaborate ritual was not an essential thing. If they reflected on the causes of the catastrophe which had overtaken the holy city, they knew very well that their prophets had always told them the truth in saying that it was their neglect of the moral law, not of the ceremonial law, which aroused the wrath of Yahwè. The prescribed ritual was the one thing that they *had* observed with tolerable faithfulness. Almost the last thing in the world that could have interested any of the Jews in Babylonia was a priestly law to be used in Palestine. There were doubtless many priests among the exiles; but those who continued in that profession (they had, in any case, to earn their living) must have found all their time and strength taken up by the duties which came to them in the land where they lived.<sup>11</sup> This, again, is not the traditional view. It has long been customary to represent the deported colonists as absorbed in the con-

<sup>11</sup>As for the ritual of the sanctuary: if the Babylonian Jews had a temple of their own, then its priests were certainly concerned to elaborate a ceremonial law for their own use, based on their own local praxis. If there was no such temple, we should not expect them to be concerned with anything of the sort.

templation of "the law;" a view for which the Chronicler is chiefly responsible. Thus A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Geographic und Ethnographie Babyloniens im Talmud und Midrasch*, 1884, p. 5: "Bei dem Überflusse von Datteln in Babylonien waren die Exilirten vor Mangel geschützt und konnten sich daher ungestört dem Studium der Thora hingeben." At present, the "captives" are usually depicted as working away at the material now contained in the middle books of the Pentateuch, and even as producing a new written work, a ceremonial law-book<sup>12</sup> for Jerusalem, with an interest which must have been mainly academic, seeing that they could not have foreseen just what Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes were going to do; and could hardly have been so simple-minded as to suppose that, if the cult of the Jews should be restored by a gradual renewal of life in Jerusalem and Judea, the native priests of the sanctuary would ever accept a foreign-made ritual law in place of their own. Marti, in his *Religion des Alten Testaments*, 1906, p. 66, can still repeat without apparent hesitation the old theory: "Im Exil, wo man von den Schwierigkeiten der Verhältnisse in Jerusalem nicht gedrückt war, konnte man die Ordnung, wie sie in der neuen Gemeinde in Jerusalem und Juda sein sollte, feststellen;" but the idea which this sentence expresses is as much of a curiosity, in its way, as is that of the "leisure of the exile," mentioned above. The Hebrews who were deported by Nebuchadrezzar were doubtless a God-fearing company, in the main, and their subsequent religious history was probably similar to that of the better Jewish colonists generally, in all other parts of the world. But we have no literary product or other record of their religious activity.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>But to the questions *What book?* and *How much* of the Pentateuch? no one could now give a plausible answer. It was easy to answer them thirty years ago, when the theory of the priestly law was comparatively new, and the critical study of the Hebrew legislation was still in its infancy. I have already remarked (for example, pp. 196 f.) that no evidence of the existence of a separate "priest code" is to be found. Nor is it possible to suppose that one or two creative minds produced the body of legislation which is imagined as "Ezra's book of the law." Precisely this part of the Pentateuch has a literary history which is "ganz besonders kompliziert" (Cornill, *Einführung*<sup>3</sup>, p. 58, cf. p. 65). Not a few priests, but many, were at work upon it. What is more, their labors covered a long time, new parts being added, and revision being again and again undertaken, evidently as the needs and growth of an actual praxis required—there is no other reasonable supposition. It certainly requires a notable exercise of the imagination to create conditions in Babylonia under which any such variegated ritualistic production would have been natural.

<sup>13</sup>We do have mention of a few individuals, belonging to this deported colony, who remained true to the faith of their fathers—as we could have been sure that the most of them would. These are Nehemiah (whose ancestors were presumably among those carried to Babylonia by Nebuchadrezzar), and the men named in the very difficult passage Zech. 6: 10.

## III. THE BEGINNING OF THE HEBREW DISPERSION

One very important fact, often overlooked, must always be kept in mind when the Hebrew "exiles" (voluntary or involuntary) are under discussion; they were—and knew that they were—uniformly much better off in the foreign countries than they could ever have been in the home land. There is evidence tending to show that even in the latter years of the kingdom the people became restless and began to emigrate. The most of the interior of Palestine could no longer support a large population. Whether deforestation had diminished the rainfall, or other climatic changes had taken place, or whether it was merely the case that unskilful methods of agriculture, continued through centuries, had exhausted the soil, at all events the land no longer flowed with milk and honey. Even at its best it had not been an agricultural paradise. It was indeed a sacred territory, and Jerusalem was the city chosen of Yahwè; but not all the children of Israel could live in Jerusalem, nor in Judea, nor even to the best advantage in Palestine, under the new conditions. But far more important than any change in the land was the change in the people. The time had gone by when they could be satisfied with agricultural pursuits, and the drift toward city life had begun, a movement steadily increasing in volume. Jerusalem itself was small, and obviously incapable of any considerable growth. It was perched on a waterless rock, in a relatively barren region; had no important industries, nor the means of supporting any; and was not even a station of great importance in the caravan trade of the region. Zion was doubtless "the joy of the whole earth" to any devout Israelite who was in the psalm-writing mood; but large families cannot be supported on religious enthusiasm alone, and men of energy and enterprise must go where they can find opportunity. Those who first wandered forth were quick to see that each one of such great cities as Babylon, Nineveh, Ecbatana, Hamath, Tyre, Memphis, and Thebes had a true claim to be called the joy of the whole earth; and as for the God of Israel, they found—as their brethren have always found, and still find—that they could carry him with them. That is why the emigrants, early and late, did *not* return to the holy land. The same thing was happening then which has taken place countless times in history, wherever peoples who have long dwelt quietly in their

own secluded land are awakened by the stir of new life from without, see a new day dawning, find themselves outside the main currents of progress and achievement, and see great enterprises actually within their reach, if they will but go forth to the centers of activity. The Hebrews were by nature both worldly-wise and energetic, and saw clearly that the future of the world of affairs did not rest with Palestine.<sup>14</sup> Neither patriotism nor religious beliefs ever kept, or could keep, such people at home, when they have once heard the call of the greater world, and the spirit of the new age has come upon them.

It is not always easy to date the beginning of an era, and the history of the first stage of the Hebrew Dispersion is, as might be expected, very obscure.<sup>15</sup> It was not merely the advance of the Assyrian armies into Palestine that set the peoples of that land in commotion; other causes, partly unknown to us, were at work. In the eighth century B. C. the great colonizing movement of the Phoenicians was in full swing. By the end of the century, all the countries around the eastern end of the Mediterranean were in a ferment, and migratory currents were flowing in all directions as perhaps never before. The great cities of Asia Minor had been founded, and the Greek peoples, now beginning their marvellous renaissance, were flocking to the Ionian coast, as well as in other directions. Then, as the next step, the doors of Egypt were opened wide to foreign colonists, Psametik I (663-609) adopting this new and very significant policy. Both Greek and Asiatic traders and emigrants poured in. "Phoenician galleys filled the Nile mouths, and Semitic merchants, forerunners of the Aramaeans so numerous in Persian times, thronged the Delta" (Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, 1908, p. 398). It was in this seventh century, so far as we can judge, that the inland peoples of Syria and Palestine were thoroughly awakened and began to play a noteworthy part in the general movement. Several important invasions from the north, coming at just this

<sup>14</sup> Thus the prophet Amos (6:1 ff.), and no doubt many had said the same thing before him, asserting the relative insignificance of Israel: "Woe to the secure in Zion, the confident in the mountain of Samaria! They (the Assyrians) have plucked off (נִקְצָפוּ) with the Greek) the foremost of the nations, and will come to you (read לַבַּיִת, O house of Israel. Pass over to Calneh, and see; and go thence to Hamath the great; thence go down to Gath of the Philistines; are ye better than these kingdoms, or is your territory greater than theirs?" (transposing the suffixes). I can see no reason whatever for supposing vs. 2 to be an interpolation.

<sup>15</sup> Of course there had been occasional minor Hebrew migrations and colonies from the very first; but I am speaking of the great movement which affected the whole land.

time, added their influence; first came the great campaigns of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon, and then followed the inroad of the Scythians, who appeared in the year 624 and swept through the land. We have every reason, then, to give credence to the statement found in the Letter of Aristeas, that the army of Psametik (II?), in a certain campaign against the Ethiopians, contained Jewish mercenaries. The gradual outflow from Judea which later assumed such proportions must already have begun. When the temple at Jerusalem was destroyed by the Babylonians, a large body of Jews fled to Egypt, as might have been expected (see II Kings 25:26, Jer. 43:4-7). The words which are put into the mouth of these fugitives by one of the Old Testament writers, (Jer. 42:14) had probably been uttered by many of their predecessors: "We will go into the land of Egypt, where we shall see no more war, nor hear the sound of the trumpet, nor hunger for bread; and there will we dwell." Numerous colonies were founded (see, for example, Jer. 44:1), some of them doubtless earlier than this migration of the year 586. At Elephantine, as we have recently learned, an imposing temple was built, in which the worship of Yahwè was carried on faithfully according to the Mosaic law.

In Babylonia there were Hebrews in large numbers at least since the deportations by Tiglathpileser III (734) and Sargon (27,290 inhabitants of the Northern Kingdom carried away to Mesopotamia and Media in 722). Of these captives also, like the most of the remainder of the early Dispersion, in all parts of the world, we have thenceforward no sure trace. They of course became good citizens of their adopted countries, used to the utmost the new opportunities, and were in increasing extent assimilated with the surrounding peoples. How faithful they were to Yahwè, the God of Israel, we have no means of knowing; nor can we even guess to what extent their descendants could or did co-operate with the Judean captives deported by Nebuchadrezzar.<sup>16</sup> As regards voluntary Jewish emigration to Babylonia,

<sup>16</sup> Among the eastern Semites, religious differences often completely override identity of race; and if the Hebrews of the Southern Kingdom really held, at the beginning of the sixth century, the extreme view of the apostasy of their Northern brethren which is expressed everywhere by the (later) editor of the books of Kings, we might well believe that the members of the second great group of deported exiles would show little interest in the fortunes of their predecessors, even if they were able to come in contact with them. But we know that the people of Israel claimed to be worshipers of Yahwè, and it is likely that the people of Judah acknowledged them to be such, while both kingdoms were still standing.

before the downfall of Jerusalem, we have at present no information at all. It would be strange, indeed, if some considerable companies of colonists had not turned their faces thither in the seventh century, under the conditions described above. It is true that the principal streams of migration at that time ran from north to south, but there were also counter currents. Hebrew names, in large number, are found in the Babylonian business documents of the Persian period. It does not by any means follow, as some have hastily concluded, that these are the names of Jews of "the Captivity"—meaning the colonists deported in the time of Nebuchadrezzar. No tidings have reached us of any temple built by Jews in Babylonia. The existence of such temples is certainly possible, perhaps even probable; see further below.

But the Nile valley and the lands east of the Euphrates were by no means the only countries which offered great opportunities to enterprising Palestinian colonists. If we could read the history of Phoenicia, Asia Minor, North Africa, and the Greek islands and shores, in this early period, we should doubtless find that the waves of migration in the seventh century and thereafter carried some Jews to each of these regions, and to still others as well. Upon the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, fugitive companies swarmed forth in all directions. Many were only trying to escape the immediate danger, and soon found their way back; but a large number, certainly, continued their flight into foreign parts, and never returned. After the restoration of Jerusalem, moreover, the stream of emigration from all Judea continued to flow ominously, and the Jewish settlements in foreign lands grew steadily larger. These were the "exiles" of whom the Old Testament prophets are constantly speaking, and whose removal from the holy land they mourn as the deadliest blow to Israel; those who were in "the north, the south, the east, and the west;" see, for example, Is. 11:11 f., 43:5 f. ("I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north, Give up, and to the south, Keep not back; bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the end of the earth"), 49:12, 60:4-9 (ships of Tarshish will bring back the exiles); Jer. 23:8, 29:14, 31:8, 32:37; Zech. 2:6, 8:7, and many similar passages. The Babylonian captives of 597-586 were but a small part of the whole, and it is not often that they



are mentioned separately, save by the pseudo-Jeremiah and the Chronicler. Such terms as "captivity" (שִׁבְיָהוּ) and "exile" (גְּלוּת) are frequently used in speaking of the Jewish Dispersion in general, and the usage persisted for many centuries.<sup>17</sup>

#### IV. THE REVIVING OF JERUSALEM

It was this sinister combination of involuntary and voluntary exile that made the restoration such a very difficult matter. The devastation wrought by Nebuchadrezzar, terrible as it was, would have left plenty of hope of a speedy recovery, in a city of great natural resources. The neighboring city of Sidon was repeatedly wiped out of existence (in the year 350 B. C., for instance, with the slaughter of 40,000 of its citizens and the total obliteration of the city itself), but it always arose again immediately from its ashes, and was soon as proud and powerful as ever. If there is a potent reason for the existence of a city on a certain spot, it is very hard to stamp out its life utterly. After each catastrophe, returning fugitives, re-enforced by adventurers, are likely to put in an appearance very soon, unless they are kept away by force. So it was with Jerusalem. The essential fact which insured its continuity of life was the sacred rock on the eastern hill. Far fewer people are drawn by the magnetism of a cultic rallying point than by that of an important commercial or industrial site; but the attractive force exerted on the few, by the religious motive, is much stronger than the other. We know very little of the history of Jerusalem and its neighborhood during the century beginning with the destruction of Solomon's temple; but we are at least sure of these two things, that the site was soon occupied again, and that the principal reason for the revival of the city was the existence of the ancient holy place, holier yet than the temple which had been built upon it.

In II Kings 25:26 it is said that upon the assassination of Gedaliah "all the people, both small and great," fled to Egypt. This is also the Chronicler's way of looking at the matter, the entire population of Jerusalem and the neighboring towns removed

<sup>17</sup> Thus in an official letter of Rabbi Gamaliel the younger (beginning of second century A. D.), published in Dalman, *Aramäische Dialektproben*, p. 3, we read the superscription: "To our brethren the men of the captivity (בְּנֵי גְלוּתָא) of Babylonia, those of the captivity of Media, those of the captivity of Greece (בְּנֵי יוֹנָא) and all the rest of the Dispersion (בְּנֵי גְלוּתָא, 'captivities'); your peace be multiplied." In each and all of these expressions, he is referring to Jews who had gone forth voluntarily and formed trading colonies.

to Babylonia and Egypt, so that none remained in the land, or could return to it. Thus, too, the traditional view, which is still formally held fast by most students of the Old Testament, asserting that Jerusalem and the cities of Judah continued to be nearly or quite deserted for forty-nine years. Of late, especially since Koster's renewal of the argument against the historicity of the return under Cyrus, scholars in increasing number have been disposed to modify the extreme theory to the extent of admitting that some of the inhabitants of the city and its vicinity remained near at hand after the catastrophe, and either themselves began, or else assisted in, the work of restoration.<sup>18</sup> This, to be sure, is not at all the Chronicler's view; as he tells the story, the population of Judea in the Persian period consisted *solely* of the returned Babylonian exiles and the heathen of the land (including heathenized Jews), with whom the pure blood of Israel must not, and did not, mix.<sup>19</sup> His theory, as shown in the preceding chapters, is artificial and contrary both to our other evidence and to reason. As for the statement in II Kings 25:26, which was partly responsible for the theory elaborated by the Chronicler, it is merely the usual, and very natural, exaggeration. A large company fled to Egypt at this time, no doubt, joining the Jews who were already in that land; but other companies fled in other directions, and—most important of all—a very large number must have taken temporary refuge in the immediate or more remote neighborhood. This is just what had happened a few months earlier, when the Babylonians made their last attack on the city, according to Jer. 40-43. Thus we read in 40:11 f.: "When all the Jews that were in Moab, and among the children

<sup>18</sup> Thus Wellhausen, *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1895, pp. 185 f.: "Man hat bei der Restauration zu sehr ausser Acht gelassen, das doch ein starker Bodensatz der alten Bevölkerung sich noch im Lande vorfand. . . . An den massgebenden Kern der Gola muss sich vielmehr ein grosser Teil der im Lande verbliebenen Bevölkerung angeschlossen und sich in die Cadres ihrer Geschlechter eingegliedert haben."

<sup>19</sup> For the sake of enforcing this lesson—and especially for the effectual discomfiture of the Samaritans—he represents the "exiles" as having twice sinned in this respect, and shows how they were punished. Just before the reform of "Ezra," a considerable number of the people, from all classes, married heathen wives. But after taking a complete census, the work of which occupied several months, all of these wives, *with their children*, were banished. And again, when Nehemiah is made by the Chronicler to complete some of Ezra's work of reform, a few Jews are said to have broken the solemn covenant of all Israel (Neh. 10) by marrying women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab (Neh. 13:23 ff.). This time, also, the remedial measures were effective, for Nehemiah says in vs. 30: "Thus I cleansed them from all strangers." The seed of Israel was *not* contaminated to any appreciable extent, and *only* the men of the Babylonian captivity took part in the restoration, according to the rigidly consistent representation in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah.

of Ammon, and in Edom, and that were in all the countries, heard that the king of Babylon had left a remnant of Judah, and that he had set over them Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan; then all the Jews returned out of all places whither they had been driven, and came to the land of Judah." The same thing is said in briefer compass in 43:5. Whatever may have been the source of this information,<sup>20</sup> the course of events here described is just what is usual when cities are sacked and destroyed; the majority of the inhabitants flee into the neighboring country, and return from time to time, in straggling bands, when it is safe to do so. The removal of this multitude of temporary refugees from Jerusalem to the nearest surrounding countries must have been extended over some time; and their return to Judea cannot possibly have been accomplished in the way stated (though the words were perhaps not intended to be taken strictly) in Jer. 40:11 f., 41:10-17, 43:5 f.—as though "all the Jews in Moab, Ammon, Edom, and all the countries" could have returned to Judea, moving as one man, in less than two months' time (it might easily have taken a month or two for them even to learn of the appointment of Gedaliah), and as though they could have been led about thereafter in the manner described. What is probable—and we have nothing but probability to guide us at this point—is that the majority of the fleeing inhabitants of Jerusalem and the neighboring towns took up their temporary quarters in the nearest regions where they could be both safe and comfortable; that they did this in the hope of returning eventually; and that the most of them did actually return, some coming soon and others following later, in larger or smaller companies. Regarding the probable character and quality of these returning fugitives, several things are to be said. (1) According to II Kings 24:15 f.,<sup>21</sup> the deportation in 597 included a large part of the best men of the land; but it is plain from subsequent passages of the same account (as well as from the numbers given in Jer. 52) that the majority of this upper stratum—nobles, warriors, craftsmen—escaped the fate of their brethren.<sup>22</sup> As has

<sup>20</sup>The account in these chapters seems to me to give evidence of dependence on II Kings 25, and there are plenty of marks indicating that it originated at a time much later than the events described.

<sup>21</sup>The two verses 13 f., in this chapter, are regarded by the most recent commentators as a later and mistaken addition to the text; see, for example, Benzinger, *Comm.*, and Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift des A. T.*

<sup>22</sup>According to Jer. 52:28, which is generally regarded as the most probable statement of the kind, the total number of this deportation was 3,023.

already been remarked, Nebuchadrezzar took only what he was able to lay hands on—and the best are most likely to escape. (2) The sortie from the city, at the end of the final siege in 586, included the king and “all the men of war,” II Kings 25:4 f. The king himself was captured by the Babylonians, near Jericho, but “all his army was scattered from him,” probably into the regions beyond the Jordan. It is to be presumed that many of the most noble and influential men in Jerusalem left the city in this night expedition with their king. (3) We have information, more or less valuable, concerning some of the royal house who survived all these calamities of sword and captivity. Ishmael ben Nethaniah, “of the seed royal,” was among those who fled to the Ammonites (Jer. 41:15). Certain daughters of King Zedekiah are mentioned in Jer. 41:10 and 43:6, as belonging to the company that eventually migrated to Egypt.<sup>23</sup> And finally, Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel, who appears to have been the offspring of one of these fugitives,<sup>24</sup> may be included here, if the Chronicler’s statement, that he belonged to the house of David, can be given any credence.<sup>25</sup> (4) At all events, the companies returning to the site of the ruined city included many of the most devoted adherents of the religion of Israel (compare what was said above, on this point). In short, if we give our sources a fair hearing, taking into account *all* their statements and not merely a few of them, we find that they do not require us to suppose that those who escaped the armies of Nebuchadrezzar and soon returned to their old home formed a community essentially different from those which under similar circumstances have rebuilt other cities, in various parts of the world. If we could learn the truth in regard to the brave few who first ventured back and stood by the ashes of the temple, and the much larger company of those who were striving to restore the city, a dozen years after it had been destroyed,<sup>26</sup> we should

<sup>23</sup> It is likely that these “daughters” are merely an improvement on the narrative of Kings, where the king’s *sons* are mentioned (25:7), but nothing is said about the rest of his household. In general, the longer and much more circumstantial account contained in these chapters of Jeremiah makes the impression of being merely the result of embroidery on the story told in II Kings.

<sup>24</sup> Kesters, *Wiederherstellung*, has already argued very forcibly that Zerubbabel and Joshua cannot be regarded, according to the evidence contained in Haggai and Zechariah, as having come to Jerusalem from the exiles in Babylonia. See also below, regarding this point.

<sup>25</sup> According to the Chronicler, in II Chron. 3:19, Zerubbabel was the son of Pedaiah, and nephew of Shealtiel.

<sup>26</sup> We do not know, to be sure, just how much of Jerusalem was destroyed. II Kings 25:9 says that the Babylonians burned “the temple, the palace, and every great house” (the words **וְאֵת כָּל בְּתֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם** must of course be regarded as a later addition to the

certainly find that the very best elements of the people—the nobility, the clergy, the men of influence and enterprise—were well represented.<sup>27</sup>

For the period lying between the great catastrophe of 586 and the reign of Darius Hystaspis we are absolutely reduced to inference and conjecture, so far as the fortunes of Jerusalem are concerned. No historical source now known gives us any direct testimony. New light has recently been thrown on the history of one of the Jewish colonies in Egypt, in this period. The papyrus document found at Elephantine tells of the great temple of Yahwè there, built by the Jews, and declares that it was in existence when Cambyses entered the land. It was built, then, as early as the reign of Cyrus, perhaps even considerably earlier. In regard to the relation of this temple to the one in Jerusalem more will be said in the sequel.

## V. THE RENEWAL OF THE WORSHIP

### 1. *Untrustworthy Narratives*

The story of the restoration of the Jewish worship in Jerusalem by Cyrus, at the beginning of his reign, makes its first appearance in the Aramaic tale which the Chronicler has incorporated. This tale, as I have shown, dates from the third century B. C., and is just as untrustworthy as the Chronicler's own "history," because composed with the same purpose. But the reason why the story of the restoration by Cyrus cannot be used in a serious history of Israel is not simply that it is found in an untrustworthy source, but also this, that its artificial origin is obvious. The strong feeling against Babylon was a matter of course, and the overthrow of the Babylonian power was hoped for in Jerusalem. Cyrus was presumably hailed as the rod of chastisement in the hand of Yahwè. The Jews had a feeling of gratitude toward him, and whether he ever did anything for them or not, the next generation could not have failed to have a tradition to the effect that when he overthrew

text; there is no other way of explaining the verse). A large part of the city, then, was still habitable. The wall was of course broken down (vs. 10), but not wholly, see especially Neh. 4:1.

<sup>27</sup> Nehemiah, in 1:2 f., speaks of "those Jews who had escaped, who were left of the captivity," living both in Jerusalem and elsewhere "in the province." As he makes no mention here or elsewhere of any Jews who had returned from Babylonia to Judea, it is fair to infer that the "priests, nobles, and rulers" (2:16, 4:8, 5:7, etc.) whom he found in the city were of the fugitives who escaped the army of Nebuchadrezzar.

the Babylonian enemies of Israel, he also gave the Jews some positive tokens of his favor.<sup>28</sup> "Cyrus the deliverer," then, was an idea which in any case considerably antedated the third century B. C. To this was soon added the notion of the "seventy years" intervening between the destruction and the deliverance, as already explained. Thus Jer. 25:12: "When seventy years are completed, I will visit upon the king of Babylon, and upon that nation, their iniquity," etc. And 29:10, addressing the Jews of the Babylonian deportation:<sup>29</sup> "When seventy years are completed for Babylon, I will . . . bring you back to this place." And finally, by the transposition of the reigns of Cyrus and Darius I, the promised deliverance after seventy years had been made to coincide with the beginning of the Persian rule.<sup>30</sup> Thus it is plain that the materials for the story<sup>31</sup> told by the Chronicler and his Aramaic-writing predecessor were ready to hand, by the time when they wrote; and this fact adds its own great weight to the evidence—already sufficiently strong—against the trustworthiness of the stories regarding the favor shown to the Jews by Cyrus.

The same thing is true of the similar account of aid given by Darius. It has the same notorious origin, and the manner of its genesis is equally obvious. Given the story of Cyrus, and the Jewish chronology current in the third century B. C., with its "Darius the Mede;" and the narrative contained in Ezra, chaps. 4-6, follows almost as a matter of course. If Cyrus aided the Jews, and even expressly ordered the building of the temple, how

<sup>28</sup> We find such "traditions," for example, even in the case of Alexander the Great, though the Jews had no such feeling of enmity toward the Persians, whose yoke he removed from them.

<sup>29</sup> Bear in mind, however, that elsewhere in this chapter the very same thing is said of the other "exiles" belonging to all parts of the great Dispersion among the nations. See above.

<sup>30</sup> This transposition certainly involved no change in the current idea of the deliverance from the Babylonian yoke. "Darius the Mede" became lord of the Babylonian empire, according to this belated theory, but not as a hero known to popular legend. It is obvious that the Jews can have heard no tales in regard to his chastisement of Babylon, or his campaigns through Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. He simply "received the kingdom" (Dan. 6:1). The "Medes and Persians," acting in concert, overthrew the power of Belshazzar, and the Median king was the first to enjoy the fruit, but not because of his prowess in this conquest. But with Cyrus it was very different. Even Herodotus believed that he took Babylon by force, and the fame of his campaigns was spread (with the inevitable exaggeration) throughout Western Asia. It was to him, always, that the "everlasting devastation" (שממרת עולם, J. r. 25:12) of the conquered land was attributed. So whether Darius the Mede was put before Cyrus the Persian, or not, it was only the latter whom the Jews looked upon as their deliverer. See also p. 155, note 25.

<sup>31</sup> *But not the story itself.* Not even in the pseudo-Jeremiah is there any place for such a picture of events as that which is given us by these two writers of the third century.



did it happen that it was neither built, nor in process of building, at the beginning of the reign of Darius Nothus, something like a *hundred years later?*<sup>32</sup> Why did Zerubbabel and Jeshua "arise and begin to build" at this late date? The natural answer was, that they had been hindered, by hostile intervention, from beginning any sooner. Jewish pride and religious devotion could not have conceived any other solution than this. The renewed effort to build, described by the two prophets, *must* have been the result of a royal edict, putting an end to the forcible restraint previously in effect ever since the early part of the reign of Cyrus. Add the ever-present hostility of the Samaritans and their allies, and the whole of the material of the Aramaic narrative is provided.

## 2. *Conditions at the Time of Haggai and Zechariah*

The two brief prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah give us a glimpse of conditions in Jerusalem at the beginning of the reign of Darius I Hystaspis,<sup>33</sup> and they are our first and only sure source of information between Nebuchadrezzar and Nehemiah. The details which we are able to glean from these two prophecies suffice to give us a tolerably clear general idea of the conditions in which they originated. One thing becomes more and more certain, as we read; the community in which Haggai and Zechariah lived was not made up chiefly, or even largely, of recently returned exiles; no such event as the Chronicler's "restoration" can have taken place only seventeen years before the two preachers began the work of which we have the record.

The time is one of quiet and expectancy (Zech. 1: 11). For a long time past, the people have been struggling along, making some gain in a material way, but with their expectation as the chosen people sadly disappointed. Quite a measure of prosperity has been reached, both in the city itself and in the land round about—though in some things, notably agriculture, their success has not been such as they could have expected; but their religious prosperity has for many years seemed to be almost at a standstill. In 1: 12 the angel of Yahwè is represented as saying: "How long, O Yahwè of Hosts, wilt thou not have mercy on

<sup>32</sup> According to their Chronology, the "Darius" named in Haggai and Zechariah could only be Darius II. They may not, indeed, have believed the interval to be as long as one hundred years.

<sup>33</sup> Hag. 2: 3 (notice especially the position of the word הַיְהוָה) seems to make this certain.

Jerusalem and the cities of Judea, at which thou hast been angry these seventy years?" That is, for seventy years past Yahwè has not shown his people any special favor. Imagine the prophet saying this to a community which only a few years before (according to the story told by the school to which the Chronicler belonged) had seen Yahwè "turn its captivity" in a manner worthy to be put beside the deliverance from Egypt! But though Israel has long seemed to be forsaken by its God, yet now a change for the better is promised, and the people themselves, by their own altered conduct, are to bring it about. The question of their prosperity (the prophet would say) rests with them alone. Yahwè is always ready, but waits for his people to do their duty. They have long been selfish and negligent; the temple should have been restored some time ago, but they have been willing to postpone the building. When they have done this one significant thing, Yahwè will bless them spiritually, and will also increase their material welfare (Hag. 2: 15-19; cf. Zech. 8: 9-12). The extent to which a considerable part of the population had been dependent on the yield of the soil is indicated by Haggai especially. It is also plain, from his words, that they have been engaged in agriculture for a long time. During the more recent past, things have not gone so well as during the more remote past within their memory. They had been wont to expect so and so much from the wine vat and the oil press, but in the recent years only a part of the customary amount has been yielded (Hag. 2: 15 f.).<sup>34</sup> It is important to observe, however, that in spite of this long-continued shortage of their crops, the people whom Haggai addresses are living in such comfortable condition that the prophet can reproach them, collectively, with their short-sighted selfishness in enjoying a measure of luxury in their own fine houses, while the worship of Yahwè is carried on in a miserably inadequate structure. (1:4). All this appears to describe the circumstances of a people occupying a land where both they and their fathers before them have been dwelling in security and reaping some good fruit of their labor. Two generations had elapsed since the devastation of the province, and within that time much that was lost had been regained. The great evil, overshadowing all others, is the same one which is lamented by

<sup>34</sup> In vs. 16, instead of **מהייתה** we must of course read, with the Greek, **מי הייתם**, or **מה ה' "**"How did it fare with you?" (the same idiom which is found in Ruth 3:16 and elsewhere).

all the other later prophets, the Dispersion. Israel has been scattered to the four winds (Zech. 2:10, 12). The comforting promise is, that at last the exiles shall be brought back "from the east and from the west" (8:7). Yahwè will punish all the nations which are holding and oppressing his children (1: 15, 2:12 f.).

Those to whom Zechariah and Haggai are speaking have been observing the public worship of Yahwè in the time-honored manner, with the usual sacrifices and ceremonies, but in a בית ידוה whose appearance and equipment have become a shame to them. A temporary structure had been erected some time ago, on the sacred site, and the majority of the people are still willing to continue in the use of this makeshift. Haggai says: "Is it a time for you to dwell in your ceiled houses, while this house lieth in ruins?" (1:4). The same thing is implied in 1:2, which quotes the people as saying: "The time for building the house of Yahwè is not yet come." It is hardly necessary to insist that no one would have said this at a time *when no house of Yahwè was in existence*, while the people were comfortably housed. What they were saying was: "The building which we have will do for some time longer." Certain passages in Zechariah indicate the same thing. In 3:8 it is implied that Jeshua and the priests "who dwell in his presence" are, and have been, in the regular service of the sanctuary. So also in 7:2 f., where men have been sent from a distance to inquire at the temple, of "the priests who belong to the house of Yahwè of Hosts." And finally, in Hag. 2:10-14, dated in the second year of Darius, there is express mention of the temple sacrifices ("that which they offer there;" vs. 14). The cult had of course not ceased in Jerusalem during all these years since the city had been re-peopled.

#### VI. GENERAL SUMMARY, 586 TO 444 B. C.

We may therefore sketch the course of events from the date of the destruction of the temple until that of its restoration in the time of Darius I as follows. Soon after the army of Nebuchadrezzar had withdrawn from Judea, companies of returning fugitives began to show themselves in the neighborhood of Jerusalem. In a short time, the work of bringing back life to the ruined city had begun. The many whose homes had not been destroyed

returned to them, while others strove to rebuild and repair. One of the first undertakings, of course, after something like a settled life had been reached, was the erection of a temporary house for the worship of Yahwè, on some part of the site of Solomon's temple. The condition of the people, it is needless to say, was most wretched at first, and improved but slowly. Agriculture was the main stay in the beginning, and by slow degrees a few industries and a struggling trade grew up. One generation passed away, and their children carried on the work. The city grew constantly larger. By the beginning of the Persian period, fifty years after the great calamity, something like prosperity had been restored; and a little later, in the time of Darius Hystaspis, the people were rebuked and incited by Haggai, Zechariah, and perhaps other prophets, until they undertook to build a worthy temple in place of the temporary house. The high priest at that time was Jeshua, the son of Jozadak, while the recognized leader of the people was Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel.<sup>35</sup> The work of building the new temple began in the second year of Darius, on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month (Hag. 1:14 f., cf. Zech. 1:1, 15 ff.), that is, in the year 520 B.C. How soon it was finished, we do not know; the date given in Ezr. 6:15 seems

<sup>35</sup> It is not likely that Zerubbabel was governor of Judea. The prophecy of Zechariah says nothing which would indicate this, while in every one of the four passages in Haggai where he is given the title (1:1, 14; 2:2, 21) comparison of the Greek shows that the words *סֶפֶת יְהוּדָה* are a later interpolation in the Hebrew. The title would never have been thus deliberately removed from any text, Hebrew or Greek; but the interpolation of it would be most natural in consequence of Ezr. 6:7. The Aramaic narrator concluded, from the prominence given to Zerubbabel in both Haggai and Zechariah, that he was the governor; but if this had really been the case, some passage in the one or the other of the two prophets would have been likely to give him his title.

The "Sheshbazzar" of the Aramaic story, often identified with Zerubbabel, may also be considered here. He was created by the narrator in order to show that Cyrus was in earnest with his decree, and that a beginning was really made. (The name was as easily found as was Daniel's Persian name, "Belteshazzar.") According to the Aramaic narrative, he preceded Zerubbabel by at least two generations. He "laid the foundation" of the first building on the site of the temple ruin; Zerubbabel "laid the foundation" of the permanent structure which was built in the days of Haggai and Zechariah. The Chronicler, on the other hand, made Zerubbabel's career begin in the time of Cyrus (see pp. 59 f.)! He therefore either believed the interval before Darius II to be shorter than it actually was, or else supposed his heroes to have lived to a great age. As for Sheshbazzar, he apparently preferred to ignore him, after the first necessary mention (necessary because of Ezr. 5:14-16). It is not likely that he identified him with Zerubbabel, for if he had done so he would have been pretty sure to make this important fact plain. As has already been observed, when he has occasion to mention the governor of Judea in the time of the return under Cyrus, he does not commit himself, but simply employs the title "Tirshatha" (see above, p. 233). It was inevitable that some at a later date should make the identification of Sheshbazzar with Zerubbabel; in the first place, because both are styled "governor" of Judea in the Aramaic narrative, and then are made contemporaries by the Chronicler; and in the second place, because of the comparison of Ezr. 5:16 with Zech. 4:9. Hence the identification, by means of an explanatory interpolation, in I Esdr. 6:18.

to be the Chronicler's (see p. 158), and we have every reason to hold aloof from such information of his furnishing.<sup>36</sup>

At the time when the temple was rebuilt, the wall of the city was still lying in ruins (Zech. 2:5-9). About seventy years later, in the reign of Artaxerxes I (probably; see below), a singular turn of events brought about the restoring of this wall. The story of Nehemiah is a strange one; but in such an environment as the Persian court truth is often stranger than fiction. We have at present no reason to reject the account given us by the book of Nehemiah in its original form.<sup>37</sup>

#### VII. THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

During all this time, while Israel's external prosperity was being restored, a most significant development of the spiritual life of the people was taking place; a development which had begun long ago, and which was destined to bring forth a most important part of the nation's religious contribution to the world. The Jews of the second temple were, indeed, a community broken in spirit; but we may easily exaggerate their discouragement, and overestimate the suddenness of the change in their circumstances. Nothing could have been more bitter, it is true, than the experience of the years 597-586; but the humiliation had begun before Nebuchadrezzar's conquest. The people had already been made to see how the "chosen of Yahwè" was doomed to be a vassal, and a mere cipher among the nations. Their life under Persian governors was not very different from what it had been under their own powerless and tributary kings, in the later years of the monarchy. And this, as has already been remarked, was only a part, and the less important part, of their humiliation. The disintegration and scattering of Israel meant more than any merely temporary reverses. The loss of four or five thousand of their best men by deportation was not a vital matter, nor was the burning of the temple. Vacant places can be filled in a surprisingly short time, and temples can be rebuilt. But the breaking up of the nation which bore the name of Abraham, and

<sup>36</sup> The latest date given in Zechariah is the fourth year of Darius (7:1), and it does not appear that the temple was finished at that time, so far as we can judge from the lack of any mention of the fact in Zech. 7 and 8.

<sup>37</sup> That is, substantially, chaps. 1, 2, and 4-6. Some bits in these chapters also, however, are from the hand of the Chronicler, and the task of recognizing them is one of some importance and considerable difficulty. I am far from supposing that I have said the last word in my own suggestions regarding the analysis (above, pp. 225 f.).

had received the splendid promises, all of which seemed to attach themselves to the holy land, apparently meant the loss of the whole inheritance. How could this people come into possession of the blessings assured by Yahwè, when it was divided among the four corners of the earth? How could it ever be the leader among the nations, when the part of it which still held to the soil of Palestine was, and to all appearance must ever be, in this present age, a mere "remnant?" As has already been said, the vast majority of the "exiles" did not return to the home-land. Why should they have done so, even if it had been possible? They knew that they could make better use of their powers, and better serve the world, in the countries to which they had emigrated. Their attitude was a matter of course, from the beginning; but what was more important was the attitude of those who remained behind in Palestine, the custodians of the temple, the true nucleus of Israel, those who wrote and preserved for us the later books of the Old Testament. At first, no doubt, they used every effort to stem the tide, and even may have denounced their brethren as deserters; but the utter fruitlessness of all such efforts must soon have become apparent. As reasonable beings, they could only understand and acquiesce; and as interpreters of the faith of the fathers it was theirs to see whatever light they could in the rapidly darkening outlook. We see, in the documents which have survived, no censure of the emigrating Hebrews, only lament for the bitter necessity which drove them out of the land.<sup>38</sup> They are always spoken of as "exiles" and as "driven out," banished and held captive against their will. And this, under the circumstances, was the only just view. Those who went forth were indeed loyal Jews, and they did go under a real compulsion. Those who remained at home would never have counseled the wanderers to return; in fact, they could hardly even have wished them to do so. To what should they return? The land was not able to support them all, nor was it desirable that the Jews who could do something better should be limited to tilling the poor soil and carrying on the few and inferior native industries. As for the multitude of abandoned farms, they were speedily taken up by men of another sort. In

<sup>38</sup>The writer of Jer. 42 looked upon the fugitives to Egypt after the assassination of Gedaliah as deserving especial rebuke for their desertion of the land at this (in his view) most critical juncture. But this is an altogether unique case, having nothing to do with any censure of the emigrants in general.



this particular, also, the history of that movement in Judea has been repeated many times in our own day; foreigners of a lower grade of civilization, men of few needs and great physical endurance, are always ready to step in where the way is thus opened. First Edomites, pressing in from the south, then other peoples from across the Jordan and from Philistia, and afterward swarms of Nabatean peasants, entered the districts which the Jews were vacating.<sup>39</sup> This, again, was a change which was most painful to the devout Hebrews. The God of their fathers had promised the land to them; why then were foreigners permitted to pour in and occupy it? The words of Joel 4:17*b* are typical: "Then Jerusalem shall be holy, and strangers shall not pass through it any longer." But it was as obvious that the newcomers came to stay as it was that the outgoing population went to return no more. And, looking calmly at the conditions which had come to be, it is not likely that any wise patriot in Jerusalem would have checked the one movement or the other, if he could have done so. These were only single incidents in the great plan of Yahwè, who was chastising his people and yet preparing some good thing for them in the end. Thus the Second Isaiah (42:22 ff.):<sup>40</sup> "But' (ye cry) 'it is a people robbed and plundered, all of them trapped in holes and hidden away in dungeons; they have become a prey, with none to rescue; a spoil, with none to say: Restore it!' O that some one of you would hear this; would hearken, and make it known for the future. *Who gave Jacob to the spoiler, and Israel to those who plundered? Was it not Yahwè, against whom they had sinned, in whose ways they would not walk, and whose law they would not hear?*" And again, in 48:9 ff.: "For my name's sake I will hold back mine anger; for the sake of my praise I will spare thee, not cutting thee off. Lo I have purified thee for myself like silver, I have tried thee in the furnace of affliction. For my sake, mine own sake, I will do it; for how shall my name be profaned? and my glory I give to no other." If this was the prevailing spirit among the religious leaders in Jerusalem—and it assuredly was, as we know from the Old Testament and especially from the Psalms—then it must, *a fortiori*, have held sway everywhere in the Diaspora. No Jew in

<sup>39</sup> Aside from this more gradual immigration, there seems also to have been a sudden pouring in of Edomites just after Nebuchadrezzar's campaign.

<sup>40</sup> As will appear, I have made one or two slight and obvious emendations in the text of the passages quoted.

Babylonia, for instance, could ever have thought of advising the colonists there to return; nor would any member of the presumably still larger *gola* in Egypt have counseled his countrymen to make their way back to Palestine, though they might perhaps have found it possible to do so. All the faithful, of whatever land, dreamed of a great home-gathering, *but not in this present age*: the day when the exiles were to return to Zion was the day when all evils, for man or beast, should be forever done away (Is. 11:1-16, 60:16-22, 65:25, 66:19 f.). But obviously no one could hasten the glorious time by bringing the lion straw to eat, or by forcing the leopard and the lamb to lie down together.

The Jews have always been a people of strong faith, but they had before them at this time such a problem in theodicy as no other people has ever faced. It was quite impossible that they—the best part of them—should doubt that they had really been called and led by Yahwè, and that he was able to carry out his purpose for them. The question was simply, *what* his plan was, and *how* he intended to work it out. The new and very disheartening conditions made necessary a new development of Jewish theology. How well fitted were they for such a task?

If the modern view of the external history of the Jewish restoration is thoroughly mistaken, that of the religious tone and temper of the people of the second temple is even more so. Had the men of Jerusalem in the Persian period really been such as our text-books represent them,—dispirited particularists; unfriendly to everything lying outside the pale of Jewish orthodoxy, and with ceremonial piety as their ideal of personal righteousness; with their faces toward the past rather than the future, and unable to take a broad view of their situation,—then they would, indeed, have been incapable of any adequate solution of their great problem. But they were by no means such men as this; the current characterization of them is a false one. Here, also, the source of the error lies in a wrong estimate of the writings of the Chronicler; the mistake of supposing him to be a trustworthy historian, instead of an apologist setting forth a one-sided theory. At the time when the great battle of modern Biblical scholarship was fought and won, establishing the fact that the “priestly” strata of the early Hebrew narratives, and of the legislation of the Pentateuch, were of relatively late date, pretty nearly the whole body of what was recognized as “post-exilic” literature (aside from the poetical

books) consisted of writings which either were written or redacted by professional priests, or else came from the Chronicler's hand (viz. Chronicles, Ezra, and all the narrow-Judaistic part of Nehemiah). Hence these were of necessity regarded as the characteristic products of the period, and upon them was built, forthwith, a theory of the "post-exilic religion" of Israel. At the present day, we know that the most of the prophetic literature contained in our Old Testament, including the deepest and most wide-hearted expressions of the Hebrew faith which exist, dates from the Persian period. This was the golden age of Hebrew prophecy, as it was also that of Hebrew poetry. Nevertheless the outgrown and unjust theory persists, and the dogma of "the people given over to formalism" is one which no one questions. The faithful community in Jerusalem and Judea is pictured as a "church" of a narrow and ever narrowing type, busied with small and uninspiring matters. Even the noblest utterances of psalmist and "post-exilic" prophet are given a petty interpretation; so that instead of reaching the utmost horizon, as by their own wording they seem to do, they are made to cover only the smallest and unworthiest patch of human life and interest.<sup>41</sup>

If there were any facts tending to show that the Jews of Persian Palestine were really such a caricature of religious humanity as the "post-exilic" theory depicts them, then the honest investigator would of necessity drop all considerations of probability and lay hold of these facts, endeavoring to interpret them fairly. But there is, on the contrary, nothing tending to show that Israelite theology in the Persian period (speaking of the people in general) was more legalistic than it had been in the latter days of the kingdom; while there is very much to show that the general tendency had been, and was, toward liberality. This was, in a certain sense, a "legal" period. The ritual law had been steadily growing until it had reached an unwieldy size, and this was the time for its codification and revision, especially now that rival sanctuaries, with rival rituals, were becoming dangerous. The priests were more thoroughly organized than they had been before, and were developing a considerable literary activity, as we have

<sup>41</sup> For full illustration of this statement I would refer to any recent commentary on the Psalms, especially that of Duhm; or to the modern interpretation of any "post-exilic" prophet, especially the Second Isaiah. Professor Cheyne's little volume, "*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*," sets forth quite fully, and with great learning and skill, the modern view; but such a religious society as he depicts could probably never have existed anywhere, and certainly never did exist in Palestine.

abundant evidence. But these few priests were not the whole people, and the fact that they had written or edited a considerable number of the documents which (thanks to their care) have survived to the present day can give us no clue whatever as to the religious tendencies of the laity. It was, in fact, a time of many widely differing tendencies. The new and strange conditions, at home and abroad, the rapid influx of foreign ideas, and the breaking up of the nation, all brought forth extreme types of religion, conservative on the one hand and radical on the other. There were scribes who were absorbed, as never before, in legal minutiae; there were narrow-hearted nationalists; and there were apologists who, like the Chronicler, were compelled by their own argument to present a distorted view, whether they would have preferred it or not. On the other hand, there was a strong tendency toward ultra-liberalism, going to the extent of giving up all that was characteristic of the Jewish faith. There were even many, from the better part of the people, who adopted outright the crude and often very revolting forms of the pagan worship which they saw in the land; as is made evident by the tremendous invectives in Is. 57 and 65 f., as well as by the milder yet severely ironical polemic against idolatry in chaps. 40 f., 44, etc. But the great majority of the people stood at neither the one nor the other extreme. So far as "the law" was concerned, the hints given us by the Chronicler indicate that the rank and file of the people paid not over much attention to it. Judging from the prophecy of Malachi—who was himself one of the most liberal-minded of men—even the priests were prone to neglect it. From passage after passage in the prophets and the Psalter we can see that the true sentiment of the people was against ritualism; that their religious life was based on the spirit rather than the letter, and could combine the new with the old. There were multitudes (judging from the literature which we have) whose view was broad and sane, and who were in all respects worthy heirs of the teaching of their leaders and representatives, the prophets. Israel's inheritance from the past was a great one, not a small one, and it was a possession of which they could and did make use. It has been customary to think of the prophets of the Old Testament as isolated phenomena; men speaking words put into their mouth by the Holy Spirit, but heeded by none of those who heard (Matt. 13:14 f.). On the contrary, these great teachers were all

men of the people. By seeing what they were, we can see what the people were. Every prophet of Israel was the true product, and the best product, of his own day, the leader into a better time which his voice and his example helped to bring near, but which could not come without the added help of the many. When Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and all their fellows, had passed away, their work was not merely stored up in written books and laid away at one side, as it were; it was living in the hearts of the people. As I have already said, above, the religious life of Jerusalem and Judea went on from the period of the monarchy over into that of the foreign dominion in one continuous line of development.

The Jews of the Persian and Greek periods did work out a solution worthy of their past and adequate to the demand of the time. It is impossible to go into details here, only the bare facts can be stated. They accepted the distress and the humiliation as deserved punishment. No people possessed of a genuine religious spirit, and accustomed to the idea of a special divine guidance, could fail to look for a benevolent purpose in all this discipline; and the Jews made their way, by degrees, into a new and wider view of their life as the chosen few, all the way from Abraham on to the coming age. They saw, and welcomed, what was good in the religious beliefs of the Gentiles. The sacrifices and rites which had been ordained for the Hebrews were the best for them, beyond question, but were not necessary for other peoples. Even for the Israelites themselves, the ceremonial law was not the essential thing; psalmist after psalmist and prophet after prophet express clearly their conviction—which was certainly the conviction of the people as a whole—that what Yahwè wishes of his children is not burnt offering and punctilious observance, but clean hands and a pure heart, loyal affection to the God who had chosen them, and good will toward all their brethren.<sup>42</sup>

As for the Gentiles, the prophet Malachi says in the most

<sup>42</sup>We find in the Psalter, as nowhere else, the true religion of the Jews of the second temple. However strongly subjective many of these poems are, they certainly speak, in the main, for the multitude, the common people who made up the great majority of Israel. Hence the deepest significance of the fact that we find, all through the collection, a faith which is warm-hearted and catholic, and founded on practical common sense. It is true that one and another of these poets speak despairingly of "the righteous few," but such phrases are only the expressions of a mood. In the great majority of the poems the consciousness of the multitude, not indeed righteous, but at least hungering for righteousness, is evident enough. But so long as the Psalms are understood as the utterances of men akin in spirit to the leaders of the congregation pictured by the Chronicler, just so long will they continue to be cruelly misinterpreted.

unequivocal terms (1:11), that all the worship which they offer sincerely is accepted by Yahwè as offered to him. In the affliction of the Dispersion, these teachers of the restored community were quick to see a new opportunity. Israel was destined to bring the nations to Yahwè. Even in its suffering, to the point of death, it was fulfilling the divine mission, hastening to completion its work as the faithful "Servant." Indeed, these very sufferings were by God's plan made to be an atonement for the sin of the Gentiles. It is worthy of especial notice, as a striking illustration of the range of this religious sympathy, as wide as the human race, how the Second Isaiah, in picturing the return of the "exiles" from all parts of the earth, represents the Gentiles as coming home with them. See Is. 49:8 ff., where the comparison of the parallel passage, 42:6 f., shows conclusively that those who are "bound" and "in darkness" are not only Jews but also Gentiles, to whom Israel has been appointed to give light (לְאֹרֶר גֵּוִים). Yahwè leads these foreign flocks also as their own "good shepherd," the phrases used here being just like those employed in 40:11, 41:18, 43:19-21, etc. It is not to be doubted that also in such passages as 61:1 ff., where the "Servant" is appointed to open the blind eyes and heal the broken hearts, the writer's thought included the whole world, though with primary reference (of course) to Israel. Yahwè's "day of punishment" (יּוֹם נִקְמָה, vs. 2) is for all the guilty, Jews and Gentiles alike; and his comfort, in like manner, is for all.<sup>43</sup> Compare with this Is. 25:8, where the God of Israel wipes away the tears "from all faces." See also such passages as 2:2-4, 19:24 f., 66:18, 21; Ps. 65:3, 145:14-18, 146:7 f. These are only a few passages, among those which could be named, but they are a splendid array!

<sup>43</sup>In the *divân*, or collected poems, of the Second Isaiah, two great themes are especially prominent. The one is the meaning of Israel's history, and the other is the return home in the Messianic time. In working out his philosophy of the nation's history, the great poet appeals constantly to the call of Abraham (41:2, etc. In 46:11, instead of אִישׁ עֲצָתִי we must read עַבְדִּי "my servant," parallel to אִישׁ עֲצָתִי "the man of my counsel") and to the return from Egypt (43:16 f., 48:21, etc.) but rests his whole scheme on the very broadest and truest conceptions of human life and the divine dealing. In picturing the home-gathering, his world-wide sympathy is all the time making itself apparent. He gives Israel the foremost place in the blessed age to come (how could he do otherwise?), but never forgets the blessings destined for the heathen, including many even from those nations which have been Zion's worst enemies. In every people there are children of Yahwè; he must visit a terrible punishment upon the guilty (and the guilty of Israel are included), but the righteous, of whatever race, will be saved. The world's literature contains nothing which can surpass the poems of this great soul—the prophet of the Dispersion, as he might be styled—who first recognized fully the meaning of "the chosen people" and gave it an expression which will stand as true for all time, and who first sketched clearly and firmly the figure of a personal Messiah.



## VIII. JEWISH TEMPLES OF THE DISPERSION

Thus far, we have considered the manner of the restoration, and the material and religious condition of the revived community. We have also seen that the attitude of the Jews of Judea toward those of the Dispersion was one of cordial good will and affection, like that of the mother who sees her son go away from home to enter upon his career. It remains to ask, however, how jealous the Palestinian Jews were of their own temple, in opposition to Jewish temples built for the worship of Yahwè in foreign lands. Until very recently, this question would hardly have received serious consideration. Now, however, the papyri from Elephantine have opened our eyes. There, in the heart of Upper Egypt, in the sixth and fifth centuries B. C., stood a notable sanctuary, to the history of which I have already alluded. The members of the Jewish colony at Yeb were not only worshipping the God of their fathers there, down to the year 411, with all due ceremony and in perfect sincerity; but when the temple was destroyed by their enemies, they sent a petition for help to their brethren in Judea. Those scholars who have discussed the questions raised by these papyri have all, with one voice, pronounced the Jews of this Upper Egyptian colony schismatic, and their temple an eyesore to the Jews of Jerusalem. We know, from the papyrus letter, that the petitioners did not receive any help from their Judean fellow-countrymen, in answer to their request. All commentators explain this fact as due to the hostility which the adherents of the temple in Jerusalem must have felt toward the schismatic church in Egypt (an unjustified explanation, as will presently appear). "How could the orthodox in Judea," it is said, "give aid to a temple on foreign soil, when it is declared with the greatest emphasis in Deuteronomy that Jerusalem is the only legitimate place for the worship of Yahwè?" Such a sanctuary, according to the accepted view, must have been looked upon as an evil thing, by all the faithful and zealous who knew the law. One eminent scholar, speaking of the temple at Elephantine soon after the fact of its existence was discovered, said: "This was enough to make, perhaps actually did make, Jeremiah howl." But were the people of Judea in the time of the second temple really so very narrow, and so very unreasonable, as this? Was Jeremiah so small-

souled a man as this estimate would make him? On the contrary, we have no good ground for supposing that the laws in question had any reference to sanctuaries outside of the holy land. More than one Old Testament scholar, writing before the discovery of the letters from the colony at Yeb, had expressed the opinion that the ordinances in Deut. 12, forbidding worship at sanctuaries other than the one in Jerusalem, were intended to refer only to Palestine. This is certainly the correct view. The laws in question were framed for the purpose of maintaining the primacy of the temple at Jerusalem in the face of the growing importance of Hebrew sanctuaries elsewhere in the land. So long as the shrine on Mount Moriah continued to stand, there could never be the least question as to its superior sanctity in comparison with all shrines on *foreign* soil. So long as Jews remained Jews, and "called themselves by the name" of Abraham and Jacob, their loyalty must attach itself to Palestine. But Abraham and Jacob had other famous shrines in the home-land, some of which might easily dispute the first place with Jerusalem. We may be sure that from the time when these "Deuteronomic" commands came into circulation, their purpose was well understood in the Dispersion, and also, that they were generally approved. Jerusalem was, in fact, accepted as the one primary seat of worship by all the Jews in the home-land, excepting those who attached themselves to Shechem and Mount Gerizim, of whom more will be said presently. Those who went abroad into the foreign lands, therefore, must have continued to give due glory to the mother sanctuary and uphold its prestige, while (of course) maintaining the right to build their own local houses of sacrifice and worship. There were large Jewish colonies in the great Gentile cities; it would be preposterous to expect them to give up their worship, or to limit it to pilgrimages (!) to the mother-country. Within the small territory of Palestine, the journey to the central shrine might be made a requirement, but not so in Babylonia, Egypt, and the isles of the sea. We see plainly from the papyri of Yeb that the members of the Jewish church there had no idea that they were doing anything irregular, or that could be displeasing to their brethren in Judea. Inasmuch as their sanctuary had been standing for more than a hundred years, at the time when their letter was written, it can be put down as certain that, if they had been deemed schismatic by the home

church, they would have known it long ago. There were similar religious conditions in other similar colonies, and it may well be that we shall discover, some day, that in Babylonia and elsewhere there were flourishing Jewish temples, in which sacrifice to Yahwè was offered in the time-honored way. And of this we may be certain, that the best representatives of Palestinian Judaism would all, to a man, have hailed with genuine enthusiasm the building of all such houses of worship for their "exiled" brethren.

We have in addition to the Elephantine documents two or three other bits of information as to the loyalty to the temple at Jerusalem shown in the Dispersion, and as to the friendliness of the Jews of Judea toward the members of a colonial church. The first of these is the account given by Josephus (*Antt.* xiii, 3, 4) of a public contest between the Jews and the Samaritans in Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, the question at issue being this, whether in the law of Moses the preferred sanctuary is at Jerusalem or on Mount Gerizim. According to the narrative, the Jews on this occasion showed great zeal for the honor of the temple at Jerusalem. Whatever degree of credence we give to the account, it is at least obvious that the one who first composed it believed that the Egyptian Jews would all have shown such zeal as this. Much more important is the testimony given by the two letters prefixed to the book of II Maccabees.<sup>44</sup> The first of these, 1:1-9 (*not* vs. 1-10*a*, as Swete's edition and all the recent textbooks and translations have it!) is sent by the Jews of Judea to their fellows in Egypt to urge them to observe the feast of the re-dedication of the temple, and is dated in the year 169 (143 B. C.) I do not see how its genuineness can be doubted. It attests both the fraternal co-operation existing at that time between the two religious communities, and also the fact that the superiority of the sanctuary in Jerusalem was taken as a matter of course on both sides. In view of the paucity of material of this sort, it is an extremely valuable document. The second of the two letters, which I also believe to be genuine, is dated in the year 188 (124 B. C.). It bears the same witness as the other, while the manner in which it goes into detail, in giving the ground for their mutual rejoicing, makes the fact of long continued and traditional good feeling all the more certain. It

<sup>44</sup>I have discussed these letters at length in the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XX (1900), pp. 225-42, and refer, for details, to that place.

is quite generally taken for granted that the adherents of the temple at Leontopolis were always looked upon as rivals and opponents of the Palestinian Jews, but this is surely an error. Rivalry or enmity on occasional grounds is of course always and everywhere possible; the circumstances of the founding of a new sanctuary, for instance, might be the cause of bad feeling, even long continued. Such rivalry and hostility have not infrequently attended the founding of new Christian churches, it must be admitted. But that the Jews of Judea ever opposed the temple at Leontopolis, or similar Jewish temples in any other part of the Gentile world, on the ground of infringement of the Deuteronomic law, I do not believe for a moment.

As for the failure of the church in Judea to give the much-needed aid to the daughter-church in Upper Egypt, in the year 411: we are now able to connect this fact with a very important and interesting historical event, which has only recently been illuminated for us by these very same papyrus records. Josephus, *Antt.* xi, 7, tells the following story. When the high priest Eliashib died, his son Judah succeeded him; then, when the latter died, he in turn was succeeded by his son Johanan (*Ἰωάννης*). It was because of a deed of this Johanan that the Persian Bagoses (*Βαγώσης*), who was the officer (*στρατηγός*) of Artaxerxes Mnemon, defiled the temple and imposed a tax on the Jews. It happened in this wise. The high priest Johanan had a brother named Jeshua (*Ἰησοῦς*). Bagoses, who was a friend of the latter, promised to bring it about that he, instead of his brother, should be high priest. Johanan quarreled with his brother in the temple, and the quarrel ended in the death of Jeshua. Bagoses, vowing vengeance, not only defiled the temple by entering the most holy place, but also fined the Jews thenceforward for seven years, taxing them before the daily sacrifice fifty drachmas for each lamb. Thus far Josephus. It has been customary to identify this Persian officer with the Bagoas who held such an important place at the court under Artaxerxes III Ochus; and our historians have accordingly supposed a punitive expedition of a Persian army to Jerusalem. Possibly Josephus himself made this identification, though his use of the term *στρατηγός* is not sufficient evidence of the fact. But now, at last, we know that the Bagoas (Bagoses) of Josephus' story was a very different person from the grand-vizier who made and unmade kings. When

the letter from the Jews at Yeb was written in the year 411, Johanan was the high priest in Jerusalem; and the Persian governor of Judea, presumably resident in Jerusalem, was named בַּגּוּזָי, i. e., Bagoas or Bagoses. This is the man, beyond all question, who is intended in the narrative preserved by Josephus; and we are now for the first time in a position to understand the account, and also, to see why the request of the petitioners at Elephantine was not granted. These Jews in Upper Egypt can hardly have had any knowledge of the relation existing between the clergy of Jerusalem and their Persian governor, and they asked, in good faith, that Johanan make request of Bagoas for their benefit. But we can see that such a request would probably have been impossible at any time after Johanan had assumed the office of high priest. Doubtless the Jews of Palestine would very gladly have assisted their brethren of Upper Egypt if they had been able to do so.

#### IX. THE HIGH PRIESTS OF THE SECOND TEMPLE

We have already seen (p. 156, top) that the community in Jerusalem possessed no historical tradition or information relating to the first century of the Persian period, excepting the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. The Chronicler's list of the high priests furnishes an illustration of this statement. He gives us, for the whole period of two hundred years from the advent of Cyrus down to Alexander the Great, a succession of only six names: Jeshua, Joiakim, Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, Jaddua; see Neh. 12:10 f., 22. What is more, the succession is given as invariably from father to son: "Jeshua begat Joiakim, Joiakim begat Eliashib," and so on to the end. The list is evidently artificial, and modern scholars have been disposed to attach little value to it as a whole. The name of Jeshua's father, Jehozadak, was already given in Hag. 1:1 etc., Zech. 6:11. The Chronicler accordingly provides the still earlier genealogy, and notes in I Chron. 5:41 (6:15): "Jehozadak went into captivity when Yahwè carried away Judah and Jerusalem by the hand of Nebuchadnezzar;" thus establishing the connection which was essential to his theory.

The period in which the high priest Jaddua lived has generally been treated as a known starting-point, and with good reason. He is the last high priest mentioned in "canonical" scripture.

The Chronicler, who names him, names in the same connection Darius III Codomannus (Neh. 12:22), thus showing that he means to bring the high-priestly genealogy down to the beginning of the Greek period. And it must be borne in mind that the generation which saw the conquests of Alexander reached nearly or quite to the Chronicler's own day. Moreover, the source used by Josephus in his *Antt.* xi, 8, where he tells the long and circumstantial story of Sanaballat, Manasseh, and the Samaritan secession, represented Jaddua and Alexander the Great as contemporaries.<sup>45</sup> The trustworthiness of the Jewish tradition as to the date of the high priest Jaddua ought therefore to be beyond question, especially when we remember the Chronicler's supreme interest in priests and priestly genealogies, and how easy it must have been for him to learn who was the high priest in office at the end of the reign of Darius Codomannus, probably less than one hundred years before the time when he wrote.

One other name in the list is also assured, and the date certain. From the papyrus letter found at Elephantine we know that the high priest at Jerusalem in the year 411 was Johanan. As has just been shown, Josephus has preserved a story regarding him which deserves credence. From it we learn that he had a brother named Jeshua; that the Persian governor of the province was a friend of the latter, but an enemy of the high priest; and that Joshua was slain by Johanan in the heat of a quarrel.<sup>46</sup> It was doubtless because of the unparalleled horror of this tragedy—the murder, by the high priest, of his own brother, in the temple!—that the memory of it remained fresh, while every recollection of Johanan's predecessors was lost. The indignity of the special fine, which continued for seven years to be imposed by the governor, would also help to keep the name of this high priest before the people. We can by no means be certain that his term of office immediately preceded that of Jaddua. One or more other incumbents may have intervened between the two.

In Neh. 12:11 our texts all read "Jonathan" (יְהוֹנָתָן) instead

<sup>45</sup> According to *Antt.* xi, 8, 7, the death of Jaddua occurred after that of Alexander.

<sup>46</sup> From the fact that Josephus, in telling this story, calls Bagohi the "officer of Artaxerxes II" (see above), it seems likely that he or his source supposed this event to have taken place in his reign, rather than in that of Darius II. But it may mean only, that Bagohi (and Johanan as well) were ordinarily associated with Artaxerxes II in the popular tradition. The whole occurrence is more easily imagined as taking place near the beginning of Johanan's term of office, and while he and his brother were still comparatively young, than at any later time.



of "Johanán" (יְהוֹנָן), and this fact has led some to conjecture that the Chronicler's list originally contained seven names instead of six. But the conjecture has very little probability, for the following reasons. (1) The number of the names in vs. 10 f., from Eliashib to Jaddua, agrees with the number in vs. 22. (2) The transcriber's error, יְהוֹנָן for יְהוֹנָן, is an extremely easy one. (3) Josephus makes no mention of a "Jonathan." It is evident from this that his text of Nehemiah had the reading "Johanán" in 12:11; if the Chronicler's genealogical table in the form which he had before him had contained both names, he certainly would have included both in his history, since the Chronicler is his only source of information as to the predecessors of Jaddua and Johanán.

Of the preceding names in the list, between Johanán and Jeshua, we are at present unable to make any use, since we have no means of knowing whether the Chronicler invented them or not.<sup>47</sup>

#### X. THE RIVALRY WITH THE SAMARITANS

One very important phase of the struggle for the religious restoration of Jerusalem is still to be considered, namely, the contest for the recognition of Zerubbabel's temple as the one true Palestinian home of the worship of Yahwè. It was not simply a question of the persistence of other Hebrew sanctuaries. More than one sacred place continued to be greatly revered, without ever becoming dangerous as a rival, so far as we know. For example, on at least two occasions when Jerusalem was stricken, the ancient shrine of Mizpah was the rallying place of the people. It was here that Gedaliah made his headquarters after the burning of the temple (II Kings 25:23), and thither also the Jews under Judas Maccabæus turned in the time of their greatest distress (I Macc. 3:46-51). But we have no reason to suppose that at any time after the building of Solomon's temple Mizpah

<sup>47</sup>It is clear, at any rate, that he was mistaken as to the time at which Johanán became high priest. What he knew with certainty was, that Jaddua was high priest at the time when Alexander the Great appeared; and he believed that Johanán was the next before Jaddua. In Ezra 10:6 (cf. Neh. 12:23) Johanán is evidently thought of as a youth in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Mnemon; and in Neh. 13:28, dated in the thirty-second year of the same king, the grandfather, Eliashib (or is it the father, Joiada?) is still holding the office of high priest. But we know from the Elephantine papyrus that Johanán was holding the office in the latter part of the reign of Darius II, at least eight years before the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes II. Considering the fact that nearly seventy years intervened between the accession of Artaxerxes Mnemon and that of Darius Codomannus, it is easy to see how the Chronicler was thus misled.

really threatened to become the principal Israelite seat of worship. There was only one city in all the land which could and did dispute Jerusalem's claim to the religious primacy, and that city was Shechem. As one of the most sacred localities in the territory of Israel, Shechem had been important from the beginning, and its importance had grown. After the fall of the Southern Kingdom, its prestige was much increased. By degrees, the rivalry of the shrine on Mount Gerizim became really serious, and many passages in the Old Testament show that the Jews were becoming concerned to maintain the supremacy of their own temple, and to combat the pretensions of their dangerous competitors. At last, the rivalry broke out into open conflict, ending in a struggle for life or death which exercised a profound influence on the Judean community, especially in and after the Greek period. If the chief of those forces which principally shaped the Jewish theology of the Restoration was the Dispersion, that one which contributed most to the development of the tendencies which produced the narrower and more exclusive type of "Judaism"—a type which plays only a very small part in the Old Testament, be it noted—was the long contest with the Samaritans.

Shechem had been the chief center of the patriarchal history. In the very beginning, a sacred tree had stood there, with an altar and a *maṣṣeba*. Abraham himself founded the sanctuary, on the day when he first received the promise of the land for his children (Gen. 12:6 f.). There Jacob had worshiped, and the well which he had dug was near by. Joshua, after finishing his work, made his solemn covenant with the people at this shrine (Josh. 24:1, 25 f.), and it was in this vicinity that the bones of Joseph were buried (Josh. 24:32). In the book of Deuteronomy, in more than one place, Mount Gerizim is given especial honor in connection with the proclaiming of the law. The "blessing" is put on Mount Gerizim, and the "curse" on Mount Ebal (Deut. 11:29).<sup>48</sup>

<sup>48</sup>This fact is immediately obscured by vs. 30, which contains a later addition by means of which *the two mountains are transferred to the Jordan valley*. The verse reads at present: "Are they not on the other side of the Jordan, beyond the western road, in the land of the Canaanite who dwells in the Arabah, opposite Gilgal, beside the terebinths of Moreh?" What Ebal and Gerizim have to do with "the Arabah," and how they could be described as "opposite Gilgal" (some twenty-eight miles SSW. of Shechem!), are questions which have puzzled the commentators; Driver, *Comm.*, pp. 133 f., for instance, confesses his inability to answer them. But the fact is, these added phrases were intended to discomfit the Samaritans by showing that *another* pair of mountains, bearing the same names but lying much nearer to the old crossing of the Jordan, were originally intended. This alteration, made before the time of the schism, was the forerunner of the later deliberate change of "Gerizim" to "Ebal," in the Jewish text of Deut. 27:4 and Josh. 8:30 (see below). So

By the command of Yahwè through Moses, the people build an altar on the sacred mountain, Gerizim, as soon as they have crossed the Jordan into the promised land (Deut. 27:1-8; Josh. 8:30 ff.).<sup>49</sup> No wonder that the Samaritans kept reiterating: Our fathers, the patriarchs, worshiped in this mountain!

All through the time of the Hebrew kingdoms, this ancient sanctuary was especially revered. It is probably an exaggeration, however, when in Luther-Meyer (*Israeliten und Nachbarstämme*, p. 559) it is spoken of as the main religious rallying-point for all northern Israel. Shechem did not have any great central importance, as a seat of worship, in the days of the monarchy. If this had indeed been the fact, some definite indication of it would pretty certainly have been preserved. The Northern Kingdom had other religious centers which came into political prominence, and Shechem was temporarily eclipsed—for reasons which we do not happen to know. It is not likely that the existing conditions were altered in any important respect by the deportation of some of the people of the district of Samaria, and the corresponding importation of foreigners, under the Assyrian rule. The members of this religious community were, and continued to be, mainly Hebrews (on this subject see further below). The significant change began when the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed, and the kingdom of the house of David was brought to an end. Then, as was natural, the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim gained greatly in importance; all the more so when Samaria became the first main seat of government in Palestine under the Persian rule. Doubtless not a few of the fugitives from Jerusalem, including some of the clergy, betook themselves at once to Shechem after the great calamity of the year 586; see the remarks already made, pp. 209, 212, 235 f. We are not to suppose that even now, after the rapid rise in the influence of the northern shrine, the worship there was performed on any such scale, or with any such central significance, as that in Jerusalem had been and soon came to be again. The prescriptions of the book of Deuteronomy were

Eduard Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, pp. 543 ff. I am glad to be able now to refer to these illuminating investigations of Luther-Meyer, instead of needing to elaborate my own arguments and conclusions on these points.

<sup>49</sup>The Samaritan Pentateuch has the original reading in Deut.; "Gerizim," not "Ebal." In the Jewish text, the name "Ebal" was substituted in both Deut. 27:4 and Josh. 8:30, after the secession of the Samaritans. See Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 545 f. This is a conclusion of whose correctness I have long been assured. It has been generally customary to accuse the Samaritans, rather than the Jews, of having made the alteration. See further below.

known and respected (as the event proved) throughout the length and breadth of Palestine, wherever any close attention was paid to the Mosaic ritual. The sanctuary at Shechem had its own priesthood, of course, but not a high priest and the machinery of a great central shrine. These, as the narratives show, came later, in consequence of the break with Jerusalem. After the Judeans had rebuilt their temple, the Samaritan church continued to flourish, and still as an institution of secondary rank, not claiming to be the chief religious rallying-point of Israel. In all probability there was no sharp rivalry, such as to produce bad feeling between the two communities in general, until shortly before the *hijra* of Manasseh and his adherents. Even in the year 408 B. C., the time of the petition from Elephantine, the churches of Jerusalem and Shechem seem to have been still "on speaking terms." The Jews of Egypt plainly knew of no open hostility existing between them. The Shechemites, on their part, had no reason to be hostile. Beyond any doubt, they still acknowledged the primacy of the temple on Mount Moriah, though giving the regulations of Deuteronomy an interpretation conformed to their own interests. Hence they accepted the Jerusalem redaction of the Pentateuch. They wished, of course, to have their own sanctuary recognized and authorized, and so long as the Judean temple had the upper hand, especially in the matter of the literary tradition, the safest course was to hold to it. The Jews, on the contrary, had nothing to gain, and much to lose, from any express recognition of the shrine on Gerizim. The time came, moreover, when they saw that the prestige of their own temple was really in jeopardy; and from that time on they became, at least in secret, more and more jealous of their northern brethren.

There was a definite time when the already strained relations between the church in Jerusalem and that in Shechem suffered an important change, covert opposition being replaced by open and bitter hostility. Something happened which was at once so disagreeable and so decisive in its character that it led to an immediate declaration of independence on the part of the Samaritans. Thenceforward they were done with all allegiance to the temple in Judea, or even with recognition of it on equal terms. "Ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship," but "our fathers worshiped in this mountain" (John 4:20). The Jews responded even more bitterly, and war to the

knife was declared. This was the real "Samaritan schism," and it proved to be an important turning-point in the history of Palestine. We know at least the nature of the event which caused this sudden and violent outburst of feeling and the separation which was incurable from the first. A young Jew of the family of the high priest married the daughter of the governor of Samaria, in spite of the opposition of his own family and of his most zealous Jewish associates. In consequence, he was disowned and driven from Jerusalem; while on the other hand his father-in-law made him high priest of the Samaritan church, and built a fine temple for the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim. Either the young renegade had been especially popular in Jerusalem, or else there was already considerable disaffection in the ranks of the Jewish clergy; at any rate, a goodly number of priests and Levites deserted at once, following their leader to the northern sanctuary.<sup>50</sup>

By ill fortune, the sources of our knowledge of these events are both meager and ambiguous. It is universally supposed that our two chief sources contradict each other, but this I believe to be a mistake. Our best modern scholars are in doubt as to the name of the young fugitive and that of his father the high priest. The one thing of which all are sure is the name of the Samaritan governor, Sanaballat, in whose time the event occurred. But even here there is a very disturbing element of uncertainty, inasmuch as *two* dates, about one hundred years apart, seem to be given for his time. The earlier date is the one now accepted by the great majority of scholars; the other is the one which I myself believe to be correct. I think it can be shown that, so far as the Samaritan schism is concerned, the later date is the only one which can seriously be taken into account.

Direct information from contemporary sources as to the feeling in Jerusalem against these adversaries, in the early time, is very scarce indeed. At the beginning of the Christian era, the Jews had "no dealings with the Samaritans" (John. 4:9). It was a somewhat unusual thing for a Jew passing through the Samaritan country to exchange a word with one of its inhabitants, even where it was merely a case of a man chatting with a woman. Bar Sira, writing about 180 B. C., mentions the hated rivals with

<sup>50</sup> Josephus, *Antt.* xi, 8, 6, calls Shechem a city "inhabited by apostates of the Jewish nation." Probably its inhabitants had always been prevalingly Hebrew.

a contemptuous phrase (50:26): "that foolish people that dwells in Shechem," and declares that they are "no nation" (vs. 25).<sup>51</sup> Evidently in his day, also, the two Hebrew churches, worshippers of Yahwè and custodians of the Mosaic law, were deadly enemies and had been such for a long time past. The Chronicler, writing some fifty years earlier than Bar Sira, made it his great work to establish the sole legitimacy of the institutions of Jerusalem in opposition to the Samaritan claims. From the manner in which he proceeds, and the scale on which his work is planned, it is evident that the contest in his day was bitter, and, what is more, that the Jews were in some real danger of being outstripped. He attacks the Shechemites both openly, making them out to be a heterogeneous mob of heathen (see for example pp. 169, 173, 182 f.), and also indirectly, through the medium of the Northern Kingdom (pp. 235 ff.), or the opponents of Nehemiah (p. 249), or in still other ways. The Aramaic story which the Chronicler incorporated in Ezra, chaps. 4-6, contained a slightly earlier polemic of a similar character. The author of this popular narrative probably lived and wrote not far from 250 B. C. The malicious alteration of "Gerizim" to "Ebal," in the Jerusalem text of Deut. 27:4 and Josh. 8:30, has already been mentioned. The date of this change can only be conjectured, but it was probably very soon after the secession of the Samaritans.<sup>52</sup> Earlier still came the tendentious alteration of Deut. 11:30, already described.

One of the late narratives of II Kings is an interesting document of the rivalry between the two Hebrew communities, those of Judea and Samaria, before the time of the schism. It is the story of the origin of the Samaritan people, composed with an animus which is constantly in evidence. We know from the Assyrian records that in the year 722 Sargon deported 27,290 of the people of the Northern Kingdom of Israel, filling their place with colonists from his eastern domain. The number of those deported is not unusually large, and was certainly only a small fraction of the Hebrew population of the region. But the Jewish

<sup>51</sup> It is plain that Bar Sira is here quoting Deut. 32:21: "I will move them to jealousy with those who are no nation; I will provoke them to anger with a foolish people." The fact may be without significance, but the possibility can hardly be denied that in the original passage also (of course written prior to the *hijra* of Manasseh) the Samaritans were intended.

<sup>52</sup> The alteration may possibly have been made before the schism, in which case we should have to suppose that the Samaritans knew the original reading and restored it. There is little to choose between the two hypotheses.



narrator makes characteristic use of the opportunity. According to II Kings 17:6, 18, 23; 18:9-12, all the Israelites of the Northern Kingdom were carried away at this time to Assyria and Media! "Yahwè was very angry with Israel, and removed them out of his sight; *there was none left but the tribe of Judah only*" (17:18). And having thus removed the last remnant of the chosen people from the region of Samaria, the narrator proceeds, in 17:24-41, to describe the religious condition of the heathen rabble with which the land had been filled by the Assyrian king. They professed to worship Yahwè (the same contemptuous taunt which is made in Ezr. 4:2), but came to this mind only under compulsion (17:25 f.), and really continued to worship their own idols, the gods of Cutha, Hamath, Babylon, and all the other places from which they had come (cf. Ezr. 4:9 f., etc.). "They made unto themselves *of the lowest of them* priests of the high places, who sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places" (17:32); compare the railing accusation made in II Chron. 13:9 ff. (above, p. 235). And in summing up it is said, in vs. 41: "So these nations 'feared Yahwè,' but served their own graven images, they and their children and their children's children; *as did their fathers, so do they unto this day.*" To regard all this as a true record of events is not possible for any one who knows both the history of the past and the way in which the historical books of the Old Testament were written. As a matter of fact, it is not all accepted as trustworthy by modern scholars. Cowley, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Samaritans," p. 670, says: "It is not to be supposed, however, that the country was in any sense depopulated by these means," that is, by Sargon's deportation of Israelites. H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 230, also denies that the story of the deportation and subsequent importation, as given in II Kings, is historically true; and says in regard to the description of the religion of the Samaritans (p. 231, note 2): "The account in II Kings 17:24-34 seems to be composite. . . . A later hand emphasizes the syncretistic character of the new religion, doubtless with a strong prejudice against the Samaritans." Several scholars have, indeed, pronounced the passage composite, but this is a mistake caused by misapprehension of its character. Both 17:1-23 and 18:9-12 are inseparable from 17:24-41, and if there is evidence of the work of more than one hand here, I, at least, am unable to find it.

It is obviously the whole account, and not merely a fragment of it, that is written with the "strong prejudice against the Samaritans." The story of the deportation of *all* the Israelites is told for the sake of populating the land completely with heathen, and this for the express purpose of showing the origin of the cult on Mount Gerizim. The passage 17:24-41 has not the least historical value.<sup>53</sup> But the testimony of the account as an anti-Samaritan polemic is significant and valuable. The date of it is unfortunately only a matter of conjecture; I have no doubt, however, that it was prior to the secession, most likely in the fifth century B.C. It is obviously of one piece with the polemic of the Chronicler and his Aramaic-writing colleague, and provided the former, at least, with an important part of his material. It may be added, finally, that there is no evidence of hostility to this Shechemite shrine as far back as the time of the composition of Deuteronomy. In that book, the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim is mentioned with great respect; there is nothing to show that it was obnoxious to the people of Jerusalem.<sup>54</sup>

Returning to the question of the date of the Samaritan secession: there are four documents which need especially to be taken into account, in determining when the decisive event took place. These are: (1) the full and circumstantial account given by Josephus, *Antt.* xi, 7, 2; 8, 2-7; (2) the two verses, Neh. 13:28 f.; (3) the letter from Elephantine, published by Sachau; (4) the Samaritan Pentateuch. Let us begin with the last-named of these documents. When the Samaritans declared war on the Jews, and set up their own temple in open rivalry to the one in

<sup>53</sup>It is plain that this is exactly the sort of story which the Samaritans on their part could, and undoubtedly did, make up in regard to the Jews. They would have been a people thick-witted above all others if they had failed to seize the obvious opportunity. They could claim (and the Jews' own scriptures would support the claim!) that Jerusalem and Judea were *entirely depopulated* by the armies of Nebuchadrezzar; that Elomites, Annonites, Philistines, Nabateans, and many others, had poured in (the Jews admitted this); that there was very little genuine Hebrew blood in Judea at the end of the Persian period; and that the cult of the temple at Jerusalem during much of the time of the Restoration was really a syncretism of various South Palestinian and North Arabian forms of idolatry. Such a representation would have had in it just about as much truth as the malicious account in II Kings 17. The Jews could make no satisfactory reply to it, however; and it was for this very reason that the Chronicler composed his "history." After he had finished his work, the renown of Jerusalem and the disgrace of Shechem were both assured. It is a pity that we have only the Jewish stories of the Samaritans, and not also the Samaritan stories of the Jews.

<sup>54</sup>Some recent commentators on the book of Isaiah have found in chaps. 65 and 66, as well as elsewhere in the latter part of the book, a polemic against the Samaritans. The lofty utterance in 66:1, for instance, is said to be an allusion to the temple on Mount Gerizim!

Jerusalem, they organized their expanded cultus on the basis of the Pentateuch. This revered book, which contained the story of the Hebrew origins, their laws, mostly ancient, and the elaborate prescriptions regarding the cultus, largely more recent, was the property of the whole Hebrew people. The entire compilation, from Genesis to Deuteronomy, would of necessity be the text-book of any Hebrew sanctuary. The Shechemites of course regarded (and had long regarded) their own right to the Pentateuch as entirely equal to that of the Judean community; though they had admitted, as we have seen, that to the temple in Jerusalem belonged the special prerogatives and the unique ritual of the center of worship. When, therefore, we see that the Pentateuch of the Samaritans is identical with that of the Jews, we know with certainty that *the history of the growth of these five books of Moses was closed before the time of the schism*. No alteration or addition made by the Jews in Jerusalem after the separation would ever have been accepted by the priests at Shechem. They would, on the contrary, at once have raised the cry that their rivals were falsifying the records; and with the documents in their hands they could have proved their point. The Jews were estopped from any further redaction of the book, because their opponents also had it. Nevertheless, they did make the single verbal change from "Gerizim" to "Ebal," as we have seen. The Samaritans made no alterations at all. The weight of past history and present circumstances was against them, from the start, and their only hope of ultimate triumph lay in refraining from all tampering with the sacred documents. At the time, then, when the independent Samaritan church was founded, the Pentateuch was regarded, both in Jerusalem and in Shechem, as complete and unalterable. No other hypothesis is tenable. This conclusion argues strongly for the later of the two proposed dates of the schism. The ablest commentators on the Pentateuch, at the present day, would probably all agree that the final redaction of the Hebrew text could hardly have taken place so long as two centuries before the date of the first Greek translation.

As has already been remarked, the petition from the Jewish church at Elephantine, so far as its mention of the household of Sanaballat as possible helpers can be used as an argument, would seem to show that the breach between Jews and Samaritans took

place later than 408 B.C. On the other hand, it has been universally taken for granted that Samaria never had but one governor named Sanaballat; and since he is represented in the papyrus letter as a man far advanced in years, the conclusion is drawn that the *hijra* had taken place some time before this, and that Neh. 13:28 f. is a description of the event. But on the contrary, "Sanaballat" may well have been a common name, and even a good Hebrew name, as I have already argued. The Elephantine letter may even be said to make it probable that another Sanaballat held the post of governor in Samaria in the next following generation. The duties of the office were already, in 408, exercised by the two sons of Sanaballat, named Delaiah and Shelemiah, and upon his death one of them, presumably the older of the two, was evidently expected to succeed him. According to the well known law of Semitic nomenclature, the oldest grandson of Sanaballat, if there should be one, was pretty certain to bear the name of his grandfather. That is, if the Persians permitted the office to remain in this family—and judging from the papyrus letter they did so permit—all probability pointed to a Sanaballat II as the successor to it at the time when Delaiah and Shelemiah should be old men; that is, at just about the time when Darius III ascended the throne. It seems to me that the evidence before us is sufficient to show that this probability was actually realized. At the time when Alexander the Great arrived in Syria, the governor of Samaria was, in fact, Sanaballat II.

As for Neh. 13:28 f., the interpretation which I have already given (pp. 235, 249) seems to me, for every reason, the only possible one. The incident narrated by the Chronicler (for it is certainly he, and not Nehemiah, who is the narrator) cannot be the same as the one described by Josephus in the passage presently to be discussed. If the great patriot Nehemiah had been connected in tradition—and *written* tradition!—with the Samaritan secession; if Neh. 13:28 had been supposed to contain mention of the renegade Manasseh; could these facts ever have been forgotten in Jerusalem? Most certainly not. Moreover, according to Josephus this renegade was the brother of the high priest Jaddua; according to the Chronicler, the man whom Nehemiah "chased" away was "one of the sons of Joiada, the son of Eliashib the high priest." The name of the high priest in whose time this momentous event occurred could never have been lost to sight.

The two stories are not the same; but on the other hand, they are certainly not independent of each other; the Chronicler obviously wished to show how Nehemiah had dealt with a case precisely like that of Manasseh.

The story of the schism told by Josephus, finally, runs as follows (*Antt.* xi, 7, 2; 8, 2): Sanaballat, the governor of Samaria under Darius III, gave his daughter Nicaso (Νικασώ) in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of the high priest Jaddua. The elders of Jerusalem were greatly incensed, and insisted that the obnoxious marriage should be annulled. Sanaballat therefore promised the youth that if he would leave Jerusalem and take up his abode in Shechem, he would build a fine temple at the shrine on Mount Gerizim, and secure his formal appointment as high priest there. Manasseh consented, and a great uproar was the result. Moreover, in his flight to Shechem he was accompanied by a large number of priests, Levites, and others. The story is embellished in Josephus' usual manner, and contains some details which are not to be taken seriously, such as the incidents in which Alexander the Great figures, the statement that Sanaballat was "a Cuthean" (the favorite gentile to be applied to the Samaritans) "sent into the land by Darius," and so on. But in its main statements regarding the schism it is self-consistent and plausible in every way. No information which we possess contradicts it; on the contrary, all that we know tends to support it.<sup>55</sup> One important argument in its favor can now be drawn from the story of Johanan, Jeshua, and the Persian governor Bagoas, which just precedes that of Manasseh. In both of these stories Josephus cuts quite loose from the Chronicler, and uses a source, or sources, concerning which we have had no knowledge until very recently. Now, however, as I have shown, the former of the narratives has been

<sup>55</sup>The authenticity of the tradition of the name "Manasseh" seems to be supported indirectly in the following ways: (1) by the suspended *nun* in the name מְנַשֶּׁה in Judges 18:30, by means of which the priests of the idolatrous Danite sanctuary are made to be descended not from "Moses," but from "Manasseh." This was the story of the origin of a chief shrine of the Northern Kingdom, and the two-edged witticism which introduced the name of this most notorious of all priests was a characteristic one. It has been customary to refer the allusion to *King* Manasseh, but this is much less likely. Professor Moore, who in his *Judges*, pp. 401 ff., adopted the traditional explanation, tells me that he has since come to believe that the Samaritan renegade is the one intended. (2) By the name of the heroine's husband in the book of Judith. The only imaginable reason for the choice of the hated name "Manas-eh" here is the wish of the good-humored narrator to show his own appreciation of the fact that the scene of his stirring tale is laid, after all, in the city of the Jews' arch-enemies. For the demonstration of the identity of Shechem with "Bethulia," I may refer to my article "The Site of Bethulia" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. XX (1899), pp. 160-72.

shown to be true history; and a strong presumption is thus created in favor of the other, which was presumably derived from the same source.

The secession of the Samaritans, then, occurred shortly before the end of the Persian rule. For some time before the actual breach, the relation between the two communities had been growing more and more strained. It was either during this period, just before the outbreak, or (more probably) on the occasion of the secession, that the Shechemites took the Pentateuch into their own hands once for all, and would hear no more of Judean redactions and improvements. It had been, for generations past, the book of the great sanctuary in Jerusalem, expanded and revised there by the Jewish priests, and it had not occurred to the Samaritans to interfere with this development. They had taken what was set before them, no matter how unpalatable it often was. But now that they saw themselves compelled to cut loose, the book was henceforth their own property, to be preserved just as it stood. The character of the worship on Mount Gerizim, we may suppose, was not materially changed by the secession. It had always followed the Mosaic law, with its own interpretations and peculiarities of ritual usage, which were now also retained.<sup>56</sup> Even more in the temple at Jerusalem, as a matter of course, the effect of the schism was to stiffen every characteristic feature of the praxis. There was a natural tendency in the ranks of the clergy to put increasing emphasis on certain local forms of organization, and to develop them further. The Chronicler's writings furnish good illustration of this tendency. But both in Judea and in Samaria the principal effect of the separation lay deeper than the ritual. The whole Jewish people, from the beginning of the Greek period onward, saw itself confronted, close at hand, with a bitter enemy of its own flesh and blood, worshiping the God of the Patriarchs and holding to the law of Moses. Here was a breaking up of the family of Abraham much more distressing in its character than the dispersion into foreign lands. And this was at just the time when some of the best Gentile faiths and philosophies were beginning to have a sympathetic hearing in Judea, and when the truth which the Second

<sup>56</sup> Cowley, in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Samaritans," p. 671, expresses the usual erroneous view when he says: "Manasseh's advent no doubt had the effect of fixing the Israelitish character of the Samaritan religion." But the worship had been "Israelitish" all the time; it was just this which had led to all the bad feeling.



Isaiah, Malachi, and others had taught, that Yahwè has his children in every race and nation, was becoming still better understood. The contrast was one which could not fail to have its lasting effect on the thought and life of the people. In particular, the growth of sharply defined and opposed sects, such as we see in process of formation in the Maccabean period and later, was greatly promoted. The Psalms can teach us, however, that a large body of the Jews held steadily to the direct and well-considered middle course, continuing in a wholly worthy manner the religious tradition which they had received from the great teachers of the Persian period. Such as these could think and speak of the Samaritans without malice, even if not without dislike. The good-humored *raconteur* who tells the tale of Judith not only makes no hostile allusion to the Shechemites of his own day, but even chooses for the pseudonym of their city a name of singularly good omen—if the usually accepted *בית אלה*, “House of God,” is the original of *Βετυλοα* (or whatever the Greek transcription may at first have been). As has already been observed, the choice of “Manasseh” for the name of Judith’s husband is certainly harmless enough, calculated to provoke a smile rather than anything else, under the circumstances. The more carefully the story is read, the more the reader must marvel at the forbearance of its author, in this regard. There was repeated opportunity to hint at the ill omen of Shechem, or to point a moral at the expense of the Samaritans; but nothing of the sort is done, not even in speaking of the counsel taken by the citizens, or in the episode of Achior the Ammonite. Both the city itself and all connected with it are mentioned invariably with respect. And yet the disguise of the pseudonym must have been transparent, and intended to be so.<sup>57</sup>

#### XI. THE DATE OF NEHEMIAH

Since the sources for the history of the Jewish Restoration, from its beginning to its end, are so very meager, it is doubly unfortunate that the date of so important a part of it as the work of Nehemiah should remain uncertain. In my *Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah*, I was obliged to give up the attempt to answer the question whether the “Artaxerxes” of Nehemiah was Longimanus or Mnemon. The only evidence which we then possessed, in favor of either one of these two monarchs, was the late Jewish

<sup>57</sup> On the identity of “Bethulia” with Shechem, see the reference given above, p. 331.

tradition (Aramaic story; the Chronicler) which made him out to be Artaxerxes II. But (as I then remarked) this tradition deserves to be given hardly any weight. It is quite possible, for instance, that a true report may long have been current that the Artaxerxes of Nehemiah was the one who immediately followed the Darius of Haggai and Zechariah. In that case, the same blunder (of about a century) would have been made in the date of the building of the wall as in that of the building of the temple. Such a "tradition" as this is of no practical value until it is confirmed from some other source.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, it is very likely that the choice of Artaxerxes Mnemon as the benefactor of Nehemiah was simply a necessary result of the current version of the preceding history. With Darius I transposed to his place before Cyrus, and the theory established that the Jews were hindered by force from building the temple, until the time of Darius II, it was quite impossible to date the story of Nehemiah in the time of Artaxerxes I.

The Elephantine letter now gives information on one important point touching the matter, but leaves us still unable to decide finally between the two dates. We know from the letter that in 408 B.C. the governor of Samaria was named Sanaballat, and that he was then an aged man. On the supposition that Nehemiah flourished under Artaxerxes I, this Sanaballat would have been in the prime of life at the date (444 B.C.) when the wall was built. On the other hand, we know from the account in Josephus, already discussed, that Sanaballat II was governor of Samaria at about 335 B.C., and that he was at that time at least in middle life, and possibly far advanced in years. If Nehemiah is supposed to have lived in the time of Artaxerxes II, this Sanaballat could have been a man of perhaps twenty-five years of age at the date (384 B.C.) when the wall, on that supposition, would have been built. The book of Nehemiah does not, indeed, refer to its Sanaballat as the governor of Samaria; but this fact is of little importance, since "the Horonite" is doubtless employed as a mere

<sup>58</sup> From the lamentation of Nehemiah and his friends (1:3f.) over the destruction of the city wall, some have wished to derive an argument as to the date, assuming that a *recent* destruction is referred to. But the argument is unwarranted. The expressions used in the verse are stock phrases; compare for example I Macc. 3:45, II Macc. 1:8. The destruction referred to is that by Nebuchadrezzar. Nehemiah may really have heard of it then for the first time, but whether he did or not makes no difference. It is possible to draw howls of woe from a Shi'ite Muslim, at the present day, by recounting to him the death of Hasan and Husain; not, however, because he has not heard the story already, nor because their martyrdom is a recent event.

term of contempt.<sup>59</sup> We may regard it as fairly certain, in any case, that Nehemiah's Sanaballat was in fact the governor of Samaria.<sup>60</sup> The date of the building of the city wall, however, must still be considered an open question. It has seemed to me much more likely that the earlier date is the correct one; because the age which it gives to Sanaballat seems better suited to the story, and because of the intrinsic probability that the repairing of the wall would not have been neglected until so late a date as the reign of Artaxerxes II. Hence I have once or twice (pp. 140, 226) spoken of the "probability" that Nehemiah lived in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. It must be admitted, however, that these reasons are not conclusive. It is still open to anyone who prefers the later date to hold to it until we have received further light.

<sup>59</sup>It is quite fruitless to attempt to decide whether the term refers to Beth Horon or to Horonaim; the one is as likely as the other.

<sup>60</sup>The allusion to "The army of Samaria" in Neh. 3: 34, however, I believe to be a contribution by the Chronicler; see above, pp. 225 f. The hostility of Sanaballat, like that of his allies Tobiah and Gušmu, was political, and a matter of course under the circumstances. Just such jealous protest is sure to be made even in modern times, wherever the building of new fortifications disturbs the existing balance of power.



## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(It must be borne in mind that many of the dates are only approximate.)

- B. C.
- 722 End of the Northern Kingdom of Israel.
- 701 Sennacherib crushes the revolt in Palestine, including Judah.  
His successors hold the kings of Judah in vassalage, and make expeditions through the land.
- c. 650 Psametik I opens Egypt to foreigners.
- 624 Scythian invasion.
- 608 Death of Josiah at Megiddo.  
Jehoahaz carried to Egypt.
- 605-602 Campaigns of Nebuchadrezzar extending into Palestine.
- 597 Siege of Jerusalem, plundering of the temple, and first deportation to Babylonia.
- c. 590 Jewish mercenaries in the army of Psametik II (? possibly the army of Psametik I, fifty years earlier).
- 586 Partial destruction of Jerusalem, burning of the temple, and second deportation.  
Murder of Gedaliah at Mizpah.  
Flight of many into the neighboring regions, and to Egypt.  
Repeopling and rebuilding of Jerusalem, beginning soon after the destruction. Erection of a temporary house of worship.
- 555 Nabunaid's accession.
- 539 Cyrus invades Babylonia.  
Building of Jewish temple at Elephantine; certainly before the time of Cambyses, and perhaps before the time of Cyrus.
- 525 Cambyses invades Egypt.
- 521 Darius I Hystaspis ("Darius the Mede").
- 520 Haggai and Zechariah.  
Rebuilding of the temple, under the leadership of Zerubbabel.  
Jeshua, son of Jehozadak, high priest.
- 485 Xerxes.
- 464 Artaxerxes I Longimanus.
- 444 Nehemiah rebuilds the wall of Jerusalem.  
Chaps. 1, 2, 4-6 of the book of Nehemiah.  
Sanaballat I ("the Horonite") governor of Samaria.
- 424 Darius II Nothus.
- c. 415 Johanan high priest in Jerusalem.  
Bagohi Persian governor of Judea.  
Murder of Jeshua in the temple.
- 411 Destruction of the temple at Elephantine.
- 408 The Jews of Elephantine petition successfully for the rebuilding of their temple.  
Delaiah and Shelemiah, the sons of Sanaballat I, in charge of affairs at Samaria.

- B. C.  
 407 Revolt of Egypt from Persia.  
 404 Artaxerxes II Mnemon.  
 359 Artaxerxes III Ochus.  
 336 Darius III Codomannus.  
 Jaddua high priest in Jerusalem.  
 Sanaballat II governor of Samaria.  
 Expulsion of Manasseh, and Samaritan secession; building of the temple on Mount Gerizim. Pentateuch in its final form.
- 332 Palestine under Macedonian rule.  
 323 Ptolemy I Soter.
- c. 320 Pseudo-Jeremiah.  
 312 Seleucus I Nicator.  
 301 Palestine securely under Egyptian rule.
- c. 300 Story of the Three Youths, written in Aramaic.  
 285 Ptolemy II Philadelphus.  
 281-261 Antiochus I Soter.  
 Translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, at Alexandria.
- c. 260 Aramaic Story of Samaritan intrigues (Ezr. 4:8-6:14).
- c. 250 The Chronicler.  
 248 Antiochus II Theos marries Berenice, daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus (Dan: 2:43, 11:6).  
 246-221 Ptolemy III Euergetes.  
 Seleucid kingdom (the "clay," Dan. 2:41-43) broken up, and nearly annihilated by the Egyptian power (the "iron").
- c. 235 Dan. 1-6, written in Aramaic.  
 223-187 Antiochus III the Great.
- c. 220 The book of Ezekiel.
- c. 200 Story of the Three Youths interpolated in the Chronicler's history of Israel.  
 198 Palestine securely under Seleucid rule. [tory of Israel.
- c. 180 Wisdom of Bar Sir.  
 175-164 Antiochus IV Epiphanes.  
 168 Desecration of the temple and cessation of the worship.  
 165 Restoration of the worship, by Judas Maccabaeus and his followers.  
 Old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.
- 164 Dan. 7-12 (the author wrote chap. 7 in Aramaic and chaps. 8-12 in Hebrew, and translated chap. 1 into Hebrew, in order to unite the two parts inseparably).  
 161 Building of Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt.
- c. 150 Old Greek translation of Daniel.  
 143 Letter from the Jews of Jerusalem and Judea to their brethren in Egypt (II Macc. 1:1-9).  
 132 Antiochus VII Sidetes besieges Jerusalem and breaks down the wall of the city.  
 128 Death of Antiochus VII in Parthia (II Macc. 1:12-16).  
 124 Second letter from the Jews of Judea to those in Egypt (II Macc. 1:10-2:18).



## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

P. 30.—Through an almost unaccountable slip, made in preparing the article on First Esdras for the *AJSL.*, the date of the transposition of Neh. 7:73–10:40 and that of the old Greek translation of the Chronicler's work were put in the *last* century instead of the *second* century B. C., both in the account of the origin of the two recensions and in the table at the end of the article (p. 35 in this book). In the latter place, the correction was made when the sheets for the "Studies" were printed off; but in the other passages the blunder was overlooked, and still stands. Accordingly, on p. 30, line 9 from the bottom, instead of "at some time in the *last* century" read "early in the *second* century." The same correction must be made on p. 34, line 5 from the bottom.

P. 54.—The original reading of the Greek text of I Esdr. 4:29 was certainly this: ἐθεώπων αὐτὸς Ἀπάμην. κ. τ. εἰ. "I myself saw Apama," etc. By an easy mistake in copying, the second word became αὐτὸν, whereupon καὶ had to be inserted (see the present text of the verse on p. 43).

P. 55.—It is possible that the only change required in I Esdr. 4:36 at the point where I have conjectured a lacuna (see note d) is a change in the punctuation. If we put a period after the word "tremble," and suppose the next clause, "And with her is no error at all," to introduce a new phase of the subject, the result is fairly satisfactory. It seems to me more probable, however, that something has been accidentally omitted.

P. 80, bottom.—It is very much to be desired that some one who has the time and equipment for the task should undertake to identify the portions of Theodotion's translation which can still be recognized in the remaining historical books of the Old Testament. In some books two distinct Greek versions have been preserved, one of which can probably be shown to be Theodotion's. In other cases it is certainly true either that the sole extant version is his, or else that his work has been used to supplement and correct the older translation. Transliterations which from their number and character can only be his are very noticeable in the books of Kings, for instance. One reason why Theodotonic readings have been adopted in certain passages, here and there throughout the Old Testament, supplanting the readings of an older text, is this, that the abbreviations for "Septuagint" (O) and "Theodotion" (Θ) used in the critical apparatus of the early Jewish and Christian scholars and editors were constantly confused.

P. 99, middle.—The tradition which attests that this  $\aleph$  B Syr. Eth. text in the Chronicles-Ezra books is that of Origen's *Hexapla* is in fact about as strong as any such tradition could possibly be. The comparison (which I have not made) of the quotations from these books in Origen's writings could not add anything essential to the evidence. If the text

should be found to agree, the corroboration would be interesting; but if on the contrary another type of text should be found to have been employed, the fact could have no weight whatever against the tradition. Hundreds of learned writers on Biblical subjects in the United States and England, for instance, habitually quote the King James version of the Bible—that being the version with which they and their readers have long been familiar; while if they had to select a standard English text for a polyglot edition of the Bible, they would one and all employ the Revised Version. The parallel is a good one.

P. 107, line 12 from the bottom.—It should be added, that the Hebrew reading which lay before Aquila was of course **אמטר**, not **אמרט**.

P. 131, note v.—It is a somewhat similar use of the “**ב** of accompaniment” when in the old Aramaic inscriptions found at Zenjirli the vassal king tells how he has been wont to run “beside the chariot-wheel” (**בגלגל**) of his lord and master. Perhaps the Chronicler’s favorite and peculiar **ביום ביום**, etc., may also be included here.

P. 191, middle.—Another example of the survival of this Aramaic ending in a modern Syrian place-name is afforded by the name of the village ‘Ārēyā in the Lebanon, originally **עריא**, “laurel trees.”

P. 191, note t.—I now see that this very same idiom is found in the Aramaic papyri edited by Sayce and Cowley; thus, “one named Petosiris,” **פטוסירי שמיה**, K 4, 8f.; “Teba by name,” **תבא שמיה**, K 12f.

P. 195, bottom.—Compare especially *Ezr.* 7:8 and 10:9, where the idiom is also used.

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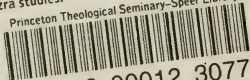






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