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On the Ending of the Book of 1 Esdras

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Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, Part II, 38. The problem is also discussed by Lee in "Equivocal and Stereotyped Renderings," 104-107 and by T. Muraoka in "Towards a Septuagint Lexicon," *VI Congress of the IOSCS*, 258-263.

¹³See Tov, "Three Dimensions," 541. An opposite view is expressed by Lee in *A Lexical Study*, 106, and by Muraoka in "Towards a Septuagint Lexicon," 263.

¹⁴I read here with Rahlfs and B 58-72 x 527 59. The reading $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ found in A F M^a 01-708c-29-82 527 121 68¹⁸ 55 319 could also be taken as $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$. Cf. the present writer's review of J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Leviticus*, MSU XIX (Gottingen, 1986), in *ThLZ* 114 (1989), cols. 17-19.

¹⁵See the present writer's "OTI *causale* in Septuagintal Greek," *Septuaginta en la investigaci3n contempor3nea* (V Congreso de la IOSCS) (Madrid, 1985), 132.

ON THE ENDING OF THE BOOK OF 1 ESDRAS

Arie van der Kooij

Except for some passages (1:21f. and 3:1-5:1-6) the book of 1 Esdras consists of a translation into Greek of material paralleled in 2 Chron 35-36, all of Ezra and a small part of Nehemiah (7:72-8:13a). The text of 1 Esdr thus describes the last years of the first temple, from the Passover celebration of king Josiah to the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple. It records then the first return and the rebuilding of city and temple under Zerubbabel. The last part of the book (8:1- 9:55) offers an account of the activity of Esra, the priest: his mission and return to Jerusalem, the expulsion of foreign wives, and as the concluding scene, the reading of the Law to the assembly in Jerusalem.

As is well known, one of the major issues concerning 1 Esdr is the question of whether it constitutes a fragment of a larger work in Greek, or a compilation of the above-mentioned texts from Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemia.¹

It is important to note that this question has been linked to that of the extent of the work of the Chronicler. For if 1 Esdr is to be seen as a fragment of a translation including the whole of Chronicles, then it may go back to an edition of the Chronicler's work different from MT. In recent times K.F. Pohlmann has argued for this. In his view the Vorlage of 1

Esdr constitutes the final section of the original work of the Chronicler (1 Chron. - Ezra, + Neh. 8:1-18).² A similar thesis has been put forward by F.M. Cross. He is of the opinion that the Vorlage of 1 Esdr did form the last part of a second edition of the Chronicler's work (1 Chron 10-2 Chron 34 + Vorlage 1 Esdras).³ According to their view, 1 Esdr once formed the concluding part of an original translation of (almost) the whole of the Chronicler's work. As appears from a comparison between the translation of 2 Chron 35-36 in 1 Esdr on the one hand and in the extant Greek version of Chronicles on the other, this supposed Greek version of the Chronicler's work was clearly not the same as the extant Old Greek of Chronicles. It means that one has to assume that, in the second century B.C. in Egypt⁴, two full translations of Chronicles were produced. As such this is not impossible, but not plausible either.⁵

Let us return to 1 Esdr itself. Before discussing and speculating about texts which do not longer exist, be it in Hebrew or in Greek, the available evidence, in our case the text of 1 Esdr, needs to be examined first. As we have said, the important question is whether 1 Esdr is to be seen as a fragment or a compilation. This dilemma has mainly to do with difficulties raised by the actual beginning and the ending of the book. For, as is commonly agreed upon, both are rather abrupt. So the old question is: which are the real head and tail of 1 Esdr? The attested ones, or the lost ones? Did the text of 1 Esdr lose its head and tail, or not? In this paper I will deal with the question of the actual ending of 1 Esdr.⁶

II

The last two verses of 1 Esdr, 9:54f., read in the translation of the NEB as follows:

'So they all departed to eat and drink and make merry, and to send shares to those who had none, and to hold a great

celebration; because the teaching given them had been instilled into their minds. They gathered together.

The last words of 1 Esdr are 'they gathered together', in Greek: καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν. In view of the immediate context a strange ending indeed. A synoptical reading of MT Neh 8:12-13a and 1 Esdr 9:54-55 shows the following picture:

MT	LXX
וילכו כל העם לאכל ולשתות ולשׁלח מנות ולעשות שמחה גדולה כי הבינו בדברים אשר הודיעו להם וביום השני נאספו	καὶ ὄχοντο πάντες φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι καὶ δοῦναι ἀποστολὰς τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν καὶ εὐφρανθῆναι μεγάλως, ὅτι καὶ ἐνεφυσιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἷς ἐδιδάχθησαν καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν

Some remarks are in order here:

- As a result of the plus καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι the Greek text contains the trio 'to eat, to drink, to be merry', also known from Eccl 8:15 and Luke 12:19.⁷ From the point of view of style the plus contrasts with the verb λυπέομαι of vs 52 and 53 (in both verses the text reads: μὴ λυπέσθε; cf. MT);
- For the plus of τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν, see vs 51 (LXX, cf. MT);
- For the expression εὐφραίνεσθαι μεγάλως, see also 2 Macc 15:27 (τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μεγάλως εὐφρανθέντες ἐπιφάνεια);
- The verb ἐμφυσιόω (vs 55) is also used in vs 48. It is one of the words which are typical of 1 Esdr and do not occur elsewhere in the LXX;⁸
- The whole passage of vs 55, from ὅτι καὶ ἐνεφυσιώθησαν τοῖς ἐδιδάχθησαν refers clearly to vs 48: ... οἱ Λευῖται ἐδίδασκον τὸν νόμον κυρίου καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀνεγίνωσκον τὸν νόμον κυρίου ἐμφυσιούοντας ἅμα τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν. In the MT, on the other hand, the situation is

not so clear: vs 12 may refer to vs 8 (the reading of the Law), or to vss 9-10 (the words spoken by the leaders to encourage the people).

The last words, καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν, are best understood as rendering of the Hebrew יָסַח ... 1 from Neh 8:13a. If so, then 1 Esdr, as a translation, ends in the middle of a sentence.

For this reason Pohlmann agrees with other scholars like B. Walde that the text of 1 Esdr has been transmitted to us incompletely.⁹ Williamson subscribes to this view: '1 Esdras ends abruptly ... Hardly a single modern scholar has sought to justify this as the intended conclusion of a self-contained work'.¹⁰ The natural question then is: how did the original text of 1 Esdr 9:55 continue?

According to scholars like S. Mowinkel and Pohlmann the passage of Josephus' *Antiquities* XI:154-157 is of great importance to this question. Both argue that this passage contains evidence for the assumption that Josephus should have made use of the original text of 1 Esdr including, as final section, a rendering of the pericope of Neh 8:13-18. We will deal therefore with Josephus' passage in some detail.

III

In Ant XI:1-158 Josephus gives his account of the period from Cyrus' decree, with the permission for return and for rebuilding the temple, to the career of Ezra. Pohlmann has made it conclusively clear that Josephus used 1 Esdr as his source here.¹¹ It has been suggested that the reason for this probably is the more elegant style of 1 Esdr.¹² Be that as it may, the fact that he used this source does not necessarily mean that he did not know the books of Ezra and Nehemia in their present form, as Pohlmann assumes.¹³

Pohlmann has further shown that Josephus dealt freely with his source-text: so he removed contradictions and repetitive material, introduced changes over between passages, and abbreviated his source in some cases. He also

corrected the names of the Persian kings, presumably on the basis of Herodotus' *Histories*.¹⁴

As to our subject the passage of Ant XI:154-157 is of great interest, because this one runs parallel to 1 Esdr 9:37-55. At the same time, however, the text of Josephus differs greatly from this last part of 1 Esdr. For some reason or another he seems to have shortened the text of 1 Esdr drastically. Details as to the reading of the Law, for instance the role of the Levites, are not taken over. Ezra is the sole and central figure: he reads the Law, standing in the midst of the multitude, and when the people is moved to tears, it is Ezra, who exhorts them to celebrate the festival.

The most remarkable feature of Josephus' account is the fact that the reading of the Law together with the festival takes place during the feast of Tabernacles (Ant XI:154.157), whereas 1 Esdr 9:37ff. does not refer to this feast. Here the reading of the Law is dated on the first day of the 7th month, as it is the case in Neh 8:1-12. On the other hand, the verses 13-18 of this chapter do contain a description of the celebration of the feast of Tabernacles, which was held some days after that of the reading of the Law. So the question arises whether Josephus did introduce the feast on the basis of Neh 8:13-18 as part of 1 Esdr, or not. That is to say, did he know and use a text of 1 Esdr including Neh 8:13-18 as the concluding section of the book.

Recently, Pohlmann has dealt with this issue in detail. He reached the same conclusion as did Mowinkel before him, namely that Josephus used a text of 1 Esdr including the passage from Neh 8 just mentioned.¹⁵ Though, in his opinion, it may be that Josephus mentioned the feast of Tabernacles because of the 7th month, yet the account of Ant. XI:157 were better understood, if one assumes that 1 Esdr did also contain Neh 8:13-18.

According to Pohlmann, in particular the wording of §157 is in favour of this: ... ἐορτάζειν ᾗσαντο καὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες ἐφ' ἡμέρας

ὁκτώ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰ οἰκία ... Dieses ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ist im Grunde eine solche Nebensächlichkeit, findet sich auch sonst nirgends, wenn Josephus auf das Huttenfest eingeht, so dass sich diese Worte nur von Neh 8,14 (vgl. 8,17) erklären.¹⁶

It is to be asked, however, whether this argument has sufficient weight. As to the fact that Josephus does not mention 'the tents' in other descriptions of the feast (e.g. Ant. IV,209; VII,100; VIII, 123,225; XI,77), Williamson rightly remarks that this is so, because 'in not one of these instances does his Vorlage ... mention it either'. 'In our passage', so he continues, 'he may have added it in because he felt that it was appropriate'.¹⁷

To this remark I would adduce the following, stylistic observation: in § 157 the words ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς fit in very well as contrasting with εἰς τὰ οἰκία; 'for eight days' (ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὁκτώ; compare Ant. III:245f) they were living in tents, after which they returned to their own houses. Further, having said that they started to celebrate (ἐορτάζειν ᾤξαντο), the remark that they returned to their homes asked for some statement about the eight days in between.¹⁸ It is thus not compelling, nor convincing either, to assume that the element of ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς goes back to a lost translation of Neh. 8:14.

The crucial question remains whether the element of the feast of Tabernacles in Ant. XI:154-157 can be explained without the assumption that Josephus derived it from a continuation of 1 Esdr 9:55, based on Neh. 8:13-18. Pohlmann himself offers as a possible, though to his mind a less probable explanation, that Josephus himself may have inferred this element from the 7th month mentioned in his source-text.¹⁹ As to the first of this month he points out, in a footnote, that this dating of 1 Esdr was not acceptable to Josephus, because, according to Deut. 31:10, the reading of the Law should be done in the 7th month during the feast of Tabernacles, every 7th year.²⁰

To this last point I would add more weight than Pohlmann actually does. For one can quite well imagine that Josephus did associate the reading of the Law in the 7th month, as mentioned in his source-text, with Deut 31:10, coming in this way to the interpretation of the feast of Tabernacles. This is the more probable since this feast is called 'most sacred and important' (ἀγιοτάτη καὶ μεγίστη) in Ant. VIII:100, whereas the first day of the 7th month does not play a particular role with Josephus.²¹

Besides, there is an interesting agreement between Josephus' rendering of Deut 31:10 in Ant. IV:209 and 1 Esdr 9:37ff.:

- Ant. IV:209: when the multitude had assembled in the holy city for the sacrifices, every seventh year at the season of the feast of Tabernacles, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ σταθεῖς ... ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους ἅπασι ...

- 1 Esdr 9:37ff.: Esra is called 'high priest' (ἀρχιερεὺς, vss 39.40.49), and vs 42 reads as follows: καὶ ἔστη Ἑσδρας ... ἐπὶ τοῦ ξυλίνου βήματος ...

A particular link between both passages is the mention of the ('wooden) platform', βήμα.²² Beside the reading of the Law in the 7th month this element, together with Esra being called 'high priest', makes it very probable that Josephus did interpret the passage of 1 Esdr 9:37-55 in the light of Deut 31:10, the result being that the reading of the Law by Esra took place during the feast of Tabernacles.

However, there is one aspect that seems to take the edge off our argument, as the 'platform' is not present in Ant. XI:154-157. According to Ant IV:209 it is the high priest who, standing on the platform, reads the Law. But, as appears from Ant. XI:158, Josephus does not regard Esra to be the high priest of the time.²³ This may explain why he does not mention the 'platform'. Instead his text reads: ὁ δὲ μέσος τοῦ πλῆθους σταθεῖς ἀνέγνω. Though not mentioning the platform this text shows clear resemblance with Ant. IV:209 (ἐπὶ βήματος

ὕψους σταθεῖς ... ἀναγινωσκέτω) particularly when seen in the light of Ant. X:63 where it is said of king Josiah: *στὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐν μέσῳ τῷ πλήθει*. As a result Josephus could abbreviate his source-text on this point, by leaving out the passage related to the platform (1 Esdr 9:42-48).

This all means that the element of the feast of Tabernacles can quite well be explained without the assumption of a continuation of 1 Esdr 9:55, based on Neh. 8:13-18. Our conclusion, therefore, is that the passage of Ant. XI:154-157 does not help us any further to solve the riddle of the lost tail of 1 Esdr.²⁴ The possibility cannot be ruled out that Josephus knew the ending of 1 Esdr in its present form.

IV

So far I accepted, as point of departure, the view that the actual ending of 1 Esdr is too short and abrupt to constitute the conclusion of the book. It is to be asked, however, whether this assumption is as convincing as it seems to be.

Most recently, T.C. Eskenazi has argued that the actual ending of 1 Esdr is the intended one.²⁵ As a parallel case he points to the last verse of 2 Chron (36:23) which, compared to Esra 1:3, too ends in the middle of a sentence. This is an interesting and helpful observation indeed, but it does not solve the problem that the last two words, *καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν*, do constitute a very short and abruptly ending phrase.

In general these two words are looked upon as (part of) an independent sentence. However, from a grammatical point of view this assumption is not the most natural one. It is based not so much on the Greek text itself, but primarily on the Hebrew evidence where the corresponding words are part of the beginning of a new verse.²⁶ The Greek text itself points into another direction. After *εὐφρανθήναι μεγάλως* vs 55 reads as follows: *ὅτι καὶ ἐνεφουσώθησαν ... καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν*. Instead of regarding the last two words to be an independent sentence it

stands more to reason to consider them as belonging to the ὅτι-clause, that is to say to understand this clause as structured by double καί. This grammatical interpretation does full justice to the first καί which is very well attested,²⁷ and which is neglected in the usual rendering of the phrase. In translation the text then reads: '... not only because the teaching given them had been instilled to their mind, but also because they had been gathered together'.

Understood in this way 1 Esdr does not end abruptly, with a short and incomplete phrase.²⁸ Instead, the whole passage of 1 Esdr 9:37-55 is concluded with a ὅτι-clause, in the same way as is the case with 7:10-15: there too the last verse (vs 15) contains the reason of the joy of a festival (εὐφραίνόμενοι ἔσαντι τοῦ κυρίου, ὅτι ...).

Just as the first part of the clause, the verb ἐπισυνήχθησαν does refer to what is described in the preceding verses: the cultic assembly to which the Law was read (vs 38-48). That the people had been gathered together is also in line with the notion of 'to go, to depart' in vss 51 and 54.

The verb ἐπισυνάγω occurs several times in 1 Esdr: 5:49; 8:69.88; 9:5. 18.55. Also the verb συνάγω is found, see 1 Esdr 4:18; 5:46; 8:14.27.41; 9:3.38.²⁹ Both verbs are used variously. In our pericope, 1 Esdr 9:37-55, συνάγω occurs in vs 38, whereas ἐπισυνάγω is used in vs 55. In three cases, 5:46; 9:38.55, these verbs refer to a cultic assembly.

From our reading of vs 54f. it follows that the fact of having been gathered together on the temple-mount (before the east gateway of the temple, 9:38) is one of the reasons of great festivity and joy. The element of the cultic assembly seems to be an important one.

It is to be noted that 2 Maccabees, a contemporary piece of Jewish literature, offers an interesting parallel to this element. Part of 2:18, the last verse of the second festival letter at the beginning of the book (1:10b-2:18) reads as follows: ... ἐλπίζομεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ταχέως ἡμᾶς ἐλεύσει καὶ

ἐπισυνάξει ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον... ('... We trust in God, that He will soon show mercy towards us and will bring together [his people], from everywhere on earth, on the holy place'...) In the festival letter the Jews in Egypt are invited to celebrate the rededication of the temple of Jerusalem. On two places in the letter the motif of ἐπισυνάγω is clearly related to celebration: in 1:27 (under Nehemia) and in 2:18. In 2:18 the verb is used together with the expression 'the holy place'. From the use of τόπος in 2 Macc itself it becomes clear that 'the holy place' must refer to the temple-mount.³⁰ This means that our text expresses the hope, not so much of being gathered together (from exile) in the land, but more in particular of being gathered together (from exile) on the temple-mount.³¹ The cultic assembly in the temple is apparently seen as the most important manifestation of the Jewish people. In this way the people brings into full expression its status of religious community around the temple of Jerusalem and its loyalty towards this temple.³²

As to 1 Esdr 9:55 things are somewhat different. Read within its own context - ch. 8-9 - the people did gather together in 'unanimity' (ἁποθυμαδόν, 9:38³³), as a holy people, i.e. as a people without mixed marriages (8:65-9:36), as a people willing to learn the Law (9:39), and as a people returned from exile (9:4). Seen against the background of the problem of the mixed marriages in particular it can be said that, since the day of the assembly was declared to be a 'holy day' (9:50.53), a day of joy, the last verse underlines that the people had been established by Esra, the high priest, as the holy, religious community of Israel according to the precepts of the Law.

Summarizing, the following remarks can be made:

1. As to the question of the abrupt ending of 1 Esdr Josephus' Ant XI:154-157 does not help any further. It seems quite probable that he used 1 Esdr in his present form.

2. On closer analysis it appears that the last two words -- καὶ ἐποιήθησαν -- do not constitute a short and independent phrase. Syntactically, these words are best understood as part of the ὅτι-clause of vs 55.

3. As a result the last pericope, 9:37-55, does not end abruptly, but it concludes with a ὅτι-clause containing the reasons of the festivity and joy, comparable to another part of the book, 7:10-15.

4. The second part of the ὅτι-clause makes good sense: it underlines that the people has been established by Esdras as a holy, religious community.

So, the ending of my paper reads as follows: there is no compelling reason to suppose that the present ending of 1 Esdr does not constitute the original one.

NOTES

1. For a survey of the discussion up to 1970, see K.F. Pohlmann, Studien zum dritten Esra. Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem ursprünglichen Schluss des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes (FRALNT 104; Göttingen 1970) 14-26. See further H.G.M. Williamson, Israel in the Books of Chronicles (Cambridge 1977) 12-29; S.L. McKenzie, The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History (HSM 33; Atlanta 1985) 18-23.

2. Studien, 127-149.

3. "A Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration", JB 94 (1975) 11. - The views of Pohlmann and of Cross are in fact one of three opinions on the extent of the Chronicler's work:

- (1) Chron + the Vorlage of 1 Esdr;
- (2) Chron + Ezra-Nehemiah;
- (3) Chron.

The second and third ones are the more commonly held positions. As to the first one Cross, in line with R.W. Klein, thinks of an older, historically superior recension, representing a 'short' text (from Egypt) over against the 'conflate', 'expansionistic' texttype (from Palestine), reflected in MT. See Cross, "Reconstruction", JB 94 (1975), 7f.; R.W. Klein, Studies in the Greek Texts of the Chronicler (unpubl. diss.; Cambridge 1966). A summary of this thesis can be found in HTR 59 (1966), 449. See also S.L. McKenzie, The Chronicler's Use, 19f.

4. Both translations, 1 Esdr and LXX Chron, are usually dated in the second century B.C. For 1 Esdr, see J.M. Myers, I and II Esdras (Anchor Bible; New York 1974) 9, and for LXX Chron, see L.C. Allen, The Greek

Chronicles. Part I: The Translator's Craft (VTS 25; Leiden 1974) 23.

5. Cf. Williamson, Israel, 20f.; E. Schürer, The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. - A.D. 135), A New English Version revised and edited by G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Goodman. Vol. III.2 (Edinburgh 1987) 712 (note 322).

6. On the beginning of 1 Esdras, see my forthcoming article in ZAW.

7. Compare also the following examples of trio's, containing as the first two verbs 'to eat' and 'to drink': φάγε, πίε, καὶ ἡδέως γίνου (Tob 7:10); φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι (LXX Isa 23:18; cf 1 Esdr 3:3).

8. For a list of these words see W.J. Moulton, "Über die Überlieferung und den textkritischen Wert des dritten Esrabuches", ZAW 19 (1889), 232f.

9. Pohlmann, Studien, 34. B. Walde, Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta. Ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis untersucht (Biblische Studien 18.4; Freiburg i.B. 1913) 156: 'Da nicht anzunehmen ist, dass der Verfasser absichtlich nur noch dieses Wort wiedergeben wollte, so ist 3 Esd mitten im Satz abgebrochen'.

10. Williamson, Israel, 21.

11. Pohlmann, Studien, 74-114.

12. Williamson, Israel, 24.

13. See Williamson, Israel, 22-25 (contra Pohlmann); Schürer, rev. ed., Vol. III.2, 712 (note 318); L.H. Feldman, Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937-1980) (Berlin/New York 1984) 185.

14. Pohlmann, Studien, 113f.

15. Pohlmann, Studien, 109-111; S. Mowinckel, Studien zu dem Buche Ezra-Nehemia. I. Die nachchronistische Redaktion des Buches. Die Listen (Oslo 1964) 27. See also Cross, "Reconstruction", JB 94 (1975), 9.

16. Pohlmann, Studien, 111.

17. Williamson, Israel, 29.

18. For the use of the term οκηνή related to the feast of Tabernacles see Ant III.244.247.

19. Pohlmann, Studien, 110f.

20. Pohlmann, Studien, 110 (note 122).

21. For the first day of the 7th month with Josephus, see Pohlmann, Studien, 110 (note 122).

22. For this 'platform', see also Mishna, Sota 7:8.

23. According to Ant XI:121.158 'Joakeimos' (Jojakim) was the high priest of the time (cf. Neh 12:10.26).

24. Cf. Walde, Esdraebucher, 157; Williamson, Israel, 29.

25. "The Chronicler and the Composition of 1 Esdras", CBQ 48 (1986), 56f. See also A.E. Gardner, "The Purpose and Date of I Esdras", JIS 37 (1986), 19.

26. See for instance the Gottingen edition of 1 Esdr (with a dash just before the last two words).

27. See R. Hanhart, Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches (MSU XII; Gottingen 1974) 73f.

28. It is therefore unnecessary to assume that the last, 'incomplete' sentence were 'a secondary addition indicating where in 2 Esdras the sequel is to be found' (H.W. Attridge, "1 Esdras", in: M.E. Stone (ed.), Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum, Section Two, Vol. II; Assen/Philadelphia 1984) 159). For this opinion, see also W. Rudolph, Esa und Nehemiah (Tubingen 1949) xv; J.M. Myers, I and II Esdras, 94.

The order of both verbs -- ἐνεφυσάθησαν / ἐπισυναχθήσαν -- which does not seem the most logical one (cf. W. Rudolph, Esa und Nehemiah, xv [Anm. 2]) is based upon the order of the Hebrew text. At the same time, being the final word of 1 Esdr, the notion of 'being gathered together as a cultic community' has some emphasis, which is in line with the cultic stress of the book.

29. In most cases the equivalents are the verbs פָּקַד and קָבַץ (in 5:49: קָבַץ; no equivalent in 4:18 and 9:18). See T. Muraoka, A Greek-Hebrew/Aramaic Index to 1 Esdras (SCS 16; Chico 1984) 29, 56.

30. Cf. J.T. Nelis, II Makkabees (Roermond 1975) 74. See also H. Herkenne, Die Briefe zu Beginn des zweiten Makkabäerbuches (1,1 bis 2,18) (Biblische Studien VIII,4; Freiburg i.B. 1904) 102.

31. Compare Ps 106:47; Isa 27:13.

32. This fits in very well with the idea of the temple-state of the time. For this notion regarding Jerusalem, see for instance Polybius, XVI, 39.3.

33. See also 5:46. MT reads: כָּאֵלֶּיךָ אֵלֹהִים.