RHETORIC IN 1 ESDRAS 3:1–5:6 (THE STORY OF THE THREE BODYGUARDS): INTEGRATION OF GREEK AND JEWISH FEATURES

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Contents

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
BDB	Brown, Francis, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
Bib	*Biblica*
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000 (Danker-Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich)
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GBS	Guides to Biblical Scholarship
GELS	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Takamitsu Muraoka. Leuven: Peeters, 2009
DGE	Francisco Rodríguez Adrados, ed. *Diccionario Griego-Español*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989-.
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HTLS	*Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Edited by Eberhard Bons. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020
HTR	Harvard Theological Review

HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
LEH	Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, eds. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Rev. ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LHBOTS	The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Edited by Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
SCS	Septuagint and Cognate Studies
STAR	Studies in Theology and Religion
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament.* Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 16 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974–2018
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

A Short Abstract

The origin and purpose of 1 Esdras have long been debated in relation to the canonical texts of 2 Chr 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a, as well as the original language and composition process of 1 Esdras. The story of the Three Bodyguards (1 Esd 3:1–5:6) is a key text for illuminating these debates. My main objective is to demonstrate the purpose and function of the story of the Three Bodyguards in relation to the purpose and composition of 1 Esdras. To achieve this purpose, I employ rhetorical criticism to identify rhetorical features in the speeches of the story and to demonstrate that their significance *in* and *beyond* the story is associated. These rhetorical features help us to recognise the purpose and function of the Story and of 1 Esdras as a whole, and also shed light on the compositional development of the entire work. Further, I highlight the relationship of the Story to other Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, including the Jewish novella and the court tale (e.g., Greek Esther).

Through multi-layered rhetorical analyses, I demonstrate that all the speeches in the story contain rhetorical features that have been influenced by Greek culture (e.g., Greek rhetoric) as well as derived from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint. I argue that the Story's mixed character represents the author's selective scribal activity and reveals the literary aspect, theme, and motif of the story of the Three Bodyguards. All of which, I show, are of relevance to the structural features and purpose of 1 Esdras.

Through this process, I conclude that the book of 1 Esdras, including the story of the Three Bodyguards, was originally written in Greek and composed by the *single author* who acquired a Greek and Jewish education during the Hellenistic period. Further, the author's purpose was to deliver the rhetorical message: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character, Law, and action*.

A Long Abstract

On account of the sophistication and complicated nature of the book of 1 Esdras, its purpose and origin are contested. The story of the Three Bodyguards (1 Esd 3:1–5:6) is a key text within the work and offers important clues to understanding 1 Esdras as a whole. So, this thesis begins with the questions: What is the purpose and function of the story of the Three Bodyguards – a distinct narrative found within 1 Esdras, a Greek work that is based on Hebrew canonical texts (2 Chr 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a)? How do we understand the overall purpose and compositional development of 1 Esdras in light of this Story? To answer these questions, I firstly identify the rhetorical features of the speeches in the story, and then explain their significance within the story and also to the wider composition of 1 Esdras. My study advances existing rhetorical scholarship on 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 by demonstrating four methodological improvements: 1) I maintain a consistent definition of "rhetoric" as persuasive speech – "speech in action"; 2) I examine the purpose and the function of the comedic elements in the rhetorical speeches; 3) I adopt the term *allusion* to refer to the rhetorical features, which were derived from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint to the speeches of the story; and 4) I argue that the author might have learned classical rhetoric through educational institutions in the Hellenistic age.

With my main objective in mind, in my Introductory Chapter, I outline the foundations of the thesis. As such, the chapter includes methodological remarks, a description of the components of classical rhetoric, the definition and significance of allusion to understand a transmission of rhetoric, preliminary questions (e.g., regarding the compositional theories of 1 Esdras), and an overview of the linguistic features of 1 Esdras. Having established the theoretical foundations of my study, in the next chapter, I then proceed to a textual and literary analysis of the story of the Three Bodyguards, in an examination of the five speeches according to the constituents of classical rhetoric.

In Chapter Two, I focus on the linguistic, textual, and literary analysis of the story of the Three Bodyguards as a preliminary to undertaking the rhetorical analysis of the five speeches in the story and to understanding their rhetorical features, which are discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. First, I provide my translation and textual notes. Second, I outline the contents of the five speeches of the three orators, highlighting particular textual and exegetical issues that are important to understand if one is to truly comprehend the speech and which require clarification if we are to be able to understand the rhetorical force of the speeches. Among several difficult textual issues, I suggest that the *lectio difficilior* μετ' αὐτοῦ in 1 Esd 4:36 could be interpreted as reference to God (2.3.4) and that this significance is crucial for understanding the rhetorical force of Zerubbabel's second and third speeches (Chapter 3). Third, based on this textual understanding, I discuss the nature of the story of the Three Bodyguards – the original language of the Story and its *genre* and literary character. I suggest that the story was originally written in Greek and that the genre of the story is a *court tale* containing a comedic element. I especially emphasise that the generic understanding of the story is prerequisite not only to illuminate the rhetorical features towards the audience *in* the narrative but also to investigate the rhetorical message of the story towards the readers/listeners *beyond* the narrative. With these necessary linguistic and literary features of the story of the Three Bodyguards understood, in the next chapter, I analyse the five speeches in accordance with theories of classical rhetoric.

In Chapter Three, through a literary analysis, in accordance with classical rhetoric, I show how the five speeches are interconnected, not only in narrative context but even more so in implicit rhetorical purpose. Although the speeches have different *stases*, genres, and styles, I show that the diversity does not imply various redactional processes or different authorship of the five speeches, but rather it represents the author's literary sophistication. I suggest that the speeches and the entire surrounding narrative may have been devised by an author who wanted to augment the story of how Zerubbabel became the winner in the contest so as to make his plea to Darius. I especially pointed out that Zerubbabel's second speech, as a transitional speech, has a hidden motive: to prepare for his third speech. Zerubbabel's *ethos* and his different style and tone in his speeches functioned to make him the winner of the contest. In addition, I highlight the *pathos* in the first three speeches and their comedic elements (sarcasm, humour, and irony). I suggest that the climactic humorous speech featuring the anecdote about Apame was based on familiarity with Greek Comedy in the use of rhetoric. While *in* the story the humour strengthens the entertaining aspect of the contest,

beyond the story it functions to resolve some controversial and polemical issues in order to accomplish the larger goal of advancing the message conveyed by Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. Furthermore, I suggest that the author, who acquired a Greek education during the Hellenistic period, deliberately employed Greek literary devices without neglecting to incorporate distinctively Jewish colourings in the speeches. In next chapter, I uncover the Jewish markers in the speeches and investigate the significance (purpose and message) of them. I also examine why the author incorporated both Greek and Jewish literary features.

In Chapter Four, I undertake to identify the rhetorical features that were plausibly transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint and their significance in the story of the Three Bodyguards. In 1.4.1, I explain that the identification of allusion helps to reveal the transmission of the rhetoric. So, based on the categories for identifying allusion – lexical *and* thematic (or topical) correspondence, I endeavour to determine what speeches and texts that the author of the story was likely to have alluded to. In these sections, I show how the rhetorical force in the evoked texts listed in Table is employed in the five speeches of the story, even though the *stasis* and genre are different. Then, after outlining these allusions and based on my analysis in Chapters 3 through 4.6, I summarise the purpose of the allusions in 4.7. Finally, I explain how the purpose and function of allusion in the first three speeches resembles the purpose and function of comedic elements in the speeches that I discussed in 3.9.2. In this regard, I point out that, while allusion in Zerubbabel's first speech evokes humour, which creates a resolution in the mind of the readers/listeners, Zerubbabel's second and third speeches convey the actual rhetorical message of the story. In this way, through a thorough understanding of allusion in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches and the significance of the narrative after the contest in 1 Esd 4:47–63, I examine the perspective of the author and the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

In Chapter Five, I examine the significance of the story of the Three Bodyguards in the book of 1 Esdras. Although the story of the Three Bodyguards is the youngest part of 1 Esdras, we cannot ignore the significance of the story in the composition process of 1 Esdras. The later source (the Story) within 1 Esdras indicates that there is a certain literary or thematic relationship between them. So, firstly, I present my compositional theory that the story of the Three Bodyguards (1 Esd 3:1–5:6) was originally written in Greek and was composed by a single author, who acquired a Greek and a Jewish education. Then, I

demonstrate the impact of the story of the Three Bodyguards on 1 Esdras. I demonstrate how the literary aspect of the story of the Three Bodyguards as a *court tale* or a *Jewish novella* discussed in 2.4 is related to the structure of 1 Esdras. It includes the opening (1 Esd 1:1–20; 2 Chr 35:1–19) and final scenes (1 Esd 9:37–55; Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a) of 1 Esdras, the sequence of 1 Esd 2:15–5:70 (Ezra 2–4), and the placement of 1 Esd 9:37–55. In doing so, I also present my views regarding the composition theory and the purpose of 1 Esdras. First, I demonstrate that the purpose of 1 Esdras is to persuade the readers/listeners to adopt a particular way of life in their community: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character, Law, and action*. Second, the combination of Greek and Jewish rhetorical features represents the author's selective scribal activity. Second, I suggest that the book of 1 Esdras was written in Greek and composed by the *single author* who acquired a Greek and Jewish education during the Hellenistic period. The author translated the Hebrew/Aramaic sources (2 Chr 35–36 and Ezra memoir(s) including Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a) that he had chosen and arranged them with the Story to represent his own purpose in Alexandria and/or Palestine in the late second (or early first) century BCE.

In the Conclusion, I summarise the contents and arguments of my thesis and lay out the thesis's contribution in the following areas: an informed methodology for rhetorical studies of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the apocryphal books; identification of various rhetorical features and devices both that have been influenced in Greek culture and that have been transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint; a composition theory of 1 Esdras and the story of the Three Bodyguards; and a fresh assessment of the purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards and its significance within the book of 1 Esdras. In addition, I conclude the thesis by demonstrating the ways that this study can contribute to further studies in the Jewish literature of the Graeco-Roman period and the wider writings of the period of early Christianity.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Purpose

This thesis aims to demonstrate the purpose and function of the story of the Three Bodyguards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:6.[1] What is the story doing in 1 Esdras? How do the presence and features of the story of the Three Bodyguards illuminate the purpose of 1 Esdras? In response to these questions, I employ rhetorical criticism to demonstrate that the rhetorical features that I identify in the speeches of the story and their significance *in* and *beyond* the story are associated. Furthermore, these rhetorical features help us to recognise the purpose and function not only of the Story but also of 1 Esdras as a whole. They also shed light on the compositional development of the entire work.

Several scholars have analysed the rhetorical features of the speeches in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6. James L. Crenshaw has examined the structural and stylistic features of the speeches, such as repetition and rhetorical questions.[2] Paul B. Harvey, Jr., has analysed the structure of the discourse and compares the speeches in 1 Esdras with those in other Greek literature (e.g., Herodotus, *Hist*. 3.80–82, and *Progymnasmata*, preliminary exercises in the rhetorical

1. English=1 Esdras; LXX=Esdras A; Vulgate=Esdras 3. For the other books under the name "Esdras," see Michael F. Bird, *1 Esdras: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Vaticanus* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 1. 1 Esdras consists of biblical sources (2 Chr 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a) and the story of the Three Bodyguards (and minor addition 1 Esd 1:21–22).

2. James L. Crenshaw, "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," in *Urgent Advice and Probing Questions: Collected Writings on Old Testament Wisdom*, ed. James L. Crenshaw (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1995), 227–9.

schools), and argued that the story depends upon Greek historiography and rhetoric.[3] Michael F. Bird has considered the genre of the speeches and pointed out several stylistic rhetorical features.[4] Sandoval has argued that the rhetoric of Zerubbabel's speeches on women and truth strengthens the persuasive force of Ezra's speech (prayer) regarding the intermarriage crisis in 1 Esd 8:65–87; this alleviates the reader's moral qualms about the expulsion of the foreign women.[5] All of these approaches have contributed to the existing body of scholarship which has critically engaged with the use of rhetorical features in the speeches of 1 Esd 3:1–5:6. Although this study is in debt to the previous studies, a more comprehensive method promises to demonstrate the purpose and function of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

This thesis contributes to current studies of 1 Esdras in five main ways. First, by undertaking rhetorical analysis, I interpret the purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards and highlight its significance within the book of 1 Esdras. Second, I argue that the book of 1 Esdras was composed by a *single author* who acquired a Greek and Jewish education during the Hellenistic period.[6] Third, I identify and illuminate distinctive rhetorical features that have been influenced by Greek culture (e.g., Greek rhetoric) as well as those that have been transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint. Fourth, I introduce a method by which one may understand the role of rhetorical features in the story of the Three Bodyguards. Fifth, I advance scholarship on the rhetoric of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the apocryphal books by employing my proposed method and procedure.

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3. Paul B. Harvey Jr., "Darius' Court and the Guardsmen's Debate: Hellenistic Greek Elements in 1 Esdras," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 179–90.

4. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 141–89.

5. Timothy J. Sandoval, "The Strength of Women and Truth: The 'Tale of the Three Bodyguards' and 'Ezra's Prayer in First Esdras'," *JJS* 58.2 (2007): 211–27.

6. In this thesis, a Greek and Jewish education simply means that the author learned Greek and Jewish culture, literature, and authoritative scripture.

In this introductory chapter, I elucidate the methodology for uncovering rhetorical aspects of the speeches in the Story. I describe how I undertake a rhetorical analysis for the speeches by employing the theories of classical rhetoric. Because the speeches contain rhetorical features derived from the Hebrew Bible[7] and/or the Septuagint,[8] I also adopt the concept of *allusion* to understand the transmission of rhetoric and its association in this thesis. Furthermore, I deal with the preliminary questions, which are required for one who embarks on the study of 1 Esdras and the story of the Three Bodyguards.

1.2. Methodology

1.2.1. Rhetoric

Since numerous scholarly publications about rhetorical criticism of the Hebrew Bible have been put forth, it may not be necessary to repeat the history of scholarship on rhetorical criticism.[9] Rather than simply outlining previous methodologies, I elucidate the methodology this thesis pursues by interacting with them.

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7. John J. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2014), 2. I adopt the definition of the Hebrew Bible as "a collection of twenty-four books in three divisions: the Law (*Torah*), the Prophets (*N^{e}bi'im*), and the Writings (*K^{e}tubim*), sometimes referred to by the acronym *Tanak*." For the text, I use BHS of the Masoretic text (MT). Karl Elliger and Wilhelm Rudolph, eds. *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997).

8. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "What is the Septuagint?," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 13. Cameron lays out four distinct corpora of the term Septuagint. Among them, I adopt the third definition: "the Greek Old Testament, a Christian corpus comprised of the books of the Hebrew Bible as well as the so-called Deuterocanonical books (or Apocrypha)." For a general survey of deuterocanonical and apocryphal books, see Alison G. Salvesen, "Deuterocanonical and Apocryphal books," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 385–402. For the text of 1 Esdras, I use the Göttingen edition. Robert Hanhart, ed. *Esdrae liber I*. Vol. VIII, 1 of *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974). For the texts of other books, I use both the Göttingen and Rahlfs edition.

9. James Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and beyond," *JBL* 88.1 (1969): 1–18; Martin Kessler, "A Methodological Setting for Rhetorical Criticism," in *Art and meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature*, eds. David J. A. Clines, D. M. Gunn, and Alan J. Hauser (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 1–19; Wilhelm Wuellner, "Where Is Rhetorical Criticism Taking Us?" *CBQ* 49.3 (1987): 448–63; T. D. Dozeman, "Rhetoric and Rhetorical Criticism: OT Rhetorical Criticism," *ABD* 5:712–5; A. J. Hauser, "Rhetorical Criticism of the Old Testament," in *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*, eds. D. F. Watson and A. J. Hauser (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3–98; Vernon K. Robbins, "The Present and Future of Rhetorical Analysis," in *The Rhetorical Analysis of Scripture: Essays from the 1995 London Conference*, eds. Stanley E. Porter, and Thomas H. Olbricht (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 24–

I will first clarify the meaning of *rhetoric*. The term *rhetoric* is derived from the classical Greek ῥητορική – the civic art of public speaking (5th Century BCE).[10] Although other writers have noted many connections between specific aspects of rhetoric and levels of meta-rhetorical understanding, George A. Kennedy's description nonetheless continues to reflect, I contend, the most accurate and essential meaning of the term *rhetoric*.[11] According to Kennedy,

> What we call "rhetoric" can be traced back to the natural instinct to survive and to control our environment and influence the actions of others in what seems the best interest of ourselves, our families, our social and political groups, and our descendants. This can be done by direct action—force, threats, bribes, for example—or it can be done by the use of "signs," of which the most important are words in speech or writing.[12]

In other words, Kennedy specifies that *rhetoric* is a certain form of language which possesses an innate ability to persuade others. If we do not obscure the original character of *rhetoric* as consisting of all speech (whether it is a spontaneous, verbal articulation, or a prepared speech in written form), we can gloss the term *rhetoric* as being specifically *persuasive speech*.[13] This definition implies that *persuasive speech* can refer to the communication of action –

52; Roland Meynet, *Rhetorical Analysis: An Introduction to Biblical Rhetoric* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 44–166; Matthew R. Schlimm, "Biblical Studies and Rhetorical Criticism: Bridging the Divide Between the Hebrew Bible and Communication," *Review of Communication* 7.3 (2007): 244–75; Margaret M. Mitchell, "Rhetorical and New Literary Criticism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, eds. Judith M. Lieu and J. W. Rogerson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 618–21.

10. Edward Schiappa and Jim Hamm, "Rhetorical Questions," in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, ed.Ian Worthington (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 5. "The Greek word *rhētorikē* is formed by adding *–ikē* (meaning art or skill) to *rhētor* – a term that was used most typically to refer to politicians who put forth motions in the courts or Assembly. Most scholars agree that the earliest surviving use of the term *rhētorikē* is in Plato's Gorgias, dating from the early fourth century, and its absence in important texts of the period concerning education and public speaking."

11. C. Jan Swearingen and Edward Schiappa write, "But today the term [rhetoric] can be used to refer to various phenomena, including individual acts of suasion (such as traditional oratory), literary works and other aesthetic genres with rhetorical purposes, the teaching of written and spoken discourse, or analytical frameworks for the evaluation and critique of efforts at persuasion." See "Revisionist Methods and New Directions," in *The Sage Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*, eds. Andrea A. Lunsford, Kirt H. Wilson, and Rosa A. Eberly (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE, 2009), 2.

12. George A. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric* (Princeton University Press, NJ, 1994), 3.

13. Quintilian, *Inst*. 2.15–16. Quintilian gathers and discusses several definitions of rhetoric. Although many orators (e.g., Aristotle, Cicero, Apollodorus, and Hermagoras) underscore the persuasive foundation of rhetoric, Quintilian denies it. Because persuasive speech has the power to prompt immoral results, he adopts the definition "the science of speaking well."

what may be regarded as a verbal action – between a speaker and a listener in the context of an immediate, unfolding situation.[14] Action, in the context of persuasive speech, is intended to guide or to draw a listener to a speaker's key intention or purpose. It is intended to change a listener's opinion, or planned course of action, in a specific situation. In other words, rhetoric – in terms of *persuasive speech* – is "*speech in action*".[15]

Although the three, fictional bodyguards' speeches were not, in reality, ever delivered, they are nonetheless highly realistic. In other words, the author creatively constructed compelling speeches by employing his own rhetorical knowledge and implementing persuasive devices in the narrative. Thus, the narrative encourages us to imagine the bodyguards' speeches, which aim at persuasion leading to their audience's decision or action. As such, the definition of rhetoric as being *speech in action* is directly relevant and applicable to our rhetorical analysis of the speeches in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6.

Moreover, as some scholars have argued, by employing the structure of classical rhetoric as a conceptual tool, one may devise an effective method for conducting rhetorical analysis.[16] The rhetorical features of the speech may be reverse-engineered by our informed imaginations. Although the text itself does not explicitly inform readers about the persuasive strategies that the author of 1 Esdras has employed, we cannot rule out the possibility that the

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14. As Kennedy points out, a form of writing (e.g., letters) can be analysed as speech. For instance, in the letter that the Samaritans sent to King Artaxerxes in 1 Esd 2:16–20, the writers purposefully communicate with the reader about a real issue and persuade him to take a certain action (or decision). Although a letter is not a real speech, it is "fashioned in a way closely akin to a speech." See Duane F. Watson, "Rhetorical Criticism of the New Testament," in *Rhetorical Criticism of the Bible: A Comprehensive Bibliography with Notes on History and Method*, eds. D. F. Watson and A. J. Hauser (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 125.

15. Jan Joosten, "Biblical Rhetoric as Illustrated by Judah's Speech in Genesis 44.18-34," *JSOT* 41.1 (2016): 17. Although I borrow this term, I need to refine its meaning by comparing with the term "Speech Act." Both terms present a common nature in which they are identified with a forceful communication drawing a certain action. However, I use the term "speech in action" in rhetoric. It means that not all the speeches are the subject of my study. I do not disagree that everyday speech possesses a rhetorical force. Rather, the term "speech in action" is for the speech developed with the faculties represented in theories of classical rhetoric. So, following Kennedy, I assume that "rhetorical invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery [the faculties] are phenomena of nature and prior to speech" (14). See George A. Kennedy, "A Hoot in the Dark: The Evolution of General Rhetoric," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 25.1 (1992): 1–21.

16. Yehoshua Gitay, *Prophecy and Persuasion: A Study of Isaiah 40-48* (Bonn: Lingustica Biblica, 1981), 35.

author of the story of the Three Bodyguards had learned about classical rhetoric in a Greek education.[17] In this circumstance, one of the most helpful ways in which we may analyse speech is to use the theories of classical rhetoric as an interpretative framework. However, this does not mean that theories of classical rhetoric will cater for all possible characteristics of rhetoric. As Kennedy explains, by undertaking comparative methods of analysis, we may uncover not only the general aspects of rhetoric but also the distinctive features of any given speech.[18]

In other words, the process of conducting rhetorical analysis is not intended to explain the general principles of a systematic theory but, rather, to discover various kinds of persuasive devices in speech. In this way, effective analysis of rhetoric adopts the key principles and concepts of classical rhetoric as a lens through which one may examine and evaluate to what extent, and in which ways, a particular instance of speech is persuasive. As Michael V. Fox asserts, in seeking to determine the efficacy of rhetoric, one searches "for the nature and quality of its persuasive force."[19] Thus, theories of classical rhetoric are not the results of rhetorical analyses but are, rather, the starting points from which one may proceed to identify specific rhetorical features in speech. A theorised, classical form of rhetoric may function as a norm against which we can compare the fictitious rhetorical speeches in the passage in order to generate new understandings and insights.[20] In accordance with the methodological framework outlined above, the next section delineates the process by which we shall conduct rhetorical analysis.

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17. To avoid a circular reasoning, I do not begin with this presupposition. However, in Chapter Three, I argue that the author may have learned about classical rhetoric through educational institutions in the Hellenistic age.

18. George A. Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical and Cross-Cultural Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1.

19. Michael V. Fox, "The Rhetoric of Ezekiel's Vision of the Valley of the Bones," *HUCA* 51 (1980): 1.

20. Jim A. Kuypers, "Rhetorical Criticism As Art," in *Rhetorical Criticism: Perspectives in Action* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009), 15.

1.2.2. Procedure

In this section, I will initially describe how to analyse a persuasive speech with the help of theories of classical rhetoric. Then, I will proceed to explain the importance of extending rhetorical analysis beyond the constraints of classical rhetoric.

1.2.2.1. Key Components of Classical Rhetoric

In accordance with theories of classical rhetoric, one must consider five main factors: invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory. Theories of classical rhetoric, then, could be said to take these five features as a framework for analysis. Of the five components, two will be excluded from my study; delivery and memory cannot be considered given the absence of information concerning how the three bodyguards were imagined to have memorised and delivered their speeches to the King.[21] Consequently, this section will define the three other constituent parts of theoretical frameworks of classical rhetoric – invention, arrangement, and style – and shall outline a detailed critical procedure by which I will evaluate them in the contexts of the speeches upon which I focus in this thesis.

1.2.2.1.1. Invention

The first task that one must undertake in order to analyse the speeches in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 – in the context of classical rhetorical theory – is to identify the invention (Gk. *heuresis*, Lat. *inventio*). In classical rhetoric, the invention, according to Malcolm Heath, "designates the discovery of the resources for discursive persuasion [that are] latent in any given rhetorical problem."[22] This definition applies to the scenario of an orator seeking to construct a

21. Phyllis Trible, *Rhetorical Criticism: Context, Method, and the Book of Jonah*, GBS (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1994), 56.

22. Malcolm Heath, "Invention," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997), 89.

persuasive argument, but it can also apply to the endeavour to analyse existing speeches rhetorically. In other words, from the perspective of literary criticism, the invention is the end product of the process of identifying which resources for discursive persuasion have been employed and exploited by the speaker to achieve his or her purpose – which may, for example, be to resolve an issue. The process of identifying invention through rhetorical analysis involves following three main steps, as outlined below.

First, one needs to identify the *stasis* – that is to say, one needs to decide upon "the definition of the point at issue."[23] We must understand the primary issue or objective of the speech. If we do not know the purpose of the speech in question, it is hard – if not impossible – to ascertain the meaning, intention, or value of it. So, we must begin the analytical process by endeavouring to recognise the specific, concrete issue that instigated the persuasive speeches.

Second, ensuring that one has an appreciation of the issues at stake in the speech is conducive to another critical task: that of identifying the genre (or type) of speech that is being utilised. *Stasis* determines what specific kind of persuasive language one seeks to employ. Classical rhetoric distinguishes between three genres: judicial, deliberative, and epideictic.[24]

Table 1.1. Three Genres of Classical Rhetoric

The *stasis* – regarding the judgement of a past event	→ Judicial
The *stasis* – regarding decisions about the future	→ Deliberative
The *stasis* – regarding core values or beliefs	→ Epideictic

Because the invention, structure, and style of oratory generally vary with the particular genre of a speech, a key benefit of clarifying the genre is that it enables us to refine the parameters of our rhetorical analysis. The identification of genre thus helps us to

23. Gitay, *Prophecy and persuasion*, 42–3; Heath, "Invention," 100.
24. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 4.

determine, with greater precision, the rhetorical lens with which we ought to analyse a particular instance of speech.

The third task, after detecting the *stasis* and the genre, is to identify the means of persuasion, which are either non-artistic or artistic arguments. Non-artistic persuasive means are "forms of evidence" – that have not been created by an orator – such as witnesses, oaths, or contracts. In contrast, artistic arguments – constructed by an orator – include the *logos* (logical argument), the *ethos* (the extent to which the speaker's character is trustworthy), and the *pathos* (the extent to which the words evoke emotion in the audience).[25] Because all five speeches have their own arguments (non-artistic or artistic) they shall, accordingly, be analysed separately, albeit while conducting a comparative analysis of the dynamic relationship between constituent arguments.

1.2.2.1.2. Arrangement and Style

Having analysed the *stasis*, genre, and argument, the next step is to consider how the speech has been organised (arrangement, Gk. *taxis*, Lat. *dispositio*), and how the persuasive elements of the speech have been communicated through words and sentences (style, Gk. *lexis*, Lat. *elocutio*).[26] Speakers arrange their words in a particular way, and style, so as to achieve the objective of their speech, strengthening the persuasive power of their argument with eloquence and efficacy. Therefore, after identifying the structural and stylistic features of a speech,[27] we must examine the ways in which both arrangement and style are related to *stasis*, genre, and arguments.

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25. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1355b–1356a; George A. Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 37–9; *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 4–5, 57.

26. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 6.

27. The structural and stylistic features of speeches have been evaluated in the works of classical rhetoricians and in two handbooks of classical rhetoric (Lausberg and Porter). See Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998) and Stanley E.

1.2.2.2. Analysis beyond Classical Rhetoric

By undertaking a comparative rhetorical analysis – one that is not confined to concepts of classical rhetoric alone – we may illuminate the distinctive features of 1 Esdras. As certain features may have originated from different cultures (e.g., the ancient Near East, Greek, or Hellenistic culture), we should exert caution in making assumptions about the origins of any rhetorical features. However, we cannot overlook the fact that 1 Esdras – as a piece of apocryphal or deuterocanonical books – may have been influenced by the history and literature of the Hebrew Bible and/or Septuagint. It is possible that some of the rhetorical features that are used in the Hebrew Bible are reflected in the speeches of the three bodyguards (see below 1.3). Such recognition does not mean to suggest that the relationship between classical and biblical rhetoric is a dichotomous one. Rather, in doing so, we acknowledge that the speeches in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint exhibit a persuasive force of their own; they possess a rhetorical power which is distinct from – and goes beyond that of – classical rhetoric alone.[28]

Porter, ed. *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.– A.D. 400* (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997).

28. Kennedy demonstrates that there is a distinct rhetoric in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, he points out that "the most characteristic form of public address in the Old Testament is the 'covenant speech,' built on the assumption of a covenant between God and the people of Israel" (e.g., Deut 1–4, 5–28 and 29–30; Josh 24; 1 Sam 12). See Kennedy, *Comparative Rhetoric*, 136 (133–8).

1.3. Transmission of Rhetoric

As I mentioned above, the book of 1 Esdras was influenced by the history and literature of the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint. It implies that there are good reasons to believe that some of the rhetorical features in the story of the Three Bodyguards were derived from the Hebrew Bible[29] and/or the Septuagint.[30] Practices of allusion present an objective type of evidence for concluding that some of the rhetorical features in the story of the Three Bodyguards were likely transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint. I maintain that the evidence from allusion strengthens my claim that these features were influenced by the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint, and not simply other cultures, such as Greek culture in the Hellenistic period. Below, I adopt the term *allusion* and outline how they are used rhetorically and how literary derivation amplifies the rhetorical force, making the use of allusion instrumental, rather than neutral. I will now discuss the definition and significance of allusion, ways to identify allusion, and their association with transmission of rhetoric.

1.3.1. Allusion and Rhetoric

It is well-known that Isocrates's rhetorical speech in the *Antidosis* alludes to Plato's *Apology of Socrates*.[31] Kennedy presents the context for how and why Isocrates referred to the speech of *Socrates*.

> About 354 B.C., when he was eighty-two years old, Isocrates became painfully aware that there was hostility to him in Athens based on a perception that he had become rich and on misunderstanding of what went on in his school. This led him to write *Antidosis*, a long speech in defense of his life and work. The speech is an "apology"; Isocrates imagines himself on trial for his life, like Socrates, accused

29. Ben Sira's grandson – might be composed in the (late) second century B.C.E – already refers to "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books" (cf. Sir P:1). I do not mean that his Hebrew scriptures are the same as those in the present form – a tripartite scriptural corpus – of the MT. However, this at least signals the possibility that the author of the story knew certain Hebrew or Aramaic scriptures. For the book of Ben Sira, see Benjamin G. Wright, "Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint,* ed. J. K. Aitken (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 413, 419.

30. Some of the LXX books were translated and written later than 1 Esdras.

31. Yun Lee Too, *A Commentary on Isocrates' Antidosis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 9.

> of "making the weaker cause the stronger" (15) and corrupting the young (30), and the speech has many allusions to Plato's *Apology of Socrates*.[32]

In addition, the classical rhetoricians advocated their own rhetorical theory (e.g., Aristotle) and based their textbooks on their predecessors' rhetorical speeches and writings (e.g., Quintilian). So, the rhetorical force in a certain speech was not limited to the orators' time, but was transmitted through time, from past into the present.

It is not difficult to find the transmission of rhetoric in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, by utilising Exod 20:7, Deut 5:11, and Lev 19:11–12, Jeremiah strengthens the persuasiveness of his judicial speech against the Judahites (Jer 7:9). This allusion is also transmitted in Zech 5:3–4.[33] Thus, allusion used rhetorically in speech does not appear exclusively in ancient Greek culture but is a multi-cultural phenomenon. Such a multi-cultural phenomenon does not exclude the existence and transmission of distinct rhetorical features in specific cultures. The effectiveness of allusion in rhetoric is enhanced by an audience's culturally specific knowledge (e.g., recognition of texts alluded to).

In my thesis, I need to define the term *allusion* more precisely and to remark on its significance regarding the transmission of rhetoric. Scholars have undertaken various approaches to the study of allusion and offer various definitions. Although it is hard to make one definitive description, studies of allusion reveal certain common features.[34] In this regard, the term *allusion* can be defined as *a deliberate (re)use of an earlier text or speech employed by an author who understands the significance of the earlier text or speech and delivered to an audience that can recognise it*. This definition presents several implications.

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32. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 46.

33. Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, *Zechariah's Vision report and Its Earliest Interpreters: A Redaction-Critical Study of Zechariah 1–8*, LHBOTS 626 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 181.

34. Ibid., 30–9. Tiemeyer lays out and synthesizes several definitions, which have been proposed by several scholars (Benjamin Sommer, Richard Schultz, Michael Lyons, and William Tooman).

First, allusion is not a direct quotation.[35] Second, allusion takes a diachronic approach. Third, because allusion links an author to an audience through their shared knowledge, the use of allusion is purposeful in several ways such as demonstrating erudition, evoking amusement, conveying *ethos* between speaker/writer and audience, or delivering a message.[36] Fourth, Benjamin D. Sommer and Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer demonstrate its rhetorical significance: "The study of allusions focuses on the rhetorical or strategic *use* to which an earlier text is put in a later text (for instance in order to bolster the authority of that later text or to enable it to make a certain claim)."[37] This notion is very relevant to this thesis, because the five speeches are orated in a rhetorical contest. Each of these implications pertain to my argument that in the story of the Three Bodyguards, the author uses allusion based on the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint as a rhetorical device.

What are the categories for identifying allusion? As several scholars already have pointed out, the study of allusion cannot escape a certain level of subjectivity in which "we will never be able to know for sure which texts were in scribes' heads while they wrote, and even if we knew that, we could not be entirely certain whether what we perceive as echoes of certain texts were intentional, deliberate allusions or not."[38] However, scholars have suggested informed categories to identify allusion and discussed their objectivity. As Tiemeyer contends, lexical correspondence (or shared vocabulary) and its accumulation can be an objective marker:

> An allusion can often be identified through the use of shared vocabulary. In most cases, unless the shared locution is very rare one shared term is necessary for a

35. For the distinction between reuse and quotation, see Molly M. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 46–7.

36. Benjamin D Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 18–20.

37. I quote it from Tiemeyer, who adopted Sommer's approach, see Tiemeyer, *Zechariah's Vision report and Its Earliest Interpreters*, 30. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture,* 6–31. "In other words, allusion consists not only in the echoing of an earlier text but in the utilization of the marked material for some rhetorical or strategic end" (p. 15).

38. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism*, 51.

> reader to recognize an allusion. The reader's chances of recognizing an allusion in a text are increased if that text has already alluded to the other text on a previous occasion, that is, a so-called sustained allusion. In such cases, the accumulatory force of the sustained allusion makes it easier for the reader to pick up and to recognize the allusion.[39]

Other types of allusion, such as thematic or motif correspondence, are important too, but more difficult to conclusively identify. For greater objectivity in my study, I determine the evoked text or speech when an allusion combines lexical correspondence *with* thematic (or motif or topical) correspondence. For instance, in the speech of the first bodyguard, the verb πλανάω ("to wander", "to lead astray") is a crucial term for understanding the rhetorical force. I do not treat all the texts which possess the term or its Hebrew equivalent as evoked texts. Rather, among the texts that include the term, the texts whose themes or topics are the same as the topics of the speech of the first bodyguard – drunkenness, forgetfulness, or confusion – are considered evoked texts. Of course, the accumulation of several instances of the allusion reinforces the plausibility of my argument.

As Sommer points out, the identification of a marker and evoked text does not guarantee allusion.[40] The next step is to illuminate *how* the latter speech alludes to the evoked text or speech. This process includes the fuller interpretation of both the evoked and the alluding texts.[41] Note that *allusion* in this thesis means that the author refers to the earlier text for the purpose of rhetorical use – that is, to make or strengthen a point that would not have been present or as strong without the allusion. So, throughout this thesis, the identification of an allusion is to show how the evoked text are transmitted into the speeches of the three bodyguards to reinforce the persuasiveness of their own speeches. There are two ways that rhetorical allusion may be applied. First, *logos*, *pathos*, or *ethos* in the evoked text *containing a rhetorical speech* are transmitted to the *logos*, *pathos*, or *ethos* in the speeches

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39. Tiemeyer, *Zechariah's Vision report and Its Earliest Interpreters*, 38.
40. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture*, 11–13.
41. Ibid., 15.

of the three bodyguards. With this in mind, I analyse *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos* in the evoked speech to illustrate a transmission of rhetoric. Second, even when the evoked text does not include rhetorical speeches, it can still be used to amplify the rhetorical force in the speeches of the three bodyguards (e.g., 4.4.2). Although most of the evoked texts that I analyse in this thesis contain a rhetorical speech, I do not limit my discussion of evoked texts to those in the form of rhetorical speech (or letter).

A transmission of rhetoric does not mean that the *stasis* or genre must be identical between the speeches. For instance, the first bodyguard uses the term πλανάω to demonstrate or praise the superiority of wine in the contest. The *stasis* of the bodyguard is to win the contest and the genre of his speech is epideictic. The transmission of rhetorical force along with the term πλανάω does not mean that the *stasis* and genre of the evoked speech, which possesses the rhetorical force of πλανάω, is the same as the *stasis* (being the winner in the contest) and genre (epideictic) of the speech of the first bodyguard. The rhetorical force that is carried by the term πλανάω can be applied in varying *stases* and genres.

I summarise the process of examining various evoked speeches and of identifying rhetorical allusion or the rhetorical force of an allusion transmitted by the author and then define some important terms for understanding this process.

- Process
    1. Identification of a marker – lexical and thematic correspondence
    2. Identification of the evoked rhetorical speech
    3. Analysis of rhetorical force (*logos*, *ethos*, or *pathos*) in the evoked texts
    4. Illumination of the relationship between the rhetorical force in the evoked texts and the speeches in the story of the Three Bodyguards
    5. Accumulation of instances of sustained allusion throughout a speech

- Terms

1. Allusion: A deliberate (re)use of an earlier text, employed by an author, who understands the significance of the earlier text, to deliver it to an audience, who can recognise it (i.e., where the full force of the rhetoric is only realised by means of the audience's recognition of the allusion)
2. Echo: The detection of some thematic correspondence between an earlier text and a later one, though discerning whether the correspondence is deliberate or coincidental is difficult.
4. Intertextuality: The presence of connection between texts. The term *intertextuality* can be an umbrella term that includes both diachronic (or sequential) and synchronic (or simultaneous) instances. However, this thesis focuses on the diachronic approach – allusion for purposes of rhetoric. I avoid this term to reduce confusion. Rather, I use the term *intertextual* neutrally – meaning *between texts*.
5. Intratextual: Connection – thematic, verbal, conceptual, structural, or otherwise – between smaller portions of the immediate literary context of a given document. Because it is obvious that the other parts of 1 Esdras were known to the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards, intratextual links between them should be considered.

1.3.2. Beyond Allusion

The identification of allusion helps interpreters to discern distinct rhetorical features that are embodied in a certain language and linguistic forms (lexeme or locution). I do not claim that the story of the Three Bodyguards, which was written in Greek in a Hellenistic culture, contains only rhetorical features transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint. If the rhetorical features in the story of the Three Bodyguards are common features in other cultures, can we consider them to be "distinctive of the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint?"

For instance, we can say that repetition is *one of* the rhetorical features in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint, but we cannot say that it is *a distinct* rhetorical feature of the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint.

In this thesis, I demonstrate numerous rhetorical features that are common regardless of a specific culture and language. Although identification of common rhetorical features is not the purpose of this thesis, I utilize the existence of commonly used rhetorical features to argue that rhetoric in the story of the Three Bodyguards is not solely confined to the Greek versions of rhetoric. Before undertaking textual and literary analysis of the story of the Three Bodyguards (Chapter 2), I deal with preliminary questions, which are required to distinguish the author's linguistic background, to understand the history of scholarship on 1 Esdras, and to appreciate the complicated relationship between the story of the Three Bodyguards and 1 Esdras.

1.4. Preliminary Questions

1.4.1. Language of the Author of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

One of the key objectives in undertaking this research is to prove that some of the rhetorical features that are employed in the story of the Three Bodyguards (1 Esd 3:1–5:6) were derived from precursors in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint. To support my thesis, I highlight and analyse various instances of allusion between the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint and the story of the Three Bodyguards.

Then, can we ascertain whether the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards could understand the Semitic languages of Hebrew and/or Aramaic? Without any evidence to suggest that the author was familiar with Hebrew and/or Aramaic, it is hard to present a compelling argument that the author learned the rhetorical features that they utilise in the story of the Three Bodyguards from the Hebrew Bible. Instead, we might presume that the

author learned the rhetorical features of the Hebrew Bible through the Septuagint. As it is not possible to compare the story of the Three Bodyguards with any parallel Semitic texts, the aforementioned questions prompt other key questions and, as a result, several hypotheses.[42]

1. Was the Greek book of 1 Esdras – without the story (*W/OS*) – a translated work or was it originally written in Greek?

2. Was the author or translator of *W/OS* the same as the author or translator of the story of the Three Bodyguards (*S*) itself?

3. Was *S* a translated work or was it originally written in Greek?

Although it is difficult to attempt to provide a definitive answer to these questions, by examining previous studies, I present what I consider to constitute the most plausible and probable hypothesis. So as to gain the firmest critical footing and mitigate any risk of contention to the best of my ability, I will begin by analysing the linguistic features of 1 Esdras rather than positing any specific hypothesis.

The Greek of 1 Esdras contains linguistic features of both Greek showing Hebrew interference and idiomatic (or eloquent) Greek. In this context, Zipora Talshir asserts that the language of 1 Esdras is placed in "the midway position" between Greek showing Hebrew interference and idiomatic Greek, though "the language of 1 Esd is rooted in that of the LXX and is widely shared with this corpus."[43] Those lexical, grammatical, and syntactical features

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42. Minor addition, 1 Esd 1:21–22.

43. Zipora Talshir, *I Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, SCS 47 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999), 248. The discovery of numerous papyri and inscriptions allowed for the study of comparative linguistics to be applied to describe the language of the Septuagint. After G. A. Deissmann's seminal work, "a growing series of studies has now shown that LXX Greek is most constructively interpreted as a specimen of the Koine" (Evans, 98). The Septuagint Greek was "comparable to the language that was attested in some documentary papyri and typical of the vernacular used in Egypt in Ptolemaic times" (Aitken, 124). This means that the dichotomy between idiomatic and LXX Greek is not applicable. So, to distinguish the Greek influenced by Hebrew and/or Aramaic from idiomatic Greek, I employ the term "Greek showing Hebrew interference" rather than "Septuagintal Greek." Adolf Deissmann, *Bible Studies: Contributions, Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions, to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity*, trans. A. J. Grieve, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1903); James Aitken, "The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish–Greek Identity," in *The Jewish–Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*, eds. James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 124; Trevor V. Evans, "The nature of Septuagint Greek: Language and Lexicography," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 98.

– which are pervasive in the whole book of 1 Esdras – demonstrate that the Greek of 1 Esdras is neither totally idiomatic Greek nor Greek showing Hebrew interference.

The ambiguity surrounding the question of whether or not the author wrote in Greek raises, in my view, a number of points for consideration. First, the linguistic features in question do not solely represent translation techniques; rather, they highlight the *literary range* of the translator who could clearly write Greek in both Semitic and idiomatic form. The presence of numerous *hapax legomena* in particular implies that the author might be a learned individual who had been educated in higher educational institutions during the Hellenistic period (see Appendix I).[44] Second, it is very hard to retrovert the Greek of 1 Esdras to a supposed original Semitic form. More importantly, I believe that it is almost impossible to find (or make conjectures about) the *Vorlage* of 1 Esd 3:1–5:6; it has no parallel text. Third, I do not deny the possibility that the author of 1 Esdras may have had a Semitic *Vorlage* at his disposal. However, one must exercise caution when reaching certain conclusions on the bases of critical textual studies that have themselves been based on the reconstructed *Vorlage*.[45]

On the basis of this linguistic feature, I explore the first critical question. If one assumes that the author of *W/OS* did not understand Hebrew or Aramaic, then it is reasonable to surmise that the source text of the author of *W/OS* would have most likely been written in

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44. David A. deSilva, "The Author of 4 Maccabees and Greek Paideia: Facets of the Formation of a Hellenistic Jewish Rhetor," in *Second Temple Jewish Paideia in Context*, eds. Jason M. Zurawski and Gabriele Boccaccini, BZNW 228 (Berlin; Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2017), 205–38. deSilva explains that "The level of his language suggests not only successfully undertaking primary and secondary studies in grammar, but also extensive reading in Greek literature, such that its subtleties were internalized through broad acquaintance with its exemplary writers" (206). These are the categories, which show the linguistic ability of the author of 4 Macc: a number of *hapax legomena*, hypotactic clause rather than paratactic clause, and new compound words. Appendix I shows numerous *hapax legomena* and compound words in 1 Esdras. And, Talshir points out that hypotactic clause is one of the linguistic features of 1 Esdras (Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 201). However, unlike 4 Macc, 1 Esdras contains various Greek showing Hebrew interference. In addition, there is no clear-cut linguistic evidence with which we may distinguish the Greek of *W/OS* from that of *S*. These categories are pervasive in the whole book of 1 Esdras.

45. Dieter Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia: Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels*, OBO 158 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997).

Greek. In this case, one must suppose that the author of *W/OS* – who would, of course, have been familiar with the contemporary Koine of the Hellenistic era – would have been able to learn Greek showing Hebrew interference from books that had previously been translated.[46]

Although we cannot be sure that there was no Greek source text of Ezra and Nehemiah that predated the Greek 1 Esdras, scholars have not yet found such a source.[47] In addition, regarding the synoptic parallel with 2 Chr 35:1–36:21, Ezra 1–10 and Nehemiah 7:73–8:13, it is doubtful that the Greek 1 Esdras (*W/OS*) was originally written without its Semitic sources.[48]

In other words, the Greek 1 Esdras (*W/OS*) was a translated or rewritten work; it was, most probably, produced by a *single author (or translator)*. As such, it is more plausible that Semitic sources influenced the Semitic Greek of the translator of 1 Esdras (*W/OS*). We should remember that the author of *W/OS* had the ability to utilise both Greek showing Hebrew interference and his contemporary Greek as well as to add Semitic features to (or omit them from) the text. Thus, we can assume that the translator (or the author) of *W/OS* had the linguistic skill and competency to be able to read Hebrew and/or Aramaic and Greek and to compose writings in Semitic Greek as well as in his own contemporary Greek.

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46. Rudolph, who argues against Torrey's view (regarding the potential Aramaic origin of the story), suggests that the story may be of Greek origin by explaining that the Semitic features of the story resulted from the translational Semitism and the Semitism of spoken Jewish Greek. See Karl-Friedrich Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach dem ursprünglichen Schluß des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes*, FRLANT 104 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 48–9.

47. Maurice Carrez, "1. Esdras Septante," *RHPR* 74.1 (1994): 13. Even though Carrez suggests the possibility of the earlier Greek version of 1 Esdras, the Greek version does not refer to LXX Ezra–Nehemiah. His assumed book has not been found yet.

Although it has been debated as to whether or not 2 Esdras ought to be placed in the *kaige*-group, 2 Esdras displays a tendency to render literally (word-for-word). Wooden does not agree with Barthélemy and Janz, who consider 2 Esdras to be the *kaige*-recension. Most scholars agree that 2 Esdras is later than 1 Esdras. 2 Esdras (= LXX Ezra–Nehemiah) "seems to be among the latest of the translations of the Jewish Scriptures, originating in the latter half of the second century C.E." See R. Glenn Wooden, "2 Esdras," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint,* ed. J. K. Aitken (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 196; "Interlinearity in 2 Esdras," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 119–144 (122–4).

48. Kristin De Troyer, "Zerubbabel and Ezra: A Revived and Revised Solomon and Josiah? a Survey of Current 1 Esdras Research," *CBR* 1.1 (2002): 32.

The next question concerns whether or not the translator of *W/OS* was the same person as the author or translator of *S*. Assuming that the story was a later addition, there are two possible hypotheses and sub-possibilities of the hypotheses to this question.[49] I include diagrams of several possible composition theories of 1 Esdras in Appendix II.

1.4.1.1. Hypothesis 1. The translator of *Without the Story* ≠ the author or translator of *the Story.*

This view can be explained by the fragment hypothesis: 1 Esdras of *W/OS* is a fragment of an old Greek translation – produced by a single translator – containing all of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah (with the same arrangement as the canonical book of Ezra 1–6).[50] The scholars (e.g., Pohlmann) who hold this view contend that 1) the Semitic *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras "preserves the earlier and more original form" (except 1 Esd 3:1–5:6)[51] as compared with the MT synoptic text and that 2) the story of the Three Bodyguards was interpolated later. In other words, according to this hypothesis, the story was added to the Greek 1 Esdras (*W/OS*) and the translator of *W/OS* was not the author or translator of *S*.[52]

This proposal presents another two possibilities:

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49. For a general overview of 1 Esdras, see Kristin De Troyer, "1 Esdras: Structure, Composition, and Significance," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Historical Books of the Hebrew Bible*, eds. Brad E. Kelle and Brent A. Strawn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 367–79; Lester L. Grabbe, "1 Esdras (Greek Ezra)," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Apocrypha*, ed. Gerbern S. Oegema (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 106–22.

50. Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra*, 149. "3E ist ein Fragment einer sehr alten griechischen Übersetzung, die ursprünglich die gleiche Anordnung der Geschichte über die Wiedererrichtung des Tempels enthielt, wie sie im kanonischen Esrabuch in den Kapiteln 1–6 überliefert ist."

51. Adrian Schenker, "The Relationship between Ezra–Nehemiah and 1 Esdras," in *Was 1 Esdras First?: An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 48.

52. Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra*, 51, 150. "Das würde darauf hindeuten, daß der Übersetzer des 3 E und der Interpolator der Pagenerzählung nicht ein und dieselbe Person sein können, daß also der Komplex 3 E 3,1–5,3 erst nachträglich in die griechische Übersetzung des 3 E eingearbeitet wurde" (50). "Daß 3,1–5,3 nicht durch die Hand des Übersetzers der übrigen Teile des 3E gegangen sein kann, darf meines Erachtens aus folgenden auffallenden Formulierungen geschlossen warden" (150).

- Possibility A): the author of *S* ≠ translator of *S*. In this context, one believes that as the story originated from a Semitic source, the author must have been familiar with a Semitic language, namely, Hebrew or Aramaic;
- Possibility B): the author was not the translator of *S* but was, solely, the author of *S*. According to this viewpoint, the story originally existed in Greek. This is the only scenario in which the author of *S* did not know a Semitic language (Hebrew or Aramaic).

It is, however, hard to prove Hypothesis 1. Bird summarises several objections against the fragment hypothesis.[53] I introduce two reasons among them. First, the perspective on Josiah's deeds and Judah's destruction described in 1 Esd 1:21–22, which is unparalleled in the MT and LXX Chr 35–36, differs from the viewpoint of the Chronicler and the translator of Chronicles. While the author of 1 Esdras attributes the destruction and the exile to Judah's sin *before* Josiah's reign, the Chronicler associates Judah's catastrophe with the disobedience of Zedekiah and the people under his reign (cf. 2 Chr 36:12–17).[54] Williamson explains that "the sharp contrast between king and people goes further than in the earlier biblical books, but it seems to reflect the same tradition of interpretation as that found in Sir 49:2–3."[55]

Second, while scholars have argued that the abrupt ending of 1 Esd 9:55 implies its fragmentary nature, Arie van der Kooij points out that

> The last two words – καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν ["they had gathered together"] – do not constitute a short and independent phrase. Syntactically, these words are best understood as part of the ὅτι-clause of vs 55. 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. The second part of the ὅτι-clause [1 Esd 9:55] makes good sense: it

53. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 10–12.

54. H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 18–9; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 11.

55. H. G. M. Williamson, "1 Esdras," in *The Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, eds. J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 852. The author of 1 Esdras did not omit the sin of Zedekiah and the people in 1 Esd 1:45–50. The author conflated two different traditions to explain the destruction of Judah and the exile from 2 Kgs 23:26–7 and 2 Chr 36:12–17.

> underlines that the people has been established by Esdras as a holy, religious community.[56]

In addition, although the fragment hypothesis asserts that the disposition of 1 Esd 9:37–55 (Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a) in 1 Esdras is original rather than its placement in Ezra–Neh, the original position of 1 Esd 9:37–55 seems likely to be placed between Ezra 8 and 9. I will deal with the dispositional issue in 5.3.3 and propose my compositional theory of 1 Esdras in 5.4.2.

1.4.1.2. Hypothesis 2. The translator of *Without the Story* = the author or translator of *the Story.*

This view can be explained in relation to the compilation hypothesis; that is to say, the notion that the book of 1 Esdras "was fashioned by taking selections from Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, that is, it is a secondary use of existing materials chosen and shaped to make the compiler's points."[57] According to this hypothesis, 1 Esdras can be categorised as a *Rewritten Scripture* (as a compositional genre) in terms of "a narrative that follows Scripture but includes a substantial amount of supplements and interpretative developments."[58] This

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56. Kooij, "On the Ending of the Book of 1 Esdras," 47. Although Josephus's *Ant*. 11.154–157 is also comparable with 1 Esd 9:55, I agree with Kooij's conclusion that Josephus's work is not helpful for understanding the ending of 1 Esdras. "It seems quite probable that he used 1 Esdr in his present form" (Kooij, 46).

57. James C. Vanderkam, "Literary Questions Between Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1 Esdras," in *Was 1 Esdras First?: An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 131.

58. Geza Vermès, "Biblical Midrash," in E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.—A.D. 135)*, rev. and eds. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman, 3 vols (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 3.1:326.

By applying the nine qualifications by which one may characterise a *Rewritten Bible*, Williamson clearly shows why 1 Esdras could be defined as being an example of *Rewritten Bible*. See Philip S. Alexander, "Retelling the Old Testament," in *It is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture: Essays in Honour of Barnabas Lindars, SSF*, eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 116–8; H. G. M. Williamson, "The Problem with First Esdras," in *After the Exile: Essays in Honour of Rex Mason*, ed. John Barton and David J. Reimer (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996), 215; "1 Esdras as Rewritten Bible?," in *Was 1 Esdras First?: An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 237–49.

Scholars have argued how to understand the term "Rewritten Bible/Scripture." For instance, Armin Lange prefers the term "paratext" to "Rewritten Bible." Recently, Molly M. Zahn employs the term "rewriting" because it is "both specific enough and neutral enough to serve as a label for the deliberate, unmarked

hypothesis assumes that the whole book of 1 Esdras was composed by a single author.[59] This view, in turn, prompts us to consider two possibilities – both of which are predicated on the understanding that the author of the story was familiar with a Semitic language.[60]

- Possibility A): the translator of *W/OS* = the translator of *S*. The foundation of this viewpoint is the assumption that a Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* existed. In considering this possibility, we must also contemplate two sub-scenarios.
- Possibility A) I): the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *W/OS* = the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *S*. The translator had the *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras. This means that the composer of the Semitic 1 Esdras and its translator were two different individuals. Although this interpretation is a dominant one, scholars who hold this view do not seem to have seriously considered the possibility that the bilingual translator may have had the ability to independently compile the Semitic sources and translate them into Greek.
- Possibility A) II): the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *W/OS* = the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *S*. This view would mean that "1 Esdras is an original Greek composition born from Semitic *Vorlagen*."[61] In other words, the translator (or rewriter or redactor) wrote the Greek 1 Esdras with the Semitic *sources* including the Semitic document of the story of the Three Bodyguards.
- Possibility B): the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *W/OS* = the author of *S*. This interpretation (reflecting my own tentative view) suggests that, while the translator was

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reproduction and modification of one text by another" (p. 37). I employ "rewritten scripture" to categorise 1 Esdras as one of the Second Temple rewritings. For thorough discussion of the term "Rewritten Bible," see Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism*, 28–37. Talshir points out that "there are any number of ways in which hypotactic constructions can be made and diverse degrees of rewriting may be involved." So, she argues that the translation technique represents that "in more complicated cases, the translator had to completely rewrite his *Vorlage*" (*I Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 204). For more specific terminology for the genre of 1 Esdras, the label "historical novella" is more appropriate. I will discuss the genre of the story of the Three Bodyguards in 2.4.2.

59. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 854.

60. Although Talshir subscribes to the compilation hypothesis, she regards the present form of 1 Esdras as being a fragment of the original Greek version of 1 Esdras.

61. Sandoval, "The strength of women and truth," 226.

> rearranging and rewriting 1 Esdras with the *sources* (not *Vorlage*) of *W/OS*, the translator composed the story of the Three Bodyguards in Greek. If one subscribes to this interpretation, we may deduce that the bilingual author and/or translator had the ability to 1) gather (or rearrange) their Semitic sources, 2) translate or rewrite them in(to) Greek, and 3) compose the story in Greek.

Although I prefer hypothesis 2.B), I do not use this position as a working assumption for the rest of the thesis. After I discuss the linguistic features, the textual issues, and the literary aspects in the story of the Three Bodyguards, I will investigate the composition theory of the story in 5.2 and of 1 Esdras in 5.4.2.

In this section, by examining the several pre-existing hypotheses, I lay out the history of scholarship of 1 Esdras and put forward the proposition of this thesis that the bilingual author of the story of the Three Bodyguards could understand Semitic languages.

1.4.2. What is the meaning of a later source?

As most scholars have assumed, I also think that the story of the Three Bodyguards is the youngest part of 1 Esd – more specifically, the latest source material. So, how are we to understand the relationship between the earlier (Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah) and later sources? First, we can infer that the story was influenced by the other parts of 1 Esdras; it suggests the literary dependence of the story on other chapters. Second, the compilation of the earlier and later sources is not a one-dimensional work but, rather, a two-dimensional, dialogic one. In other words, we cannot ignore the significance of the story in the composition process of 1 Esdras. The work of redaction or composition was not just a matter of "copy, paste."[62]

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62. Zipora Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras and the Priority of the Canonical Composition Type," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 120. "The seams of his cut-and-

The most striking difference between Ezra and 1 Esdras cannot be regarded as a mere insertion – as though the insertion had no impact on the other parts. Even Pohlmann – who argues that the story is an independent source that was added later and written by a different author – suggests that the story influenced the formation process of the Greek 1 Esdras.[63] The impact of the story of the Three Bodyguards will be investigated in 5.3.

1.4.3. Sources and Redaction

As Table 2.1 shows (see chapter 2), the fact that there are two different rhetorical genres (epideictic and deliberative) and five individual topics (epideictic: wine, king, women, and truth; deliberative: vows) raises questions about the author's sources and the redaction process of the story up until it is cast in its final form. Most scholars agree that Zerubbabel's third speech regarding vows (1 Esd 4:43–46) and the narrative portions after the rhetorical contest (1 Esd 4:47–5:6) may have been influenced by Jewish culture. In addition, while most agree that the first three speeches originated from another culture (i.e., a non-Jewish one),[64] the debate about the origin of the speech about truth is ongoing (e.g., Pohlmann vs. Hilhorst).[65]

However, throughout chapters 3 and 4, I will show that the dichotomy approach to understanding the nature of the rhetoric in the story is improbable, since all the speeches contain *both* Greek and Jewish rhetorical aspects. So, I will thoroughly argue that this

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paste procedure remained, however, deplorably visible, most obviously in one telltale verse, that is, 9:37 (see below)."

63. Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra*, 51. "Dann aber müßte 3 E ursprünglich in diesem Teil mit der kanonischen Anordnung Esr 1-6 übereingestimmt haben, da die jetzigen Abweichungen erst auf die Interpolation zurückzuführen sind."

64. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 854.

65. Anthony Hilhorst, "The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41," *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. García Martínez, *A*. Hilhorst, and *C*. J. Labuschagne (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 135–6; Pohlmann, *Studien zum Dritten Esra*, 41–5. Pohlman points out the intertextual relationship between Judg 14 (the story of Samson) and the story of the three bodyguards and between LXX Ps 116:2 and 1 Esd 4:38, suggesting the possibility that 1 Esd 3:1–4:33 is of Israelite-Jewish origin.

consistency and coherence implies that the story was written by a *single author* who learned rhetoric from Greek and Jewish culture in 5.2.

1.5. Conclusion

In this introductory chapter, I outlined the foundations of this thesis; its purpose, methodological remarks by defining the terms *rhetoric* and *allusion*, and an examination of pre-existing hypotheses for understanding the nature of 1 Esdras and of the story of the Three Bodyguards. I also posited my proposition that the author of the story was bilingual in Greek and Hebrew (and/or Aramaic). Having established the theoretical foundations of my study, in the next chapter, I provide a textual and literary analysis of the story of the Three Bodyguards, which is required to analyse the five speeches according to the constituents of classical rhetoric and to understand the rhetorical force of the speeches.

Chapter 2. Translation, Textual Analysis, and Nature of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

2.1. Introduction

This chapter lays the foundation for undertaking the rhetorical analysis of the five speeches in the story of the Three Bodyguards and for understanding their rhetorical features, which will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. First, I provide my translation and textual notes. Second, I outline the contents of the five speeches of the three orators, highlighting particular textual and exegetical issues that are important to understand if one is to truly comprehend the speech and which require clarification if we are to be able to understand the rhetorical force of the speeches. Third, based on this textual understanding, I discuss the nature of the story of the Three Bodyguards – the original language of the story and the *genre* and literary character of the story. I suggest that the story was originally written in Greek and that the genre of the story is a *court tale* containing a comedic element. I especially emphasise that the generic understanding of the story is prerequisite not only to illuminate the rhetorical features towards the audience *in* the narrative but also to investigate the rhetorical message of the story towards the readers/listeners *beyond* the narrative.

2.2. Text, Translation, and Narrative of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

2.2.1. The Story of the Three Bodyguards

1 Esd 3:1–3 — Banquet Scene	
3:1 Καὶ βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς οἰκογενέσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν τῆς Μηδίας καὶ τῆς Περσίδος 2. καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ τοπάρχαις τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς μέχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ σατραπείαις. 3. καὶ ἐφάγοσαν καὶ ἐπίοσαν καὶ ἐμπλησθέντες ἀνέλυσαν, ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέλυσεν εἰς τὸν κοιτῶνα καὶ ἐκοιμήθη καὶ ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο.[66]	3:1 And King Darius gave a great banquet for all who were under him and for all who were born in his house and for all the nobles of Media and of Persia, 2. And all the satraps and generals and governors that were under him in the hundred and twenty seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia. 3. And they ate and drank; and when they were satisfied they departed, but Darius the king went to his bedroom and fell asleep, but awakened from a sleep.
1 Esd 3:4–16b — Rhetorical Contest	
4. τότε[67] οἱ τρεῖς νεανίσκοι οἱ σωματοφύλακες οἱ φυλάσσοντες τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἶπαν ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον 5. Εἴπωμεν ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ἕνα λόγον, ὃς ὑπερισχύσει· καὶ οὗ ἂν φανῇ τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ σοφώτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, δώσει αὐτῷ Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ ἐπινίκια	4. Then three young men, the bodyguards, who guarded the person of the king, said one to another, 5. “Let us make, each of us, one statement, which is strongest (superior), and the one whose statement appears wiser than the other, Darius the king will give him grand gifts and great prizes of victory 6.and

66. The phrase ἔξυπνος ἐγένετο is idiosyncratic not only in the LXX but also in classical Greek. Several possible reasons have been suggested – Greek corruption of κάθυπνος (“fast asleep”, Rudolph, *Esra*, X), translator’s misunderstanding of Aramaic (Torrey, *Ezra*, 24), or translational (Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 135); cf. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 76; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 150. As Talshir points out, we do not deny the possibility that 1 Esd 3:3b represents the author’s paraphrasing of the Aramaic in Dan 6:19: אֱדַיִן אֲזַל מַלְכָּא לְהֵיכְלֵהּ … וְשְׁנָתֵהּ נְדַת עֲלוֹהִי (“then the king went to his palace … and sleep fled from him”). However, because ἔξυπνος (“awakened out of sleep”) is a *hapax legomenon*, it is hard to conjecture its Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent in the paraphrasing sentence. Even if the author of the story had already read Dan 6:19 in Aramaic, it does not mean that this phrase was translated from an Aramaic *Vorlage*. If the author knew Dan 6:19 in Aramaic, he could creatively write this kind of sentence in Greek *without* an Aramaic *Vorlage*. See C. C. Torrey, *Ezra Studies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910); Wilhelm Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1949).

I suggest that the association of κοιτών (“bedroom”), κοιμάω (“to lie down”), and ἔξυπνος is influenced from classical Greek. The association of κοιμάω and ὕπνος (“sleep”) frequently appears in Homer’s works. It describes the process of falling asleep. The most comparable sentence is attested in Homer, *Il*., 1.610. Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ἦι᾽ Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητής, ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ᾽ ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι· (“and Zeus the Olympian, lord of the lightning, went to his bed where he had always taken his rest when sweet sleep came on him.”) Although ἔξυπνος as a compound adjective is antonymous of ὕπνος, the lexical and thematic similarity (bed, falling asleep, and sleep [or awakening]) represents that the chain is appropriate to describe the king’s vigilance. It is possible that this idiosyncratic association supports my argument that the story of the Three Bodyguards was originally written in Greek (cf. Homer, *Od.* 12.372; 19.427; *Il*., 7.482; 9.713; 11.241). Homer. *Iliad, Volume I: Books 1-12*, trans. A. T. Murray, rev. William F. Wyatt, LCL 170 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 58–9.

67. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 151–2. “Commencing with a temporal marker (τότε) in 3:4, the attention moves from the sleep deprived king to the three young men who are defined in the tautological expression, ‘the bodyguards guarding the body of the king’.”

μεγάλα 6. καὶ πορφύραν περιβαλέσθαι καὶ ἐν χρυσώμασιν πίνειν καὶ ἐπὶ χρυσῷ καθεύδειν καὶ ἅρμα χρυσοχάλινον καὶ κίδαριν βυσσίνην καὶ μανιάκην περὶ τὸν τράχηλον,[68] 7. καὶ δεύτερος καθιεῖται Δαρείου διὰ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ συγγενὴς[69] Δαρείου κληθήσεται. 8. καὶ τότε γράψαντες ἕκαστος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἐσφραγίσαντο καὶ ἔθηκαν ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον[70] Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ εἶπαν 9. Ὅταν ἐγερθῇ ὁ βασιλεύς, δώσουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ γράμμα, καὶ ὃν ἂν κρίνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ τρεῖς μεγιστᾶνες τῆς Περσίδος ὅτι ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ σοφώτερος, αὐτῷ δοθήσεται τὸ νῖκος καθὼς γέγραπται.	that he be clothed in purple and drink from gold cups and sleep on gold, and (have) a gold-studded bridle and a turban of fine linen and a necklace around his neck, 7. and because of his wisdom he shall sit next to Darius and shall be called Kinsman of Darius." 8. And then each wrote his own statement, and they sealed (these) and put (them) under the pillow (or, the treasure-chamber) of Darius the king, and they said, 9. "When the king wakes, they will give him the writing, and whomever the king and the three nobles of Persia pick because his statement is wisest, to him the victory shall be given, as it stands written."
10. ὁ εἷς ἔγραψεν Ὑπερισχύει ὁ οἶνος. 11. ὁ ἕτερος ἔγραψεν Ὑπερισχύει ὁ βασιλεύς. 12. ὁ τρίτος ἔγραψεν Ὑπερισχύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ὑπὲρ δὲ πάντα[71] νικᾷ ἡ ἀλήθεια. 13. καὶ ὅτε ἐξηγέρθη ὁ βασιλεύς, λαβόντες τὸ γράμμα ἔδωκαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέγνω. 14. καὶ ἐξαποστείλας ἐκάλεσεν πάντας τοὺς μεγιστᾶνας τῆς Περσίδος καὶ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοπάρχας καὶ ὑπάτους, καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῷ χρηματιστηρίῳ,[72] καὶ ἀνεγνώσθη τὸ	10. The first wrote, "Wine is strongest." 11. The second wrote, "The king is strongest." 12. The third wrote, "Women are strongest, but above all things truth is victorious." 13. And when the king awoke, they took the document and gave it to him, and he read. 14. and he sent and summoned all the nobles of Persia and of Media and satraps and generals and district magistrates and consuls, and he took his seat in the judgment hall, and the document was read

68. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 78. κίδαρις βυσσίνη (the high priest wears; cf. Exod 28:39) and μανιάκης (cf. Dan 5:7, 16, 29) demonstrate dignity of the winner in the contest.

69. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1:102–3; Harvey, "Darius' Court and the Guardsmen's Debate," 179–80. According to Fraser, "The 'Kinsman' was addressed in correspondence by the sovereign as 'Brother', as, at least in the later Hellenistic period, was apparently customary between sovereigns. The 'Kinsmen' apart, the highest rank in the hierarchy seems to have been that of the 'First Friends'." Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1381b; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 127. In addition, Aristotle includes συγγένια (kinship) as one of the species of friendship.

70. A. Hilhorst, "Darius' Pillow (1 Esdras III. 8)," *JTS* 33 (1982): 161–3. Hilhorst found the Greek term προσκεφάλαιον in the work of Chares of Mytilene, a Greek historiographer, who wrote the History of Alexander. In the work, "προσκεφάλαιον denotes a "treasure-chamber adjoining the bedchamber of the Perisian king" (cf. LSJ, 1516). As Hilhorst suggests that it is appropriate to understand the absurd situation how the bodyguards placed the statements under the pillow.

71. Torrey (*Ezra*, 24) argues that the ὑπέρ is impossible in Greek, but it is the translation of על (cf. 6:4). Even if the usage of ὑπέρ is not idiomatic in Greek, it does not imply the existence of an Aramaic *Vorlage* of the story of the Three Bodyguards. The prepositional phrase ὑπὲρ πάσας in 1 Esd 1:47 is attested prior to the story. Without a Semitic *Vorlage* of the story, the author could still use this locution in the story. Or the author of 1 Esdras may already know of it from other LXX uses (e.g., 2 Sam 19:8).

72. χρηματιστήριον (*hapax legomenon*) is very rare in Greek. As Harvey points out, in Ptolemaic Egypt, χρηματιστής indicates "the financial officer for the locales, [who] is the regional/circuit judge who resolves tax disputes and other monetary transactions with the government" (180). Also, Havery suggests that "we see an author/editor/redactor [of the story] familiar with some aspects of the Ptolemaic vocabulary of rule" (184). See Harvey, "Darius' Court and the Guardsmen's Debate," 179–90. Cf. a place of business or financial affairs (GELS, 736).

γράμμα ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν. 15. καὶ εἶπεν Καλέσατε τοὺς νεανίσκους, καὶ αὐτοὶ δηλώσουσιν τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐκλήθησαν καὶ εἰσήλθοσαν. 16. καὶ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς Ἀπαγγείλατε ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων.	in their presence. 15. And he said, "Call the young men, and they themselves shall explain their statements." And they were summoned and came in. 16a. They said to them, "Tell us about what you have written."
1 Esd 3:16b–23 — Speech of the First Bodyguard	
16b. Καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ πρῶτος ὁ εἴπας περὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ οἴνου καὶ ἔφη οὕτως 17. Ἄνδρες, πῶς ὑπερισχύει ὁ οἶνος; πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους[73] τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸν πλανᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν.[74] 18. τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ ποιεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν μίαν, τήν τε τοῦ οἰκέτου καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, τήν τε τοῦ πένητος καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλουσίου.[75] 19. καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν[76] μεταστρέφει εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ οὐ μέμνηται πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ πᾶν ὀφείλημα. 20. καὶ πάσας καρδίας ποιεῖ πλουσίας καὶ οὐ μέμνηται βασιλέα οὐδὲ σατράπην καὶ πάντα διὰ ταλάντων ποιεῖ λαλεῖν. 21. καὶ οὐ μέμνηται, ὅταν πίνωσιν, φιλιάζειν φίλοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ[77] σπῶνται μαχαίρας· 22. καὶ ὅταν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου	16b. And the first one who had spoken of the strength of wine began, and he said thus: 17. "Gentlemen, how is wine strongest? It (wine) leads astray the mind of all people who drink it. 18. It makes the same the mind of both the king and the orphan, of both the slave and the free, of both the poor and the rich. 19. It changes every mind to feasting and mirth, and it does not remember any grief and any debt. 20. And it makes all hearts rich, and does not remember king nor satrap, and it makes everyone talk in talents. 21. And when they drink, it does not remember to be friendly to friends and brothers, and after a while they draw daggers. 22. And when they recover from the wine, it does not remember what they

Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, eds., *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Chicago, IL; CA: Scholars Press, 1981; repr., Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 294. Bagnall and Derow notes that χρηματιστής is "member of panel (usually of three) of Greek judges in Egypt." This is attested in the papyri; *P. Mich. Zen*. 39 (Arsinoites; 254 BC – "Letter sent by a board of three judges (*chrematistai*) to Zenon, asking him to deliver a copy of a complaint to the defendant, Neoptolemos, and to send him to them for trial"; http://papyri.info/ddbdp/p.mich;1;39).

In this context, I suggest that the appearance of three nobles in 1 Esd 3:9 may be related to the administrative system of the Hellenistic period in Egypt. Interestingly, three rulers also appear in the LXX Esther 1:14, though seven in the MT (cf. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 78).

73. ἄνθρωπος means a "human being" – not solely a "man." In 1 Esdras, ἄνθρωπος is used in both usage (cf. ἄνθρωπος means a man in 1 Esd 5:48 and 9:40). This term appears in the first three speeches of the story of the Three Bodyguards. In 3:17 and 4:2, I understand it as a human being. For Zerubbabel's first speech, see below (note 92).

74. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek* (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 547. In 17b, the second accusative (τὴν διάνοιαν) is most likely to be an accusative of extent (e.g., 2 Macc 4:24). Διάνοια means "mind (faculty of thinking and planning)", "inner being", or "thought (that which one has in mind)" (GELS, 155).

75. In v. 18, the parallel of noun–adjective (articular substantivised) is patterned.

76. Although the usual Hebrew equivalent of the word διάνοια is לב or לבב ("heart"; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 162), in the speech of the first bodyguard, it refers to the mind or one's understanding or thinking faculties instead. In the LXX, διάνοια does not accompany οἶνος. There is an expression "heart was merry by wine" (2 Sam 13:28; Eccl 9:7) in the Hebrew Bible, but in those verses, לב is rendered into καρδία ("heart"), which is another equivalent of לב. Wright points out that, "in non-translation Greek, the term refers to the faculty of thinking, and thus at some points it may be translated [as] 'mind' and at other[s] 'understanding.'" (*The Letter of Aristeas*, 386). In this regard, the usage of διάνοια in 1 Esd 3:19 signals the possibility that the story of the Three Bodyguards was originally written in Greek rather than constituting a translated work.

77. The prepositional phrase μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ means "before long." See GELS, 574.

γενηθῶσιν[78], οὐ μέμνηται ἃ ἔπραξαν.[79] 23. ὦ ἄνδρες,[80] οὐχ ὑπερισχύει ὁ οἶνος, ὅτι οὕτως ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν; καὶ ἐσίγησεν οὕτως εἴπας.	did. 23. O Gentlemen, is not wine the strongest, because it (wine) forces people to do thus?" And he became silent having spoken thus.
1 Esd 4:1–12 — Speech of the Second Bodyguard	
4:1 Καὶ ἤρξατο ὁ δεύτερος λαλεῖν ὁ εἴπας περὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ βασιλέως 2. Ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐχ ὑπερισχύουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν κατακρατοῦντες καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς; 3. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὑπερισχύει καὶ κυριεύει πάντων καὶ δεσπόζει[81] αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ αὐτοῖς, ἐνακούουσιν. 4. ἐὰν εἴπῃ αὐτοῖς ποιῆσαι πόλεμον ἕτερος[82] πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον, ποιοῦσιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξαποστείλῃ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, βαδίζουσιν καὶ κατεργάζονται τὰ ὄρη καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς πύργους. 5. φονεύουσιν καὶ φονεύονται καὶ τὸν λόγον τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ παραβαίνουσιν·[83] ἐὰν δὲ νικήσωσιν, τῷ βασιλεῖ κομίζουσιν πάντα, καὶ ὅσα ἐὰν προνομεύσωσιν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα. 6. καὶ ὅσοι οὐ στρατεύονται οὐδὲ πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ γεωργοῦσιν τὴν γῆν, πάλιν ὅταν σπείρωσιν, θερίσαντες ἀναφέρουσιν τῷ βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἀναγκάζοντες ἀναφέρουσιν τοὺς φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ. 7. καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς[84] μόνος ἐστίν· ἐὰν	1. And the second began to speak, the one who had spoken of the strength of the king 2. "O Gentlemen, are not humans strong, who prevail over the land and the sea and all things that are in them? 3. but the king is stronger and is lord of all and their master, and whatever he might say to them they heed. 4. If he tells them to make war one against the other, they do it, and if he sends them out against enemies, they proceed and conquer mountains and walls and towers. 5. They kill and are killed, and they do not transgress the word of the king. If they are victorious, they bring everything to the king, and whatever spoil they take and everything else. 6. And as many as do not serve in the army or go to war, they instead till the soil; whenever they sow and reap, they bring some to the king, and one compels the other to bring taxes to the king. 7. and he is only one man! If he tells them to kill, they kill; (if) he tells them to release, they release; 8. (if) he tells them to smite,

78. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 76; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 169; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 159. While the B-text has the verb ἐγείρω – "to awaken, to stir up, to wake up" (LSJ, 469; MLS, 185) – the verb γίνομαι, meaning "to become, to come into being, to take place" (LSJ, 349–50; MLS, 130–2), appears in the L-text. In the LXX, neither of the verbs treat οἶνος as an object or prepositional phrase. Bird explains that "in context, γίνομαι is perhaps idiomatic for the commencement of an action (cf. 2 Macc 10:27; 15:28) and ἐγερθῶσιν was probably introduced to underscore the act of being aroused or awoken which is unclear with γενηθῶσιν." Hanhart selects the verb γίνομαι.

79. Because the nominative form of οἶνος in 1 Esd 3:17a does not appear until the end of the speech, the subject in vv. 19–22 is not easily discerned. I discuss this issue in 2.3.1.

80. In the story of the Three Bodyguards, ὦ ἄνδρες (or ἄνδρες) is the repeated form of address to the audience (3:17, 23; 4:2, 12, 14, 32, 34). This form is used by classical rhetoricians. For instance, Andreas Serafim lays out "three styles of addresses: civic (ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι) which is used in political speeches; judicial (ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί) which is appro- priate only in a forensic speech; and descriptive (ὦ ἄνδρες) which could be used for any audience of adult men." See Serafim, "'Conventions' in/as Performance: Addressing the Audience in Selected Public Speeches of Demosthenes," in *The Theatre of Justice: Aspects of Performance in Greco-Roman Oratory and Rhetoric*, eds. Sophia Papaioannou, Andreas Serafim, and Beatrice da Vela (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill. 2017), 27.

81. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 137–8. κυριεύω and δεσπόζω are genitive-governing verbs.

82. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 594. "The use of the nom. ἕτερος in lieu of the anticipated ἕτερον is probably due to ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον having become a fixed phrase for expressing reciprocity."

83. παραβαίνω with its object λόγος is Semitic (see 4.3.2).

84. MS B ει I, i.e."if he is only a man" rather than "he is only one man!".

εἴπῃ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀποκτέννουσιν· εἶπεν[85] ἀφεῖναι, ἀφίουσιν· 8. εἶπεν πατάξαι, τύπτουσιν· εἶπεν ἐρημῶσαι, ἐρημοῦσιν· εἶπεν οἰκοδομῆσαι, οἰκοδομοῦσιν· 9. εἶπεν ἐκκόψαι, ἐκκόπτουσιν· εἶπεν φυτεῦσαι, φυτεύουσιν. 10. καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς[86] αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ ἐνακούουσιν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις[87] αὐτὸς ἀνάκειται, ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει καὶ καθεύδει, 11. αὐτοὶ δὲ τηροῦσιν κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ δύνανται ἕκαστος ἀπελθεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ παρακούουσιν αὐτοῦ. 12. ὦ ἄνδρες, πῶς οὐχ ὑπερισχύει ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτι οὕτως ἐπακουστός[88] ἐστιν; καὶ ἐσίγησεν.	they strike, (if) he tells them to lay waste, they lay waste; (if) he tells them to build, they build, 9. (if) he tells them to cut down, they cut down; (if) he tells them to plant, they plant. 10. And all his army and his forces heed him. Furthermore, he reclines; he eats and drinks and sleeps. 11. but they keep watch all around him, and no one is able to go away and to do his own works, nor do they disobey him. 12. O Gentlemen, how is the king not the strongest, because he is to be obeyed in this way?" And he became silent.
1 Esd 4:13–32 — First Speech of Zerubbabel	
13. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ὁ εἴπας περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας – οὗτός ἐστιν Ζοροβαβέλ[89] – ἤρξατο λαλεῖν 14. Ἄνδρες, οὐ μέγας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι[90] καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἰσχύει; τίς οὖν ὁ δεσπόζων αὐτῶν ἢ τίς ὁ κυριεύων; οὐχ αἱ γυναῖκες; 15. αἱ γυναῖκες ἐγέννησαν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν, ὃς κυριεύει τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς	13. And the third, who had spoken of women and truth (this was Zerubbabel), began to speak: 14. "Gentlemen, is not the king great, and are not men many, and is not wine strong? Who is it, then, that is master over them, or who is lord over them? Is it not women? 15. Women gave birth to the king and to all the people that are lord over

85. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 163. "The first protasis in the series employs ἐὰν εἴπῃ while the other protases embed the question in the simple aorist verb εἶπεν."

86. The usual Hebrew equivalent of λαός is עַם. Both terms have the meanings of "army" (cf. Josh 8:3) or "people." λαός in 1 Esd 4:10 denotes an army of the king. In 4:15, people is appropriate. Cf. GELS, 425–6; Louvain E. Lipiński, "עַם ," *TDOT* 11:163–177; H. Strathmann, "λαός," *TDNT* 4:50–7.

87. In the LXX, the clause πρὸς δὲ τούτοις appears only in 1 Esd 4:10 and 2 Macc (4:9; 5:23; 9:17, 25; 12:2, 14:4). See Bird, *1 Esdras*, 163.

88. ἐπακουστός is a *hapax legomenon* in the LXX and is very rare word in Greek. Although it is hard to find its Hebrew equivalent, the meaning is parallel with the passive form of the verb שמע.

89. Similar details appear in 1 Esd 9:23 – which is equivalent to Ezra 10:23. In the book of 1 Esdras, the name Ζοροβαβέλ is mentioned for the first time; the name does not appear in the story of the three bodyguards apart from in 5:5. The L-text and Syr provide additional explanatory details about his identity (for example, that he is a son of Shealtiel from the tribe of Judah).

Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 52. See note d; Pohlmann, *Studien zum Dritten Esra*, 38. Torrey argues that these details "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." Furthermore, Pohlmann insists that "it is a later inept identification of the third youth with Zerubbabel, which the interpolator must have made." As such, the author (or composer) may have inserted these details into their version of the pre-existing source. On the other hand, it is possible that – when the author was writing the story – he included the gloss in this verse rather than in 1 Esd 3:4 (or 12). Any such action could represent a rhetorical strategy on the part of the author to make the reader (or listener) focus on the third speech. Regardless of which interpretation one believes, the last three speeches are presented as though they were articulated by Zerubbabel. If this story were to be orated publically, it could be that the insertion of the gloss in this verse rather than in the first part of the story may have been intended to offer a helpful reminder to the listeners so that they would not forget about the identity of the third bodyguard. The narrator's intervention may represent an oral-scribal dimension of the book.

90. In Zerubbabel's first speech, the term does appear to refer to a "male" as opposed to a woman. The relationship between ἄνθρωποι and ἄνδρες in this speech may be usefully compared with that of Herodotus, *Hist*. 7.210: ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν ἄνθρωποι εἶεν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἄνδρες ("for men are many, but manly men are few"). Thomas K.

γῆς· 16. καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ αὗται ἐξέθρεψαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυτεύοντας τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ οἶνος γίνεται. 17. καὶ αὗται ποιοῦσιν τὰς στολὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὗται ποιοῦσιν δόξαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,[91] καὶ οὐ δύνανται οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι χωρὶς τῶν γυναικῶν. 18 ἐὰν δὲ συναγάγωσιν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ πᾶν πρᾶγμα ὡραῖον καὶ ἴδωσιν γυναῖκα μίαν καλὴν τῷ εἴδει καὶ τῷ κάλλει, 19. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἀφέντες εἰς αὐτὴν ἐγκέχηναν καὶ χάσκοντες τὸ στόμα θεωροῦσιν αὐτήν, καὶ πάντες αὐτὴν αἱρετίζουσιν μᾶλλον ἢ[92] τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ πᾶν πρᾶγμα ὡραῖον. 20. ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐγκαταλείπει, ὃς ἐξέθρεψεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν[93] χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα κολλᾶται· 21. καὶ μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀφίησιν τὴν ψυχὴν[94] καὶ οὔτε τὸν πατέρα μέμνηται οὔτε τὴν μητέρα οὔτε τὴν χώραν. 22. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δεῖ ὑμᾶς γνῶναι ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες κυριεύουσιν ὑμῶν·	sea and land. 16. And from (women) they were born, and (women) brought up those (men) who plant the vineyards from comes wine. 17. And they (women) make men's robes, and (women) give men reputation, and men cannot exist without women. 18. And if they (men) gather gold and silver or any beautiful thing, and they see one woman lovely in appearance and beauty, 19. then they let all those things go and gape at her, and with open mouth stare at her, and all choose her rather than gold or silver or any beautiful thing. 20. A man leaves his own father, who brought him up, and his own country, and clings to his own wife. 21. And with his wife he dies and remembers neither father nor mother nor country. 22a. Therefore, you must recognise that women are your masters.

Lindsay asserts that "the relation between *anēr* and *anthrōpos* in Attic Greek parallels that between *vir* and *homo*, respectively, in Latin. The word we translate as 'courage,' *andreia*, refers to the excellence of *andres*, of manly men." See "Aristotle's Appraisal of Manly Spirit: Political and Philosophic Implications," *American Journal of Political Science* 44.3 (2000): 437. In Gen 2:23–4, אִישׁ has two different equivalent terms: ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος. I suggest that the lexical choice of the Pentateuch's translator is comparable to that of Vulg. Wevers, however, states that "in the context ἄνθρωπος is certainly used here as *vir* rather than as *homo*, though Vulg also uses *homo*." See John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, SCS 35 (Scholars Press, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1993), 34.

91. The verbal phrase of ποιέω with the direct object δόξα *and* the indirect object does not appear in the LXX and is rare in Greek. This formula is attested in Isoc. *Ad Nic*. 32. "περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ δόξαν καλὴν ἢ πλοῦτον μέγαν τοῖς παισὶ καταλιπεῖν· (Consider it more important to leave to your children a good name than great riches;)" see Isocrates, *To Demonicus. To Nicocles. Nicocles or the Cyprians. Panegyricus. To Philip. Archidamus,* trasn. George Norlin, LCL 209 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 58–9. In addition, some commentators and English versions (e.g., Bird, *1 Esdras*, 57; NETS; NRSV) translate the noun δόξα as "glory" on the assumption that its usual Hebrew or Aramaic equivalents are כָּבוֹד and יְקָר (e.g., Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 192). However, in this particular context, a more appropriate interpretation would be "reputation" or "fame." Cf. Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 42 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1974), 47. This iteration appears in 2 Macc 4:15. See G. Kittel, "δοκέω," *TDNT* 2:242–55; *DGE* VI, 1148. So, there are two possible scenarios for understanding this peculiar phrase. First, the author may derive this phrase directly from the Hebrew verbal phrase of עשׂה (usual equivalent of ποιέω) and כָּבוֹד (usual equivalent of δόξα), especially in Gen 31:1 and 2 Chr 32:33. Second, ποιέω and the usage of δόξα may offer helpful linguistic clues that support the notion that the story of the Three Bodyguards was originally written in Greek.

92. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 200. In v. 19 and v. 25, μᾶλλον ἢ is a twofold (or redundant) expression of a comparative.

93. Ibid., 54: "Only rarely is ἴδιος used as a virtual equivalent of a reflexive pers. pron. with the value of adnominal genitive."

94. The verbal phrase, ἀφίημι, with ψυχή means "a death" and is idiomatic in classical Greek. E.g., Euripides, *Hel*. 1430; *Orest*. 1170; *Tro*. 1134. It is also attested in Gen 35:18 (Rachel's death). Because the Greek phrase is idiomatic, it is hard to discern the literary influence of Gen 35:18 on 1 Esd 4:21. See Marco Settembrini, "ἀφίημι, ἄφεσις, ἀνίημι, ἄνεσις," *HTLS* 1:1353–80 (1359).

οὐχὶ πονεῖτε καὶ μοχθεῖτε, καὶ πάντα ταῖς γυναιξὶν δίδοτε καὶ φέρετε; 23. καὶ λαμβάνει ἄνθρωπος τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξοδεύειν καὶ λῃστεύειν καὶ κλέπτειν καὶ εἰς[95] τὴν θάλασσαν πλεῖν καὶ ποταμούς· 24. καὶ τὸν λέοντα θεωρεῖ καὶ ἐν σκότει βαδίζει, καὶ ὅταν κλέψῃ καὶ ἁρπάσῃ καὶ λωποδυτήσῃ, τῇ ἐρωμένῃ ἀποφέρει. 25. καὶ πλεῖον ἀγαπᾷ ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα· 26. καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπενοήθησαν ταῖς ἰδίαις διανοίαις διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ δοῦλοι ἐγένοντο δι᾽ αὐτάς, 27. καὶ πολλοὶ ἀπώλοντο καὶ ἐσφάλησαν καὶ ἡμάρτοσαν διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας.	22b. Do you not labour and toil, and bring and give everything to women? 23. And a man takes his sword and goes out to travel and rob and steal and to sail the sea and rivers; 24. And he faces a lion, and he walks in darkness, and when he steals and robs and plunders, he brings it back to the woman he loves. 25. And a man loves his own wife more than this father and mother. 26. And many men have lost their own minds because of women, and have become slaves because of them (women). 27. And many have perished and stumbled and sinned because of women.
28. καὶ νῦν οὐ πιστεύετέ μοι; οὐχὶ μέγας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ; οὐχὶ πᾶσαι αἱ χῶραι εὐλαβοῦνται ἅψασθαι αὐτοῦ; 29. ἐθεώρουν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀπάμην τὴν θυγατέρα Βαρτάκου τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τὴν παλλακὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καθημένην ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως 30. καὶ ἀφαιροῦσαν τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἐπιτιθοῦσαν ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἐρράπιζεν τὸν βασιλέα τῇ ἀριστερᾷ. 31. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς χάσκων τὸ στόμα ἐθεώρει αὐτήν· καὶ ἐὰν προσγελάσῃ αὐτῷ, γελᾷ· ἐὰν δὲ πικρανθῇ ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, κολακεύει αὐτήν, ὅπως διαλλαγῇ αὐτῷ. 32. ὦ ἄνδρες, πῶς οὐχὶ ἰσχυραὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, ὅτι οὕτως πράσσουσιν;	28. And now, do you not believe me? Is not the king great in his authority? Do not all lands fear to touch him? 29. I have seen him and Apame the daughter of the illustrious Bartacos, the king's concubine, sitting at the king's right hand 30. and taking the diadem from the king's head and putting it on herself, she would slap the king with her left hand. 31. And at this the king would stare at her with mouth agape. And if she smiles at him, he laughs; but if she is embittered by him, he flatters her, so that she may be reconciled to him. 32. O Gentlemen, how are women not strong, since they thus act so?"
1 Esd 4:33–41 — Second Speech of Zerubbabel	
33. καὶ τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες ἐνέβλεπον ἕτερος πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον. καὶ ἤρξατο λαλεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας 34. Ἄνδρες, οὐχὶ ἰσχυραὶ αἱ γυναῖκες; μεγάλη ἡ γῆ, καὶ ὑψηλὸς ὁ οὐρανός, καὶ ταχὺς τῷ δρόμῳ ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι στρέφεται ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἀποτρέχει εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. 35. οὐχὶ μέγας ὃς ταῦτα ποιεῖ; καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μεγάλη καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα παρὰ πάντα. 36. πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καλεῖ, καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτὴν	33. And then the king and the nobles were looking at each other. And he began to speak about truth, 34. "Gentlemen, are not women strong? Vast is the earth and high is the heaven, and swift is the sun in its course, for it makes the circuit of the heaven and returns again to its own place in one day. 35. Is not the one who makes these things great? And truth is great, and stronger than all things. 36. All the earth calls upon truth, and heaven praises her. And all (created) works shake and tremble, and with him (God) there is nothing unrighteous. 37. Wine is unrighteous; the king is

95. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 199; Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 182. While Talshir argues that the author's decision to use εἰς with the verb πλέω is one that has been influenced by a Semitic *Vorlage*, Muraoka explains that "with εἰς the emphasis lies on the start of a journey."

εὐλογεῖ,[96] καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σείεται καὶ τρέμει,[97] καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ[98] ἄδικον οὐθέν. 37. ἄδικος ὁ οἶνος, ἄδικος ὁ βασιλεύς, ἄδικοι αἱ γυναῖκες, ἄδικοι πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἄδικα πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθεια, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτῶν ἀπολοῦνται. 38. ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια μένει καὶ ἰσχύει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ζῇ καὶ κρατεῖ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος. 39. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν παρ᾽ αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα[99] οὐδὲ διάφορα[100], ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν· καὶ πάντες εὐδοκοῦσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ κρίσει αὐτῆς οὐθὲν ἄδικον. 40. καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ βασίλειον[101] καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλειότης τῶν πάντων αἰώνων. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας.[102] 41. καὶ ἐσιώπησεν τοῦ λαλεῖν·	unrighteous; women are unrighteous; all the sons of men are unrighteous, and all their works are unrighteous – all such things. And there is no truth in them, and by their unrighteousness they will perish. 38. But truth endures and is strong forever, and lives and prevails from age to age. 39. And with her (truth) there is neither partiality nor bribery, but she (truth) does what is righteous instead of anything that is unrighteous or wicked. And all are pleased with her (truth's) deeds, and there is nothing unrighteous in her judgment. 40. And to her (truth) belongs the strength and the kingship and the authority and the majesty of all the ages. Blessed be the God of truth!" 41. And he stopped speaking, and all the people then called out and then said, "Great is truth, and it is strong (or superior)!"

96. In 1 Esdras, the verb εὐλογέω appears five times (4:36, 58, 62; 5:57; 9:46). Because the usual Hebrew equivalent of εὐλογέω is ברך ("to bless") in the LXX, most commentators render it to "to bless" except Myers (*I and II Esdras*, 48–51). However, in Zerubbabel's epideictic oratory demonstrating the superiority of truth, εὐλογέω in 4:36, 58, 62 and 9:46 may have its 'native' Greek sense "to praise" rather than "to bless." So, the usage of εὐλογέω in Zerubbabel's second speech also implies that the story was written directly in Greek. The MT Ezra 3:10 (= 1 Esd 5:57) does not have the Hebrew equivalent of εὐλογέω. In 1 Esd 5:58, εὐλογέω, which parallels with the synonymous verb ὑμνέω ("to praise"), means "to praise" in which two verbs occasionally co-occur (e.g., LXX Dan 3:51–90; Joosten, 349). See Jan Joosten, "The Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint: A Sample Entry – εὐλογέω," in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010,* ed. Melvin K. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 347–55.

97. In the LXX, the verbs σείω ("to shake") and τρέμω ("tremble") are not found in parallel. Even in classical Greek, it is unusual. The synonymous use of the verbs appears in Aristotle, [*Probl.*], XI 906a. "διὸ καὶ σείεται καὶ τρέμει (and this is why it shakes and trembles)." See Aristotle, *Problems, Volume I: Books 1-19*, ed. and trans. Robert Mayhew, LCL 316 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 400–1. In the text, the verbs represent of fear and anxiety.

98. The prepositional phrase μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ is a *lectio difficilior*. I will discuss the meaning of this phrase in 2.3.4.

99. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 216. As Talshir points out, λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα is a LXX idiom (e.g., Lev 19:15; Mal 1:8; 2:9). The equivalent of the phrase may be נשׂא פנים, which means "to show partiality" (BDB).

100. The substantive adjective διάφορος may mean "ready money" or "sum of money" (e.g., Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 49; cf. LSJ, 419; *DGE* V, 1058), though some commentators and English versions translate it to "preference" (e.g., NETS; NRSV; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 81; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 59; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 216). This usage is attested in apocrypha (e.g., Sir 7:18; 31:5; 42:5). Its Hebrew equivalent may be מְחִיר.

101. The term βασίλειον means a royal palace (GELS, 114) or diadem (LSJ, 309). In the LXX, its various Hebrew equivalents denote a palace (אַרְמוֹן or בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ or הֵיכַל [Ar.]) or diadem (נֵזֶר), except Dan 7:22. A figurative meaning of βασίλειον could be kingship (e.g., NETS).

102. I suggest that the phrase "ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας" may be a possessive or attributive (or qualitative) genitive, not a genitive of apposition. It means that "truth belongs to God" or "God is characterised by truth." So, I regard that the attributes of truth – eternity and righteousness – is the nature of God. An attributive genitive may be influenced from the LXX (e.g., the LXX Ps 30:6). See Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 145, 156; Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament*

καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τότε ἐφώνησεν, καὶ τότε εἶπον Μεγάλη ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὑπερισχύει.	
1 Esd 4:42–46 — Third Speech of Zerubbabel	
42. Τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶπεν αὐτῷ Αἴτησαι ὃ θέλεις πλείω τῶν γεγραμμένων, καὶ δώσομέν σοι, ἀνθ’ ὧν εὑρέθης σοφώτερος· καὶ ἐχόμενός[103] μου καθήσῃ καὶ συγγενής μου κληθήσῃ.	42. Then the king said to him, “Ask what you want, even above what has been written, and we will give (it) to you for you have been found to be the wiser man. And you shall sit next to me and be called my kinsman.”
43. τότε εἶπεν τῷ βασιλεῖ Μνήσθητι[104] τὴν εὐχήν, ἣν ηὔξω[105] οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν Ιερουσαλημ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ τὸ βασίλειόν[106] σου παρέλαβες, 44. καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη τὰ λημφθέντα ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ ἐκπέμψαι, ἃ ἐξεχώρισεν[107] Κῦρος, ὅτε ηὔξατο ἐκκόψαι Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ ηὔξατο	43. Then he said to the king, “Remember the vow that you vowed to build Jerusalem, on the day you received your kingship, 44. and to send back all the vessels that had been taken from Jerusalem, which Cyrus separated out when he vowed to destroy Babylon and vowed to send (them) away there. 45. You yourself also vowed to build

(Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1996), 80–83, 86–8; Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 165–6. Deissmann points out that an attributive genitive is frequent in the LXX by the influence of the Hebrew. Although it is not attested in classical Greek, he suggests it as a “Hebraism of translation” (not a “Hebraism” simply).

103. The verb ἔχω has a spatial nuance and may carry the meaning of “to be next to something.” See BDAG, 422.

104. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 330. In the LXX, the imp. aor. of μνησθῆναι is used to express an entreaty. It is often employed in the context of the direct address to God. For example, the LXX Judg 16:28; 2 Kgs 20:3; 2 Chr 6:42; Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:14, 22, 29, 31; Esth 14:12; Ps 24:6; 88:51; 105:4; 131:1; 136:7; Is 38:3; Jer 15:15; 28:50; Lam 5:1.

105. A. C. Pearson, “Vows (Greek and Roman),” in vol. 12 of *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: T. &. T. Clark, 1921), 652–4; Émile Benveniste, *Indo-European language and society* (London: Faber, 1973), 489–98; Leonard Charles Muellner, *The Meaning of Homeric euchomai through its Formulas* (Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1976); F. T. van Straten, “Gifts for the Gods,” in *Faith, Hope, and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World,* ed. H. S. Versnel (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 70; Tony W. Cartledge, *Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near* East (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 12, 134; Robert Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010), 485–6. As several scholars have already affirmed, the Homeric term εὔχομαι is polysemous: 1) “to boast”; 2) “to pray” (Muellner, 66; Benveniste, 493). There is no doubt that it also means “to vow.” More importantly, one must seek to understand in what sense the word “vow” is being used. As Benveniste rightly points out (p.491), the word “vow” carries two meaning: 1) one vows to ask the god to fulfil; 2) one promises to accomplish. In other words, the first vow is a conditional vow; the latter one does not require a condition. The sense of εὔχομαι is specified in the first one. Straten and Benveniste presented several examples (e.g., *Il.* 2, 410ff; *Il*.4, 101). For instance, in *Il*.4, 100–5, “But come, shoot your arrow at glorious Menelaus, and vow to Apollo, the wolf-born god, famed for his bow, that you will sacrifice a glorious hecatomb of firstling lambs when you come to your home, the city of sacred Zeleia.” Benveniste rightly articulated the meaning of εὔχομαι: “To pronounce some binding undertaking towards the god, a pledge which one hopes will be paid by a favour” (p. 497). Furthermore, εὔχομαι in the LXX is mostly used to refer to a conditional vow. In 1 Esd 4:43–6, I consider εὔχομαι as a conditional vow, connoting protasis and apodosis.

106. See note 101.

107. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 225. Hanhart’s edition has ἐκχωρίζω (*hapax legomenon*, a compound verb of χωρίζω with ἐκ). Codex Alexandrinus has the verb ἐκχωρέω, “to depart” (LSJ, 527; MLS, 220). Although ἐκχωρέω can mean “to cede or disclaim” (e.g. *P.Eleph.* 15; *P. Dryton* 48; LSJ 527), in the LXX ἐκχωρέω is used to convey the meaning of “to leave, depart” (Num 17:10; 1 Mac. 9:62; Amos 7:12). The verb χωρίζω, “to set apart or exclude” (LSJ, 527; MLS, 739), appears in Codex Vaticanus (B-text); the Lucianic text (L-text) has the verb χωρέω, “to hold or contain” (LSJ, 2015; MLS, 739; e.g., 3 Kgs 7:24). Following Hanhart, I prefer ἐκχωρίζω to χωρέω. For further significance of ἐκχωρίζω, See 4.7.2.2.

ἐξαποστεῖλαι[108] ἐκεῖ. 45. καὶ σὺ ηὔξω οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν ναόν, ὃν ἐνεπύρισαν οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι,[109] ὅτε ἠρημώθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων. 46. καὶ νῦν τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅ σε ἀξιῶ, κύριε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ὃ αἰτοῦμαί σε, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγαλωσύνη ἡ παρὰ σοῦ· δέομαι[110] οὖν ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὴν εὐχήν, ἣν ηὔξω τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐκ στόματός σου.[111]	the Temple, which the Idumeans burned when Judea was laid waste by the Chaldeans. 46. And now, O lord king, this is what I ask of you and what I request of you, and this is the majesty that is yours. I pray, therefore, that you fulfil the vow that you vowed to the King of Heaven to do, from your own mouth.
1 Esd 4:47–57 — Darius's Letter[112]	
47. τότε ἀναστὰς Δαρεῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν[113] καὶ ἔγραψεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς πρὸς πάντας οἰκονόμους καὶ τοπάρχας καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, ἵνα προπέμψωσιν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντας ἀναβαίνοντας οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ. 48. καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς τοπάρχαις ἐν Κοίλῃ Συρίᾳ καὶ Φοινίκῃ[114] καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὰς μεταφέρειν ξύλα κέδρινα ἀπὸ τοῦ Λιβάνου εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ ὅπως οἰκοδομήσουσιν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν. 49. καὶ ἔγραψεν πᾶσιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας[115], πάντα δυνατὸν καὶ σατράπην καὶ τοπάρχην καὶ οἰκονόμον μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι[116] ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν, 50. καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν, ἣν κρατήσουσιν, ἀφορολόγητον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἵνα οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι ἀφιῶσιν τὰς κώμας ἃς	47. Then Darius the king got up and kissed him and wrote letters for him to all the stewards and district magistrates and generals and satraps, so that they would send him out and all those going up with him to build Jerusalem. 48. And he wrote letters to all the district magistarates in Coele-Syria and Phoenicia and to those in Lebanon, to convey cedarwood from Lebanon to Jerusalem, and that they should help him to build the city. 49. And he wrote for all the Judeans who were going up from (his) kingdom to Judea concerning freedom, that no powerful man or satrap or district magistrate or steward should attack their doors, 50. and that all the country they would seize should be theirs without tribute and that the Idumeans should give up the villages of the Judeans which they held, 51. and that twenty talents a year should be given for the building of the temple until it

108. L-text adds αυτα (vessels) after ἐξαποστεῖλαι.

109. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 225. B-text reads Ιουδαῖοι, probably an internal Greek corruption.

110. δέομαι ἵνα with aor. subj. verbal form is used to express a petition (e.g., Sir. 33:20; 37:15; 38:14).

111. In Greek, a possessive genitive of body parts is emphatic.

112. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 182–3. "His reply combines elements of the decree of Cyrus (1 Esd 2:1–7; Ezra 1:2–4; 6:3–5), Darius's affirmation of this decree (Ezra 6:6–12); and Artaxerxēs' authorization of Nehemiah (Neh 2:5, 8)."

113. The verbs ἀνίστημι ("to rise up") and καταφιλέω ("to kiss") indicate a symbolic action of blessing (cf. Gen 32:1). However, the scene of a gentile king kissing a Jewish girl is unique in LXX corpus.

114. Talshir, *I Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 260. "'Syria and Phoenicia' becomes a standard administrative term in the days of Ptolemaic rule in the area, and 'Coele-Syria and Phoenicia' under that of the Seleucids." This is one of the proper example to know the historical background of 1 Esdras. For methodological remarks on the identification of a historical allusion, see Alison G. Salvesen, "LXX Isaiah as Prophecy? Supposed Historical Allusions in LXX Isaiah," in *Imperial Visions: The Prophet and the Book of Isaiah in an Age of Empires*, eds. Reinhard G. Kratz and Joachim Schaper, FRLANT 277 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 185–202.

115. ἐλευθερία ("freedom") is the equivalent of a *hapax legomenon* חֻפְשָׁה ("freedom") in Lev 19:20.

116. J. Schneider, "ἔρχομαι," *TDNT* 2: 666–84. As the usage in the papyri, ἐπέρχομαι is often used of "the obscure and oppressive evils which come on men."

διακρατοῦσιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων,[117] 51. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ δοθῆναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τάλαντα εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ οἰκοδομηθῆναι, 52. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ὁλοκαυτώματα καρποῦσθαι καθ' ἡμέραν, καθὰ ἔχουσιν ἐντολὴν ἑπτακαίδεκα[118] προσφέρειν, ἄλλα τάλαντα δέκα κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, 53. καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς προσβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας κτίσαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπάρχειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τοῖς προσβαίνουσιν. 54. ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολήν, ἐν τίνι λατρεύουσιν ἐν αὐτῇ. 55. καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις ἔγραψεν δοῦναι τὴν χορηγίαν ἕως ἧς ἡμέρας ἐπιτελεσθῇ ὁ οἶκος καὶ Ἰερουσαλὴμ οἰκοδομηθῆναι, 56. καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς φρουροῦσιν[119] τὴν πόλιν, ἔγραψεν δοῦναι αὐτοῖς κλήρους καὶ ὀψώνια. 57. καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν πάντα τὰ σκεύη, ἃ ἐξεχώρισεν Κῦρος ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· καὶ πάντα, ὅσα εἶπεν Κῦρος ποιῆσαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπέταξεν ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐξαποστεῖλαι εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ.	was built, 52. and an additional ten talents a year for burnt offerings to be offered on the altar every day, in accordance with the commandment they have to offer seventeen, 53. and that all who come from Babylon to build the city should have freedom, both they and their children and all the priests who come. 54. He wrote also about the expenses and the priestly vestments which they were to serve in. 55. And he wrote that the expenses for the Levites should be given until the day when the house would be completed and Jerusalem built. 56. and he wrote that all who guarded the city should be given to them a portion of land and wages. 57. and he sent back from Babylon all the vessels that Cyrus had set apart, and everything that Cyrus said to be done, he himself commanded to be done and to be sent to Jerusalem.
1 Esd 4:58–63 — Zerubbabel's Prayer and Rejoicing in Babylon[120]	
58. Καὶ ὅτε ἐξῆλθεν ὁ νεανίσκος, ἄρας τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐναντίον Ἰερουσαλὴμ εὐλόγησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγων 59. Παρὰ σοῦ τὸ νῖκος, καὶ παρὰ σοῦ ἡ σοφία, καὶ σὴ ἡ δόξα[121], καὶ ἐγὼ σὸς οἰκέτης. 60. εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὃς ἔδωκάς μοι σοφίαν· καὶ σοὶ ὁμολογῶ, δέσποτα τῶν πατέρων. 61. καὶ ἔλαβεν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ πᾶσιν. 62. καὶ εὐλόγησαν τὸν θεὸν τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσιν καὶ ἄφεσιν 63. ἀναβῆναι καὶ οἰκοδομῆσαι Ἰερουσαλὴμ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, οὗ ὠνομάσθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ	4:58. And when the young man went out, he lifted up his face to heaven towards Jerusalem, and praised the King of heaven, saying, 59. "From you comes victory, and from you comes wisdom, and yours is the glory. And I am your domestic servant. 60. Praised are you, who have granted me wisdom, and you I acknowledge, Master of (our) fathers." 61. And he took the letters and went out to Babylon and announced to all his brothers. 62. And they praised the God of their fathers, because he had given them permission and release 63. to go up and build Jerusalem and the Temple where his name is named on it, and they drank

117. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 232. This verse corresponds to 1 Macc 11:28 and 11:34–5, which describes Jonathan's plea to Demetrius to exemption from tribute and Demetrius's allowance.

118. Ibid., 235; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 185. The number of seventeen is inexplicable. The L-text omits the number. While Bird considers that this *lectio difficilior* could be original, Talshir suggests that twelve rather than seventeen would be more appropriate (cf. 7:8 and 8:63).

119. This word appears only in the Apocrypha; 1 Esd 4:56, Jdt 3:6, and Wis 17:15.

120. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 238–9. This section alludes to 1 Chr 29:10–13 and Dan 2:20 and 23. This allusion implies that the author of the story could write in Semitic Greek *without Vorlage*. The author may have learnt this style of prayer from other texts in Hebrew or Greek.

121. Unlike the usage of δόξα in 4:17, δόξα in Zerubbabel's prayer means "glory" (cf. note 91).

ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκωθωνίζοντο[122] μετὰ μουσικῶν[123] καὶ χαρᾶς ἡμέρας ἑπτά.	hard with music and rejoicing, for seven days.
1 Esd 5:1–6 — Preparations for the Journey[124]	
5:1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐξελέγησαν ἀναβῆναι ἀρχηγοὶ οἴκου πατριῶν κατὰ φυλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ παιδίσκαι καὶ τὰ κτήνη αὐτῶν. 2. καὶ Δαρεῖος συναπέστειλεν μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἱππεῖς χιλίους ἕως τοῦ ἀποκαταστῆσαι αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ μετ᾽ εἰρήνης καὶ μετὰ μουσικῶν, τυμπάνων καὶ αὐλῶν· 3. καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν παίζοντες,[125] καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς συναναβῆναι μετ᾽ ἐκείνων. 4. Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀναβαινόντων κατὰ πατριὰς αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἐπὶ τὴν μεριδαρχίαν[126] αὐτῶν. 5. οἱ ἱερεῖς υἱοὶ Φινεὲς υἱοῦ Ἀαρών· Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ἰωσεδὲκ τοῦ Σαραίου καὶ Ἰωακεὶμ[127] ὁ τοῦ Ζοροβαβὲλ τοῦ Σαλαθιὴλ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Δαυὶδ ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς Φάρες, φυλῆς δὲ Ἰούδα, 6. ὃς ἐλάλησεν ἐπὶ Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν λόγους σοφοὺς ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ μηνὶ Νισὰν τοῦ πρώτου μηνός.	5:1. And after these things the leaders of the ancestral houses were chosen to go up, according to their tribes, and their wives and sons and daughters, and their menservants and maidservants, and their livestock. 2. And Darius sent with them a thousand cavalry until they were restored to Jerusalem in peace, and with the music of drums and flutes. 3. And all their brothers were making merry, and he made them go up with them. 4. And these are the names of the men who went up, according to their paternal ancestry, for the tribes, over their groups. 5. The priests, sons of Phinees son of Aaron; Iesous the son of Iosedek the son of Saraias and Ioakeim the son of Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, from the house of Dauid, of the lineage of Phares and of the tribe of Ioudas, 6. who spoke to Darius the King of the Persians wise words, in the second year of his reign, in the month of Nisan, the first month.

122. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 102. Apart from 1 Esd 4:63, this word is attested in Esth 3:15.

123. Ibid., "The word μουσικά can be read here in 4:63, as in 5:57, to mean musical instruments or, if interpreted as masculine, "musicians" (μουσικοί), but in parallel to joyful feasting the idea is probably musical performance."

124. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 244–51. As Talshir pointed out, this section should be included in the story of the Three Bodyguards and may function to the bridge between the story and the rest of Ezra., especially with Ezra 2.

125. Ibid., 248. The celebrating scene in 1 Esd 5:2–3 echoes 2 Sam 6:5

126. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 29. μεριδαρχία "was used in a technical sense by the Ptolemaic and Seleucid administrations for a territorial unit, the sub-district of a province (Schalit, *Herodes*, 194)."

127. Ibid., 110. Joiakim (or Joiakin) as a son of Zerubbabel is not known, but as son of Jeshua (cf. Neh 12:10, 12, 26). While, in 1 Esd 5:6, it is obvious that the relative pronoun ὅς (mas, sing, nom) indicates Zerubbabel, Ζοροβαβέλ in 5:5 is genitive. Böhler suggests two possible scenarios. First, it could be a defective form of Neh 12:26 through a copying error (cf. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 250). Second, "as the Greek text now stands, Ιωακειμ is a son of Zerubbabel, named after his great-grandfather Jehoiachin" (Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 110).

2.2.2. Narrative of the Story of the Three Bodyguard

Five rhetorical speeches by the three bodyguards are framed in a narrative that describes the context and the result of a contest. So, before conducting a rhetorical analysis of the speeches, the understanding of the plot in the narrative is crucial not only for recognising the *stases* and genres of the speeches and grasping the significance of the rhetorical features in the speeches, but also for understanding the nature and character of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

After an account that related how the construction work of the Jews on the Temple and the city of Jerusalem was halted from the period of King Artaxerxes to the second year of King Darius (1 Esd 2:15–25), the story of the Three Bodyguards begins with the banquet scene (3:1–3).

A rhetorical contest had been planned by, and took place between, three bodyguards (1 Esd 3:5a). The purpose of the contest was to find the wisest speech (λόγος) – that is, the argument which demonstrated what was superior. The wise man who was able to demonstrate which entity was the strongest would be granted royal gifts (3:5b–6) and designated the συγγενής ("kinsman") of Darius (3:7). The reward was, as such, not only the acquisition of wealth, honour, and political power, but also the formation of an intimate bond with Darius (cf. καταφιλέω in 1 Esd 4:47). In accordance with the rules of the contest, the three bodyguards wrote their own statements and placed them under the pillow (or a treasure-chamber) of Darius. Their topics were wine, a king, and "women and truth" (3:8–12). After waking, King Darius summoned all the nobles and rulers of Persia and Media and held the contest (3:13–16a).[128]

128. For the question how they placed the statements under the pillow of Darius, see note 70.

Table 2.1. Overall Structure of the Speeches in the Contest

	Speech	Scope	Structure		Stasis	Genre
1	The speech of the first bodyguard	3:16b	Opening Marker	Speech of the first orator	To be the winner of the contest	Epideictic
		3:17–23a	Content	Superiority of wine		
		3:23b	Closing Marker	Silence of the first orator		
2	The speech of the second bodyguard	4:1	Opening Marker	Speech of the second orator	To be the winner of the contest	Epideictic
		4:2–12a	Content	superiority of king		
		4:12b	Closing Marker	Silence of the second orator		
3	Zerubbabel's first speech (Third speech)	4:13b	Opening Marker	First Speech of Zerubbabel	To be the winner of the contest	Epideictic
		4:14–32	Content	Superiority of women		
*	Audience's Response	4:33a	Narrative Interjection			
4	Zerubbabel's second speech (Fourth speech)	4:33b	Opening Marker	Second Speech of Zerubbabel	To be the winner of the contest / To prepare his third speech	Epideictic
		4:34–40	Content	Superiority of truth		
		4:41a	Closing Marker	Silence of Zerubbabel		
*	Audience's Response	4:41b–42	Narrative Interjection			
5	Zerubbabel's third speech (Fifth speech)	4:43a	Opening Marker	Third Speech of Zerubbabel	To obtain permission to rebuild the Temple	Deliberative
		4:43b–46	Content	Zerubbabel's entreaty		

Table 2.1 shows the overall structure of the speeches. Three orators demonstrate their own topic (wine, a king, and "women and truth"), and two narrative interjections are detected (4:33a and 4:41b–42). The contest begins with epideictic speech but ends with Zerubbabel's entreaty in his third speech. Although the contest assures the winner of the king's reward (4:41b–42), Zerubbabel does not request it. Instead, he recalls the vow to rebuild the Temple (4:43–46).

After the five consecutive speeches, the narrative continues with the description of the decree of King Darius, who favourably responds to Zerubbabel's plea (4:47–57). Darius

dispatches a letter allowing the rebuilding work of the Temple and the city of Jerusalem and promising support with various resources needed for the work. Zerubbabel glorifies the King of Heaven, who gave Zerubbabel wisdom in the contest (4:58–60), and he visits his kindred in Babylon to announce Darius's letter (4:61–62). The story of the Three Bodyguards ends with a description of joyful celebration (4:63), a list of the chosen people for repatriation, Darius's farewell (5:1–3), and the lists of the leaders (5:4–6). A more detailed list of returnees follows in 5:7–45 (Ezra 2:1–70).

As far as the broader narrative is concerned, the main purpose of the story is to describe how the rebuilding work was resumed through Zerubbabel's active participation in the contest. This plot is a hermeneutical clue for understanding the interconnectedness of the five speeches and for grasping the significance of the shifts in *stasis* and genre and the transition in the *ethos* of Zerubbabel (see 3.3 and 3.6). In addition, several conceptual frames – a banquet scene, a rhetorical contest, and the story of a successful Jewish hero in the court of a gentile king – strongly hint at a fundamental interpretative framework for understanding rhetorical aspects of the speeches. After I discuss the textual and exegetical issues of the speeches, these frameworks will be discussed thoroughly in 2.4.2.

2.3. Textual Analysis

2.3.1. Speech of the First Bodyguard

The first bodyguard commences his oration with a direct and respectful address – Ἄνδρες – thereby drawing the audience's positive attention to his speech. The rhetorical question that he uses in 3:17a serves to introduce his main topic: the superiority of wine. In 3:17b–22, his main point in praise of the power of wine is clear: because it has the capacity to considerably affect the mind of anyone who drinks it, wine is superior.

The first bodyguard presents several phenomena in order to illustrate the ways in which wine influences the mind. The consumption of wine alters the thought-processes of whoever does so (v. 17b). The effects of wine eradicate one's perception of differences in social status among those around (v. 18). Wine can also evoke feelings of joviality (vv. 19–20a). In contrast, though, wine also has the ability to provoke violence among those who consume it (v. 21). Forgetfulness may also be induced by the consumption of wine (vv. 19–22).

By using the present tense when listing these verbs – πλανάω, ποιέω, and μεταστρέφω – the first bodyguard foregrounds the gnomic (or generic) sense of his statements. In turn, these bolster his vivid portrayal of the superiority of wine.[129] In addition, in repeating the verb μιμνῄσκομαι, the first bodyguard emphasises the forgetfulness that can be caused by the consumption of wine, thereby encouraging the audience to recognise the negative power of the beverage. In his concluding remarks (v. 23), he makes his appeal personal, emphasising the superiority of wine by repeating a direct address with the vocative particle ὦ and articulating a rhetorical question.[130]

In this speech, the first bodyguard communicates his main idea clearly and conveys a lucid rationale. However, it is necessary to clarify two exegetical issues. First, we must ascertain the meaning of διὰ ταλάντων in v. 20. The prepositional phrase διὰ ταλάντων does not appear in the LXX – not even in the TLG Statistics. As Talshir points out, the phrase's meaning is a matter of conjecture.[131] If we understand the exceptional prepositional phrase διὰ ταλάντων to mean "in large sums of money (NETS)," v. 20c may mean that "wine leads to boastful exaggeration."[132] In addition, the meaning of v. 20c can be clarified by reading it

129. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 159.

130. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 158–9; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 156–9; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 86–7.

131. Talshir suggests that the translator's Aramaic *Vorlage* would be רברבן ("arrogantly"; e.g., Dan 7:8, 20) rather than בככרין ("in talents"). See Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 167.

132. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 158.

in relation to v. 20b. Given that the king was the source of τάλαντον,[133] v. 20 means that wine makes people forget about the origins of their wealth. On the one hand, bragging about money while forgetting its source implies arrogant attitude on the part of such people. On the other hand, it is ridiculous that people boastfully talk about vast sums of money in the place from which it originates, the palace: even the prize in this particular contest is being offered by the king.

Furthermore, if διά is translated as "by, through, or because of," it means that the drunkards talk for the sake of money. This may reflect the motives of the first bodyguard himself, who speaks at the banquet in order to secure a large amount of money. In other words, his oration *itself* constitutes evidence of wine's superiority; his conduct is being influenced by wine. If the audience understands this kind of nuance in διὰ ταλάντων, it may evoke feelings of humour among the audience.

The second exegetical issue that we must consider is the fact that the nominative form of οἶνος in 1 Esd 3:17a does not appear until the end of the speech. In particular, the subject of μιμνῄσκομαι in vv. 21–22 is a contested one.[134] Most commentators connect the subject of the singular verb μιμνῄσκομαι with the subject of the ὅταν clause in vv. 21–22.[135] The verse follows a complementary structure: "They do not remember, when they drink" (v. 21); "when they recover from wine, they do not remember" (v. 22). Although a subject pronoun would make the meaning of the sentence more explicit and comprehensible, the subject may be διάνοια. The subjects of dependent and independent clauses are not necessarily the same. In 1 Esd 3:9, for instance, the subject of the ὅταν clause does not correspond to the subject of the main clause.

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133. 1 Esd 4:51; 8:19, 56. Cf. *Let. Aris*, 294.

134. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 76. While the plural form appears in some manuscripts, Hanhart follows the B-text by using the singular form of μιμνῄσκομαι.

135. Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 46; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 167; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 55; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 86; André Canessa, "Études sur la Bible grecque des Septante: 1 Esdras," (PhD diss., Université de Provence, 1997), 97.

The subject in 1 Esd 3:19a is obviously οἶνος, the personified wine, following the preceding subject in vv. 17–18. In v. 19b, καί could signify a result that comes from what precedes. So, v. 19 implies the forgetfulness of the mind affected by wine. Likewise, v. 20a presents the action of wine and v. 20b describes the result of drinking wine – the forgetfulness of the mind. The subject of the verb μιμνήσκομαι, διάνοια in vv. 19b and 20b, is sustained throughout vv. 21–22.[136] Furthermore, in the context in which the first orator of the rhetorical contest speaks, it seems likely that the forgetfulness of the mind is employed as a rhetorical topic so as to underscore the power of wine (see 4.2.2).[137]

2.3.2. Speech of the Second Bodyguard

After the narrator has introduced the second speaker (1 Esd 4:1), the speech of the second bodyguard begins with a direct address – Ἄνδρες" – and a rhetorical question (v. 2) – just like the speech of the first bodyguard. Unlike the previous speaker, however, the second speaker attracts the audience's attention by adopting a respectful tone and using the vocative particle ὦ (cf. 3:17a). While the premise is absent from the preceding speech, the interrogation in v. 2 functions as a premise for the speaker's main thesis in v. 3, rather than constituting the presentation of the thesis itself.

In 4:3, the speaker states his main argument – namely, that the king is the most superior of all individuals because – by means of the obedience that he commands – the king controls sovereign humans who, in turn, exercise power over their world. In vv. 4–6, the king's dominance has the power to prompt and determine the outcome of human warfare and agrarian labour. As such, the speaker's implication is that both what leads to death (war) and

136. The personified subject of the verbs שׁכח and זכר is attested in the MT (e.g., Ps 22:27; Lam 1:7; Job 24:20).

137. The personification also appears in Zerubbabel's first and second speech about land and truth.

what promotes life (agriculture) belong to the king.[138] No one can escape from the influence of the king, or their duty to obey the king.[139]

This sense of the king's power is intensified by his clear univocity (v. 7a). The series of activities that may be induced and influenced by the king's command – whether belligerent and destructive, or peaceful and constructive actions – are highlighted once more in vv. 7b–9. The king's superiority is apparent not only from his sheer force – which demands obligatory deeds of humans – but also from his authority: he has the ability to determine when particular events and acts should occur or transpire. The king's power is such that his will is influential and, indeed, authoritative, even in his absence (vv. 10–11).[140] The second bodyguard concludes his speech by repeating a direct address and an interrogative, (v. 12). In this concluding part, the *hapax legomenon* ἐπακουστός implicitly refers to the climactic speech of Zerubbabel, which amplifies the authority and power of the king by emphasising the obedience accorded to the king.

The salient rhetorical feature in this speech is the recurrent syntactical style of a succession of conditional clauses with ἐάν in vv. 3–9. The speaker presents a variety of typical, hypothetical situations so as to reflect "the full weight of royal command"[141], thereby attesting to the king's superiority. The main thesis and the constituent reasons and examples on which it is predicated are conveyed clearly and convincingly by means of the repetitive style of speech.

Before analysing the speech, I shall proceed to clarify one textual issue. In v. 7a, the B-text contains ει instead of εἷς, thus reading: "if he is only a man" rather than "he is only one man!" However, in vv. 7b–9, the speaker's use of the subjunctive mood may constitute an assertion of the king's uniqueness rather than a reflection of the condition of his

138. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 160.
139. Ibid., 163.
140. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 88.
141. Crenshaw, "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," 231.

humanity.[142] Following Hanhart, I interpret εἷς as the middle component of the speech; v. 7a functions as a manifestation of the thesis of the second bodyguard.

2.3.3. First Speech of Zerubbabel

Following the speech of the second orator in 1 Esd 4:13, the narrator introduces the third bodyguard and his topics: namely, women and truth. As with the preceding speeches, Zerubbabel opens his speech with a direct address – Ἄνδρες – and several rhetorical questions. In contrast to the earlier orators, though – who begin their speeches by explicitly setting forth their main themes (cf. vv. 3:17 and 4:2–3) – Zerubbabel commences his first speech by using rhetorical questions (v. 14a) to prepare a succinct refutation of the former theses (v. 14b). By adopting the paired verbs δεσπόζω ("to be master") and κυριεύω ("to rule") that were previously used by the second orator (v. 4:3), Zerubbabel argues for the superiority of women over against a king in v. 14b. In a monarchic society, this would be an unexpected and counterfactual argument. However, Zerubbabel's rhetorical skill is able to evoke humour among the audience (see 3.5.2).

The body of the speech consists of three parts: vv. 14b–22a, vv. 22b–27 and vv. 28–31. Rhetorical questions in v. 14b, v. 22b and v. 28 constitute helpful dividing markers in the speech, separating it into three paragraphs and signposting the content of each section. In the first section – marked by an *inclusio* of the verb κυριεύω at vv. 14b and 22a – Zerubbabel outlines his rationale for asserting that women are superior to the king, to men and to wine. Specifically, he explains that women are the original source of kingship, men, and wine (vv. 15–16). Men rely on women for their daily needs, their reputations, and their very existence (v. 17); men are infatuated with women (vv. 18–19), going as far as to forsake their kin and country for them (vv. 20–21). An especially overt allusion to Gen 2:24 can be found in vv.

142. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 78.

20–21. The first section concludes with direct speech, articulated *to* the audience, in which Zerubbabel affirms the superiority of women (v. 22a).

In the second section of this speech (vv. 22b–27), Zerubbabel expands on his rationale by providing additional examples of how infatuated men behave on account of women. Men are, he suggests, inclined to commit banditry and piracy for the sake of women (vv. 23–24), to love women rather than their parents (v. 25), to lose their minds or become enslaved (v. 26) and to commit wrongdoing (v. 27).[143] In the third section (vv. 28–31), which begins with a self-reflective question in v. 28a, Zerubbabel gives an eyewitness account of how the infatuated king conducted himself before Apame who was sitting beside the king (vv. 29–31).

In Zerubbabel's speech, Apame exhibits a thoroughly disrespectful attitude towards the king by taking the diadem and slapping him (v. 30). Zerubbabel emphasises that the king is enslaved by his love for Apame (v. 31). After outlining extended arguments, Zerubbabel ends his first speech with a rhetorical question (v. 32) – just as the preceding orators had done.

One textual issue should be clarified. With regard to 4:14a, Torrey argues that the Aramaic equivalent of πολλοί would be רברבין ("great"; cf. Dan 3:33).[144] As Torrey points out, the original meaning of 4:14a, echoed by 4:2, could be "are not men mighty?" Talshir also maintains that "it [πολλοὶ] must be a mistranslation of an Aramaic word that carries the meaning of both 'many' and 'strong', such as שגיאין."[145] However, if we accept the proposed meaning, "men are many" (4:14a) refutes the proclamation of the second bodyguard regarding the univocity of the king in 4:7a. Zerubbabel argues that a king, ruling over people, is far from unique – for there are many kings in the world. The king is but one of many men.

143. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 171.

144. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 24.

145. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra, IX*; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 82; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 189. If the original meaning was "are not men mighty?", it would be possible that the Aramaic phrase "גִּבָּרִין גִּיבָּרִין" was corrupted to "גִּבָּרִין רַבָּרְבִין".

2.3.4. Second Speech of Zerubbabel

The narrative interjection (4:33), which describes the reaction of the audience, follows the first speech of Zerubbabel. This reaction connotes multiple implications. First, a consternated reaction might imply that Zerubbabel had convincingly proven the superiority of women rather than wine or a king. Second, the audience may be curious as to why Zerubbabel continues his speech, even though he had already performed well enough to be the winner of the contest.[146] Third, the reaction may connote that the audience is embarrassed by Zerubbabel's account – the anecdote of Apame, which could be considered as deprecating the authority of the king. Although the exact intention of the reaction is unknown, this narrative interjection represents the audience's focus on Zerubbabel's second speech and also causes the readers/listeners to focus on Zerubbabel's second speech. As with his first speech, Zerubbabel begins with a direct address ("Ἄνδρες"). A rhetorical question (v. 34a) reminds the audience of his first thesis and thereby prepares for his second thesis, the superiority of truth.

Zerubbabel highlights cosmological phenomena of the earth, heaven, and the sun (v. 34b). The rhetorical question in v. 35a uses a logic of comparison in which Zerubbabel argues that the masculine subject (the creator) who made the cosmic order is greater than the astronomical entities. Comparison is the key to understanding the following verses.

After introducing his speech in this way (vv. 34–35a), Zerubbabel begins to talk about the superiority of truth. In v. 35b, Zerubbabel elucidates his thesis – the greatness of truth. In v. 36a–36b, by using comparison, Zerubbabel supports his thesis: Truth is great and strong because the great earth and heaven honour truth. In v. 36d, as commentators have pointed out, μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ is *lectio difficilior*. It may refer to the masculine subject in v. 35a. So, in v.

146. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 173.

36, Zerubbabel argues that truth is comparable with the masculine subject (the creator) and is superior to earth and heaven (the controversial issue in v. 36; see below).

In v. 37, Zerubbabel refutes the former theses, including his first speech, by focusing on unrighteous and perishable nature. In contrast, Zerubbabel elaborates the permanent and righteous character of truth in vv. 38–40b. Truth is permanent (v. 38); it has no partiality, but is just (v. 39a); its capacity to please all is righteous (v. 39b); its judgement is impartial (v. 40a). In the climactic portion of this speech, Zerubbabel demonstrates that truth possesses strength, kingship, authority, and majesty (v. 40b). Zerubbabel concludes his second speech with a doxology (v. 40c).

Unlike his former speech, in which the description is clear and explicit, Zerubbabel's second speech contains several elusive and ambiguous expressions. One of the most crucial interpretive issues is to discern the subject that Zerubbabel praises in his second speech: Is it truth or God? This question requires understanding two obscure expressions in v. 35a and 36d and the genitive construction in v. 40c. What is the masculine subject in the rhetorical question in v. 35a? What does the masculine pronoun μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ (v. 36d) refer to?

First, the masculine subject in v. 35a may refer to God the Creator, the king of heaven (e.g., 1 Esd 4:58). A. Hilhorst argues, "This clearly cannot be God; instead, the rhetorical question simply aims at the subject mentioned just before, namely the sun; ταῦτα refers to its daily tour, and ποιεῖ is 'does, achieves.'"[147] In this understanding, the following καί of v. 35a may be understood in a contrastive sense. So, v. 35a may mean that "is the sun not great which does these things? But truth is great…" However, Talshir explains, "It is possible, however, that the text does not intend a contrast at all. The question may refer to God as the creator of earth and heaven and sun…"[148] It is obvious that v. 34b describes the motion of

147. Hilhorst, "The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41," 139.
148. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 212.

the sun. However, the main point of v. 34b is the *continuation* of the mobility, not the achievement or commencement of the mobility. In addition, Josephus interprets the active subject of ποιεῖ not as the sun, but as the other entity, God.[149]

Second, it is hard to find a definite answer to the problematic prepositional phrase, μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ in v. 36d. Some manuscripts (e.g., Codex Venetus) read a feminine pronoun, αυτης for ἀλήθεια.[150] While some scholars have argued that God is the veiled subject in those verses,[151] others have argued against that understanding.[152] Hilhorst summarises two possible scenarios for understanding this phrase.

> The fact of the matter is that two readings have been transmitted, αὐτοῦ and αὐτῆς, referring to God and truth respectively; whereas the first reading has better manuscript authority, the second fits the context much better. Both readings, I suspect, were susceptible to alteration. If αὐτοῦ was original, as a *lectio difficilior* it might easily change into αὐτῆς. If, however αὐτῆς was original, some scribe, who might have read a reference to God into the rhetorical question of the previous verse (and as we shall see, there have been such interpretations), might have lingered on this idea and thus, consciously or absent-mindedly, written αὐτοῦ.[153]

Although I prefer the masculine pronoun to the feminine one, this preference is not essential to my thesis.[154] Importantly, the significance of the *lectio difficilior* is not

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149. Josephus, *Ant*. 11.55. καὶ ταχὺς ὁ ἥλιος, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κινεῖται κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀληθινὸς δέ ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιος (“and the course of the sun swift, yet are all these moved according to the will of God, who is true and righteous”).

150. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 82.

151. Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra*, 45; Bird, *1 Esdras*, 175–7.

152. Hilhorst, “The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41,” 138–40; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 93–4.

153. Hilhorst, “The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41,” 139. Torrey argues that “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 ὃς ταῦτα ποιεῖ; in the preceding verse” (Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 55). Talshir suggests that “the masculine pronoun may have resulted from an automatic translation of עמה referring to קשט [קושטא, truth], masculine in Aramaic” (Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 213). However, as I mentioned earlier (see 1.4.1), without a Semitic *Vorlage* of the story, Talshir’s suggestion that the textual variance could be understood as a translation error is not convincing. Robert Hanhart argues that the feminine form in the manuscript is secondary. See his, “Zu Text und Textgeschichte des ersten Esrabuches,” in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 13-19 August, 1973, under the Auspices of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, ed. Avigdor Shin’an (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977), 209.

154. I suggest that the implicit subject of μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ is God. In v. 36c, the plural noun ἔργα is related to ταῦτα ποιεῖ in v. 35a. It means that the agent of πάντα τὰ ἔργα may be the masculine subject – God. In addition, in the LXX, the verb σείω (“to shake”) usually occurs with γῆ (“land or earth”), and most verses that

influenced by the form of the pronoun. Readers or listeners could interpret either form (αὐτοῦ or αὐτῆς) as reference to God on the basis of context.

It is clear that Zerubbabel praises truth in his second speech. So, why does Zerubbabel refer to God implicitly (vv. 35–36) and explicitly (v. 40c)? One may argue, as Bird does, that the doxology in v. 40c may be "merely an extension of v. 40ab which lists qualities that are all capable of being predicated of God (strength, kingship, authority, and majesty, not to mention the Semitism of 'from age to age')."[155] However, I argue that it is not a mere extension or a secondary interpolation. Its significance should be understood in relationship to his final speech. Introducing the deity *before* Zerubbabel's deliberative speech is a very effective way to persuade Darius. I will thoroughly discuss this subtle rhetorical choice in 3.2.

2.3.5. Third Speech of Zerubbabel

When compared with the other four speeches, Zerubbabel's third speech – comprising only four verses – is extremely concise. Both its main message and its structure are simple and lucid.

Zerubbabel's third speech begins with a plea. Unlike the other four speeches (e.g., 1 Esd 3:17; 4:2; 4:14; 4:34), it does not open with a direct address, such as Ἄνδρες. An argument that Zerubbabel utilises to persuade Darius is a clear: "Please remember (i.e., fulfil) your vow" (4:43). Zerubbabel employs external sources (namely, the vows of Cyrus and

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describe the earth shaking affirm that YHWH is the origin of the power shaking the earth (Judg. 5:4; 2 Sam. 22:8; 1 Mac. 1:28; Psa. 67:9; Prov. 30:21; Joel 2:10; 4:16; Hag. 2:6, 21; Is. 13:13; 14:16; 24:18, 20; Jer. 8:16; 27:46 [50:46]; 28:29 [51:29]; 30:15 [49:21]; Dan. 2:40). This is especially seen in Hag 2:21 (cf. 2:6), where YHWH delivers His word to Zerubbabel through the prophet Haggai: "I [YHWH] am about to shake (σείω) the heaven (οὐρανός) and the earth (γῆ)." This suggests that the subject – God– is hidden in vv. 35–36. Bird also argues, "While truth is the main theme of the speech, God is the encoded subtext embedded within the discourse and it is no surprise that the audience praises the main apparent theme of the speech, truth, instead of its cryptic referent, God" (Bird, *1 Esdras*, 176).

155. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 176. Torrey and Rudolph also consider the doxology as a secondary insertion. See Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 56. note f; Hilhorst, "The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41," 139.

Darius) as the evidence to support his argument. Zerubbabel firstly describes Darius's vow: its stipulations and the context in which the vow was made. Then, he asserts that Cyrus made a similar vow. After Zerubbabel once again explains the commitments that Darius's vow inherits from Cyrus's vow,[156] he concludes the third speech by reminding Darius of his entreaty and by appealing to Darius's emotions.

While both the message and the principles of the speech are straightforward, Zerubbabel's narration of past events is, in contrast, quite vague, even to the extent that it causes confusion for readers. Although Zerubbabel's third speech raises several questions, I will show how the vague accounts that are presented effectively serve to reveal the purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

1. What is the rhetorical force in the repeated words εὔχομαι and εὐχή in 1 Esd 4:43 and 46? (See 4.6.1)
2. When did Darius make the vow? Was it before the commencement of his succession to the kingship or was it, rather, on the very day on which he became king? How might 1 Esdras itself or other biblical or apocryphal books shed light on this partiuclar vow? (See 3.4.3.2)
3. Why did Zerubbabel mention the Idumeans? (See 4.7.2.1)
4. What is the significance of the qualification that Cyrus "excluded the vessels"? (See 4.7.2.2)
5. Who was Darius's predecessor? First Esdras 2:19–25 indicates that Artaxerxes was the predecessor of Darius.[157] If the "Darius" referenced in 1 Esdras designates Darius II, then there is no internal contradiction. However, the book of Ezra and 1 Esdras describe

156. While Darius's promise in 1 Esd 4:42 is about the reward of the contest, Darius's vow in 1 Esd 4:43 is related to Darius's coronation vow (see 4.6.1).

157. Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2007), 879. Abridged genealogy: Cyrus II the Great (559–530) → Darius I (522–486) → Xerxes (486–465) → Artaxerxes I (465–424/3) → Darius II (423–405) → Artaxerxes II (405–359)

past events as transpiring under the rule of Darius I. In the period of Darius II, Zerubbabel might have died or retired from his work as a bodyguard. This question should be understood by examining the location of 1 Esd 2:15–25 (Ezra 4:7–24), which is the major difference between Ezra and 1 Esdras. So, what is the significance of the placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25? To what extent is it compatible with the literary features and message of the story of the Three Bodyguards? (See 5.3.2)

Above, I discussed textual and exegetical issues in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 and suggested my solutions, which are prerequisite to analysing the speeches according to theories of classical rhetoric and to discovering the distinct rhetorical features derived from the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint. Based on this analysis, in the next part, I discuss the original language and the literary nature and character of the story of the three bodyguards.

2.4. Language and Nature of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

2.4.1. Language of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

In 1.4.1, I presented the linguistic feature of 1 Esdras based on Talshir's works. She argues

> Our examination of the translation technique employed in 1 Esd shows that we are dealing with a creative translator who sought to adapt the language of his Vorlage to the structure of the target-language, and who endeavoured to present the 'Greek' reader with a pleasant and lucid reading experience.[158]

This explanation implies that the language of the story possesses linguistic features of *both* Greek showing Hebrew interference and idiomatic (or eloquent) Greek. This midway position of the language is also attested in the story of the Three Bodyguards. In Table 2.2, I summarised the linguistic features of the story that I found in 2.2.1.

158. Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 247.

Table 2.2. Expressions of Idiomatic and Greek showing Hebrew interference

	Idiomatic Greek	Greek showing Hebrew interference
Lexeme	• κοιτών, κοιμάω, and ἔξυπνος in 3:3 • χρηματιστήριον in 3:14 • διάνοια in 3:19[159] • δόξα in 4:17[160] • εὐλογέω in 4:36 • σείω with τρέμω in 4:36 • ἀφίημι with ψυχή in 4:21	• πλανάω caused by οἶνος in 3:17 (see 4.2.1) • παραβαίνω with λόγος in 4:5 (see 4.3.2) • The combination of adjective and noun – καλός and εἶδος in 4:18 (see 4.4.2) • λαμβάνω with πρόσωπον in 4:39 • A cognate construction of εὔχομαι and εὐχή in 4:43 (see 4.6.1) • δόξα in 4:17 and 4:59
Conjunction[161]	δέ (14 times) (cf. 55 times in 1 Esdras / 4 times in 2 Esdras)	ὅτι (7 times) / γάρ (none)

With respect to the writer's abilities employing *both* Greek showing Hebrew interference and idiomatic Greek, must we assume that the story was translated? In the absence of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the story, it is quite plausible that the story was written by a bilingual author.

The question remains open: Why did the author employ this kind of mixed Greek? First, Greek may not have been the first language of the author. In which case, the mixed Greek would not have been intentional but would have arisen from his lack of ability to use an elegant Greek. Second, the author may have wanted to display his knowledge of Greek culture or the excellence of Greek literature. However, some locutions in Table 2.2 (e.g., πλανάω caused by οἶνος and παραβαίνω with λόγος or λαμβάνω with πρόσωπον) are atypical in the Greek of the second or first century BCE. The use of *translationese* (a non-conventional word) is not appropriate for an author who admires Greek culture and literature.

159. See note 76.

160. See note 91.

161. δέ and γάρ are frequent in the books originally written in Greek, though δέ is also found in the translated books (e.g., Pentateuch, especially Genesis). ὅτι, which reflects כי *causale*, is more frequent in the translated books.

Third, the author may deliberately have used Greek showing Hebrew interference to "lend his composition the weight, air, and authority of a biblical work."[162] Although I also think that the author intentionally employed Greek showing Hebrew interference to make it more biblical or at least more conventionally religious in tone, there is no reason for the composer of a biblical book to ornament a composition with Greek showing Hebrew interference as this decision would not serve to elevate the status of the book in any meaningful way.

I suggest that the author deliberately employed the mixed Greek that we see in the speeches. This linguistic feature of the story highlights the author's compositional choices – selectively and purposefully employing Greek showing Hebrew interference and other styles for allusion and effect. We can discern some possible intentions. First, it may have been for rhetorical allusion – that is, to convey rhetorical force to readers/listeners who are familiar with Hebraic Greek or who are able to associate the Greek with the Hebrew Bible. Second, the midway position between two Greek styles represents the author's moderate stance towards a polarising social phenomenon. In later chapters, I will discuss the author's harmonising or reconciling tendencies. The author, who wrote the biblical story from his own position, did not use the language (vocabulary, idiom, or syntax) haphazardly. His thought or theology cannot be detached from the language. So, we may plausibly understand the ideology of the speeches as being the integration – not dichotomising – of Greek and Jewish

162. Deborah Levine Gera, *Judith*, CEJL (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 83. The issue of the original language of the story of the Three Bodyguards is comparable with the issue in the book of Judith. Gera's statement occurs in her discussion of Judith as a work originally written in Greek, but I believe it could equally apply to a Greek origin for the story of the Three Bodyguards. Gera also argues that "What is clear is that the author of Judith was well acquainted with Greek literature, in addition to having a thorough knowledge of the Bible. When deciding between a Hebrew original and a Greek original for the book of Judith, we must also decide between a Hebrew-speaking Jew who was conversant with Greek culture and a Greek-speaking Jew who was well acquainted with the Bible." See Deborah Levine Gera, "Speech in the Book of Judith," in *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 413–23 (422).

rhetorical aspects. So, for these reasons, I develop my argument in the following chapters based on the presupposition that the story was originally written in Greek.

2.4.2. Nature and Character of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

Through textual analysis in 2.3, I noted several literary features in the narrative and the speeches – the banquet scene, the wisdom-oriented rhetorical contest, the aspect of entertainment in the contest, humour, the character of women, the service of Zerubbabel to Darius, the philosophic speech of Zerubbabel, the significant role of Zerubbabel, and a happy ending. Bird well represents the complex nature and character of the narrative:

> All in all, the narrative is rather e[c]lectic in regards to its influences and form. The generic category of the narrative of the three bodyguards probably represents an assimilation of various elements including the classic Persian court-tale, Greek *symposia*, Jewish prophetic-wisdom-restoration traditions, and additional features drawn from an Asiatic rhetorical style of epideictic discourse.[163]

Although several characteristic elements are mixed, a *court tale*, which recounts an event that happens when a hero(ine) serves in the court of a gentile king, may be the most appropriate genre to label the story of the three bodyguards. This category is common to the stories of Joseph in Gen 37:2–48:22, of Daniel 1–6, of Esther, of Bel and the Dragon, of Ahikar (a non-Jewish Aramaic tale), of Tobit (Chapter 1), and of 4Q550$^{a\text{-}e}$ (Tales of the Persian Court).[164] More broadly, the setting and context of the narrative and the characteristics of the speeches in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 resemble the literary character of *Jewish novella*, which flourished between about 200 BCE and 100 CE and was "marked by fanciful and idealized settings, entertaining

163. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 144

164. Lawrence M. Wills, "The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King: Ancient Jewish Court Legends" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1987), 1–2; Sylvie Honigman, "Novellas for Diverting Jewish Urban Businessmen or Channels of Priestly Knowledge: Redefining Judean Short Stories of Hellenistic Times," *AN* 17 (2020): 145–6. For the book of 1 Esdras, see Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 113. "The compiler of 1 Esdras belongs in the milieu of such literary activity around the Hebrew Bible that produced the versions of Daniel and Esther preserved in the LXX."

plots, happy endings, women characters,"[165] humour, and irony.[166] The story of the Three Bodyguards in the setting of the Diaspora may be especially comparable to *diaspora novels*, "composed to comfort, reconcile, encourage, or entertain Jews dwelling in alien circumstances and under Gentile governance."[167]

Understanding the distinctive genre characteristics of this story more precisely points us to fruitful angles of rhetorical analysis and interpretation. First, court tales, which take two forms – tales of contest and of conflict – were not developed in a historical vacuum. As Carol A. Newsom points out, the original social function of the court tale may have been "to explore and narratively resolve tensions between the king and his courtiers on the one hand, and between rival courtiers on the other."[168] Although a discussion of the origin of court tales is beyond the scope of this thesis, recognizing their social function provides a framework for understanding the purpose of the story. The topics chosen by the orators may have represented controversial issues not only in the narrative among the three competitive bodyguards but also out of the narrative in real life among the Jews, who were living in Alexandria and/or Palestine in the second and/or first century BCE.[169] For instance, it is not

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165. Lawrence M. Wills, "Jewish Novellas in a Greek and Roman Age: Fiction and Identity," *JSJ* 42 (2011): 142.

166. Lawrence M. Wills, *Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New Haven, CN; London: Yale University Press, 2021), 21.

167. Erich Gruen, "Novella," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, eds. Judith M. Lieu and J. W. Rogerson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 425. I agree with Gruen in employing the term "novella" in this way. "The ancients had no word for 'novella', or 'novel'. The construct is a strictly modern one. That may cause some misgivings right away. The labelling or categorizing of literary works is always a hazardous procedure—especially so when the genre is one of our own making. This need not prevent the grouping of works with similar forms, motifs, themes, modes of expression, even values and objectives, so as to provide reciprocal illumination. As a heuristic device, it can certainly help to reconstruct an intellectual atmosphere and to probe a cultural setting or tradition within which authors (even of different periods) may have engaged. But it is important to bear in mind that the constructed collectivity is artificial, and that the authors themselves need not have consciously produced works in a genre that we perceive or conceive" (Gruen, "Novella," 421).

168. Carol A. Newsom and Brennan W. Breed. *Daniel: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2014), 12.

169. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 14. Böhler summarises the hypotheses of the composition date of 1 Esdras. "The *terminus ante quem* for the translation of 1 Esdras is Flavius Josephus's work, but there are good indications that the translation was done much earlier. There are close connections especially with Dan^{LXX}, but also with Esther and 1–2 Maccabees, all of which points to the second century B.C.E. Signs of Ptolemaic usage (Talshir, *Origin*, 254, 258) could suggest Egypt as the place of translation, but an expression like 'Coelesyria

hard to imagine controversial situations between Hellenized and observant Jews. The purpose of the story may not have been to increase the tension but to resolve it and not to take one of the sides but to harmonise two different sides. Nevertheless, the author of the story was not a fence-sitter. His attitude and message did not see a black-and-white world as grey. Rather, throughout the story, he attempts to persuade the readers/listeners (any Jew) to reconsider what ideas and values correspond to good and evil in a murky world – which are polemical and which are peaceful. This theological message of the story will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Second, the story of the Three Bodyguards shows several features that are distinct from other court tales or Jewish novellas. Unlike the Daniel narrative, in which God's authority and sovereignty are praised by the gentile king (cf. Dan 4:37), the story of the three bodyguards does not contain any acclamation of God by the king. Additionally, scholars have designated 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 as an example of the contest type. I do not disagree with this position. However, we should remember the distinctive purpose of the contest. In Dan 2, 4, 5 and in Gen 40–41, the court tales describe how the courtiers interpret the kings' dreams or solve a difficult enigma. This implies that the contests are assigned to find a correct answer, as Joseph and Daniel were successful in giving a right explanation. However, the contest in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 is not to seek out the right answer, but to find the most persuasive or wisest speech. In other words, whether truth is the strongest entity in the world was a secondary aspect in the competition; the bodyguards are interested in persuasion. So, how can we best explain the unique setting of the contest in the story of the Three Bodyguards? As several scholars have pointed out, the Jewish novellae or court tales possess a comedic element.[170] I

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and Phoenicia' for עבר נהרה ('Beyond the River') points to the Seleucid period and to Palestine as the compositional locus (Talshir, *Origin*, 268)." However, as Aitken demonstrates that "The distinction between Judea and Egypt should perhaps not be drawn as sharply as some would. Movement between Jewish centres of learning in antiquity, including the Diaspora, might have been common as much as travel and cultural exchange were in antiquity" (74), I open the possibility that 1 Esdras could be composed in Alexandria and/or Palestine (For the dating, see 4.7.2.1). See James K. Aitken, "The Social and Historical Setting of the Septuagint: Palestine and the Diaspora," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 73–80.

170. Newsom and Breed, *Daniel*, 13.

suggest that the plot of 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 and its unique setting of the contest are comparable to the style of Greek Comedy, which was formed in the fifth to fourth century BCE. I do not mean that the genre of the story is Greek Comedy, because its literary aspects obviously have more in common with other instances of court tales, as mentioned above. Rather, I point out that the author of the story employed a literary quality of Greek Comedy to amplify the entertaining aspect of the rhetorical contest. Honigman suggests that,

> In the same way, we cannot rule out that the novelization of the biblical stories resulted from the combined reception of Greek Hellenistic historiography and comedy, not from an inherent social development, and that the difference between MT Esther and LXX Judith stemmed from a *deliberate* choice by the authors, regardless of their social identities, and were in particular related to their choice of language (Greek vs. Hebrew).[171]

Further, Thomas K. Hubbard explains the significant relationship between Comedy and rhetoric.

> Fifth-century rhetoric may not have yet developed the widely accepted technical vocabulary and analytic categories of the fourth century, but Comedy clearly shows speakers engaged in self-conscious linguistic and discursive strategies to succeed in persuading a specific target audience. We see and hear of speakers whose speeches appeal most on an emotional and intuitive level, rather than as rational arguments, and whose concerns are not with establishing factual truth, but with success over their opponent at all costs.[172]

The claims of Honigman and Hubbard highlight the significance of understanding the nature and character of the story. The author, who was writing a novelistic story, chose and employed a comedic element in his creative writing. Although we do not know whether the author understood the relationship between Comedy and rhetoric, the rhetorical contest invented by the author is a very appropriate setting to adopt a comedic feature. Comedy offers an appropriate heuristic scheme for understanding the *pathos* in the speeches. In

171. Honigman, "Novellas for Diverting Jewish Urban Businessmen or Channels of Priestly Knowledge," 152.

172. Thomas K. Hubbard, "Attic Comedy and the Development of Theoretical Rhetoric," in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, ed. Ian Worthington (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007), 491.

addition, it warrants examination of how a comedic aspect functions to resolve tensions in the real world.

Third, the banquet scene reflects Hellenistic royal symposia and is comparable to the *Letter of Aristeas* 187–300, though the symposia in the *Letter of Aristeas* are not presented as rhetorical contests and the speeches of the Jewish scholars in the symposia do not necessarily aim at persuasion. Because this literary aspect that I found in the story also appears in other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic writings in the Second Temple period, I will examine them to understand the rhetorical force of the speeches in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6.

2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, through textual analysis of the five speeches, I highlighted several substantial features that require attention in undertaking a rhetorical analysis of the speeches whereby we might discern the purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards. Among several difficult textual issues, my suggestion that the *lectio difficilior* μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ in 1 Esd 4:36 implicitly refers to God, which is crucial for understanding the rhetorical force of Zerubbabel's second and third speeches, will be discussed in Chapter 4. In addition, after linguistic analysis I suggested that the story was originally written in Greek, and in light of literary analysis I identified the generic literary aspect of the story in three terms – a court tale, a comedy, and a banquet scene. With these necessary linguistic and literary features of the story of the three bodyguards understood, in the next chapter, I analyse the five speeches in accordance with theories of classical rhetoric.

Chapter 3. Analysis according to Classical Rhetoric

3.1. Introduction

Based on the textual analysis in Chapter 2, in this chapter, I analyse all five of the speeches from 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 according to the constituent parts of classical rhetoric: invention (*stasis*, genre, non-artistic arguments, *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*), arrangement, and style. Such analysis, through the lens of classical rhetoric, is valuable not only for understanding the literary aspect of the story but also for identifying the distinctive rhetorical features of the speech, which, I intend to demonstrate, are comparable with rhetorical features in the Hebrew Bible and Septuagint (Chapter 4).

Through a literary analysis, in accordance with classical rhetoric, I show how the five speeches are interconnected, not only in narrative context but even more so in implicit rhetorical purpose. Although each speech exhibits its own style, tone, figure, and purpose, I plan to show that this diversity does not imply various redactional processes or different authorship of the five speeches, but rather it represents the author's literary sophistication. Additionally, I examine the comedic elements (sarcasm, humour, and irony) in the first three speeches and highlight their purpose and function *in* and *beyond* the story. Consequently, I infer from the literary quality of the speeches that the author may have studied Greek literature in a Hellenistic educational institution. However, the author did not intend to write the work for a Greek non-Jewish environment, but employed its literary aspects for his own purpose, which will be discussed in 4.7.

3.2. *Stasis*

Just as the three bodyguards plan the contest in 1 Esd 3:5a, the three bodyguards make their own speeches with the intention of winning the contest by proving the superiority of their own topic; wine, a king, women, and truth. The winner would be granted royal gifts and honour and designated as Darius's kinsman.

The term σωματοφύλαξ ("a private royal bodyguard") had been used to describe the seven royal bodyguards of Alexander the Great (e.g., Ptolemy I Soter). Because a σωματοφύλαξ might have been relatively wealthy already, it is questionable as to what extent the royal wager motivates the contestants. However, there is no reason to suppose that even a σωματοφύλαξ – a term that describes a high-ranking soldier, who possesses financial or political power[173] – would not similarly be driven by the prospect of honorific grants and titles of nobility. The objective of each of the three bodyguards' speeches is to show himself to be the wisest orator in the contest and to receive honours.

On the other hand, because the three speeches of Zerubbabel are consecutive – uninterrupted – in 1 Esd 4:13–46 and Zerubbabel's oratory displays the characteristics of two separate genres (see Table 2.1), we must examine the significance of the shift in genre across the speeches as well as the dynamic relationship between Zerubbabel's constituent speeches. In Zerubbabel's oration, which takes the form of three speeches, we can discern covert objectives.

First, as Table 2.1. shows, the primary objective of Zerubbabel's third speech is to persuade the King to grant his permission for the rebuilding of the Temple to resume. While Ezra 5 foregrounds the fact that the task of rebuilding the Temple was encouraged by God's word – relayed through the prophets Haggai and Zechariah – the words of 1 Esd 3:1–5:6

173. For the significance of σωματοφύλαξ in the Hellenistic period, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:102. "The private staff consisted of the royal pages (οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν νεανίσκοι), who probably passed later into the personal royal bodyguard (the σωματοφύλακες, themselves forming part of the larger body of household troops, the θεραπεία)…"

suggest that Zerubbabel's speech and behaviour are predicated on a desire to overcome any potential hindrances to the rebuilding project.[174] Zerubbabel's specific emphasis serves to foreground the primary purpose of his third speech. While the genre of the first two speeches is epideictic, the third speech – in which Zerubbabel invites the King to make a favourable decision on the issue of rebuilding Jerusalem – is deliberative.[175]

His true motivation becomes clear in his third speech. The shift in genre becomes apparent when Zerubbabel substitutes his personal pleas with appeals on behalf of the national cause.[176] Although Zerubbabel would be well within his rights to request a reward for his convincing epideictic speech, instead, he employs deliberative speech to present a noble cause: a call to rebuild the Temple and Jerusalem. All of Zerubbabel's speeches rhetorically culminate in his final one: his entreaty (1 Esd 4:42–46). As such, his deliberative speech can perhaps be best understood when it is considered alongside the topics and values that are presented in his first two speeches.

Second, although Zerubbabel's second speech is overtly epideictic, it also possesses a hidden motif. Considering the relationship with his following speeches, his second speech reveals one more implicit purpose – introducing the deity (see 2.3.5). One of the most significant strategies of his deliberative speech is to underscore Darius's vow to the deity (e.g., 1 Esd 4:43). Introducing the deity *before* the deliberative speech subtly reminds Darius of his relationship with the deity. If Zerubbabel had mentioned God abruptly, Darius might have felt that Zerubbabel's behaviour was audacious because he was acting in a manipulative

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174. Bob Becking, "The Story of the Three Youths and the Composition of 1 Esdras," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 66. The prophets' intervention is described in 1 Esd 6:1.

175. The third speech also plays, one may argue, a judicial role. Zerubbabel speaks out to dispute a past event – a prohibition of building work – instigated by those (1 Esd 2:15) who oppose the individuals who seek to return. However, as Aristotle points out (Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1358b.), a judicial speech generally focuses on an event from the past. Zerubbabel's third speech – concentrating on an entreaty and referencing a future event – is very nearly, one might say, a deliberative speech.

176. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 221.

way towards Darius, by bringing in the deity. I consider two purposes of Zerubbabel's second speech – narrative and discursive: 1) to demonstrate the superiority of truth so as to win the contest and to be proven an honourable man who can demonstrate the nature of truth and 2) to prepare the audience for his third speech.

Furthermore, as scholars have shown, several changes are detected between Zerubbabel's first two speeches: the change of topic from women to truth, from a humorous and ironic tone to a philosophical one, from a clear and explicit argument about women's superiority to an ambiguous and elusive one about truth or God, and from rhetorical contestant to philosophical sage. Some scholars have considered these variations to be a compositional development such as the later addition of Zerubbabel's second speech to the pre-existing first three speeches or a later insertion of 1 Esd 4:40c.[177]

However, these peculiar changes can be readily explained with reference to the disposition of the second speech. The second speech sits in a transitional position between the epideictic speech about women – the first speech – and the deliberative speech that supplicates for the continued building of the Temple – the third speech. As I argued, it effectively lays the groundwork for the relationship of Darius with the deity before Zerubbabel's third speech. Consequently, for the topic – truth as the nature of a deity – a philosophical or solemn tone might secure for the speaker more credibility than a humorous or sarcastic style.[178]

In addition, careful interpreters should note the relationship between philosophy and rhetoric in the Hellenistic period.[179] The rivalry between philosophers and rhetors that began

177. Torrey and Rudolph also consider the doxology as a secondary insertion. See Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 56. note f; Hilhorst, "The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41," 139.

178. I suggest my hypothesis for the compositional process of the story in 5.2.

179. Dirk M. Schenkeveld and Jonathan Barnes, "Language," in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, eds. Keimpe Algra et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 216. "About 160 BC the debate on the status of rhetoric started by Plato gets a new impetus, which is caused by a renascence of rhetorical studies. Under the Hellenistic kings oratory loses parts only of its domain, but for unknown reasons teaching in rhetoric steeply declines until the start of the second century."

from the classical period continued in the Hellenistic period and throughout Graeco-Roman times.[180] Philosophy and rhetoric formed the standard curriculum in higher education of the Hellenistic period.[181] I do not mean that Zerubbabel's winning speech about truth indicates the author's preference of philosophy over rhetoric. Rather, the inclusion of a philosophical topic or mood within a rhetorical contest is not an absurd or unheard-of phenomenon.[182]

With this understanding of the *stases* and of the transition of *stases*, in following sections, I demonstrate how the *stases* make the orators change their own rhetorical strategies for *logos*, *ethos*, and *pathos*. Because Zerubbabel orates three speeches, which are different in *stasis* and genre, I will take a closer look especially at how his rhetorical speeches are developed.

3.3. Genre

The genre of the first four speeches is epideictic, delivered with the intention of demonstrating the power of wine. As Christopher Carey explains when detailing the distinctive features of epideictic oratory, it can be a competitive and entertaining activity:

> Epideictic oratory does not seek to win a political or courtroom debate and there is no formal decision that marks out success or failure. It does, however, like the other forms of oratory, seek to persuade. It may be entertaining … but its goal is not solely to entertain. It is intended to demonstrate ability. In a

180. The association of truth and righteousness in Zerubbabel's second speech recalls Socrates's response about rhetoric to Phaedrus: "παντάπασι γάρ, ὃ καὶ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς εἴπομεν τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀληθείας μετέχειν δέοι δικαίων ἢ ἀγαθῶν πέρι πραγμάτων, ἢ καὶ ἀνθρώπων γε τοιούτων φύσει ὄντων ἢ τροφῇ, τὸν μέλλοντα ἱκανῶς ῥητορικὸν ἔσεσθαι. τὸ παράπαν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τούτων Εἀληθείας μέλειν οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πιθανοῦ· τοῦτο δ᾽ εἶναι τὸ εἰκός, ᾧ δεῖν προσέχειν τὸν μέλλοντα τέχνῃ ἐρεῖν." "for, as we said in the beginning of this discussion, he who is to be a competent rhetorician need have nothing at all to do, they say, with truth in considering things which are just or good, or men who are so, whether by nature or by education. For in the courts, they say, nobody cares for truth about these matters, but for that which is convincing; and that is probability, so that he who is to be an artist in speech must fix his attention upon probability" (Plato, *Phaedr*. 272d). See Plato, *Euthyphro. Apology. Crito. Phaedo. Phaedrus*, trans. Harold North Fowler, LCL 36 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), 554–7.

181. H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 210.

182. Schenkeveld and Barnes, "Language," 219–20. "Direct influence of Hellenistic philosophies on rhetorical theory is difficult to detect: … A more acceptable view is that rhetoricians use ideas of Aristotle and Theophrastus but also of Isocrates, apart from what their own practice taught them. Thus they continue the instruction begun by Aristotle and Theophrastus of setting up themes for discussion but apply these to their own situation. Like philosophers, rhetoricians train their pupils for discussing general and specific subjects."

> society that values public speaking[,] it enhances the status of the speaker. This is thus a highly competitive activity.[183]

The bodyguards' aim in delivering their speeches is not only to praise (or blame) the power of wine, a king, women, and truth but also to demonstrate their own rhetorical ability by making a more persuasive speech about the value and significance of their own topic than the other contestants can make about theirs. While the first four speeches are epideictic, the fifth speech (Zerubbabel's third speech) is deliberative, in that its purpose is to persuade Darius to take a certain course of action.[184]

In addition, we cannot fully appreciate the power of wine without factoring in the values of certain cultures and societies.[185] Thus, to accurately assess the efficacy of epideictic speech, our rhetorical analyses must focus on the ways in which speakers articulate the value and significance of wine in the contexts of their diverse cultures and thought systems (e.g., Israelite, Greek, or ANE).

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183. Christopher Carey, "Epideictic Oratory," in *A Companion to Greek Rhetoric*, ed. Ian Worthington (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 239.

184. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1358b. It is not a judicial speech because Zerubbabel's speech did not seek a judgment as to whether his or the accusers' claims were true or false. As Aristotle points out, a judicial speech generally focuses on the past event.

185. Walter H. Beale, "Rhetorical Performative Discourse: A New Theory of Epideictic," *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 11.4 (1978): 221–46; Cynthia Miecznikowski Sheard, "The Public Value of Epideictic Rhetoric," *College English* 58.7 (1996): 765–94. After Aristotle defined the use of epideictic rhetoric as to praise or blame a person or thing, the identity and purpose of epideictic speech have long been debated. Although all the discussions could not be covered in this paper, George A. Kennedy elucidates the proper understanding of epideictic. He writes, "Although the Aristotelian triad has continued to be fundamental to rhetorical teaching, Aristotle's view of epideictic, based on his observation of public address in Greece, is too narrow for a general theory. Epideictic is perhaps best regarded as including any discourse, oral or written, that does not aim at a specific action or decision but seeks to enhance knowledge, understanding, or belief, often through praise or blame, whether of persons, things, or values. It is thus an important feature of cultural or group cohesion." See George A. Kennedy, "The Genres of Rhetoric," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997), 45.

3.4. *Logos*

3.4.1. *Logos*: Syllogism

Table 3.1. Formal Syllogism and Rhetorical Syllogism

Rhetorical Syllogism in the Speech of the First Bodyguard	
Unstated Premise Stated Premise Conclusion	Mind rules over the faculties in the human world; Wine controls the mind; So, wine is superior.
Syllogism in the Speech of the Second Bodyguard	
Major Premise Minor Premise Conclusion	Humanity prevails over the universe; A king reigns over humans; So, a king is superior.
Syllogism in the First Speech of Zerubbabel	
Major Premise Minor Premise Conclusion	Even though it is possible that wine is superior, that a king is superior; Women rule over them; So, women are superior.
Rhetorical Syllogism in the Second Speech of Zerubbabel	
Unstated Premise Stated Premise Conclusion	A righteous entity is superior to an unrighteous one; Wine, a king, and women are unrighteous, but truth is righteous; So, truth is superior.
Rhetorical Syllogism in the Third Speech of Zerubbabel	
Unstated Premise Stated Premise Conclusion	Vows should be kept; Cyrus and Darius made vows; So, remember the vows.

All five speeches contain a formal syllogism or rhetorical syllogism (ἐνθύμημα), which is one of the required *logoi*, to argue their own theses. While the speech of the second bodyguard and the first speech of Zerubbabel presents a form of logical syllogism, the other speeches employ rhetorical syllogism (a short form of syllogism) in which the major premise remains unstated.[186]

Although the forms are similar, each syllogism has its own significance. First, the stated premise of the first bodyguard's speech is a maxim (γνώμη), which asserts a general

186. Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 34.

pronouncement: wine leads one's mind (διάνοια) astray (3:17).[187] The contest represents the entertaining and competitive activity of διάνοια – the faculty of thinking (or understanding) – which is required if one is to formulate a wise statement.[188] In other words, the orator argues that διάνοια – that which is exceedingly valued by the audience – may be controlled and distorted by wine.[189] Most importantly, the audience have already experienced the physiological and psychoactive effects of wine at the banquet that was held by King Darius for the elite group (3:1–3).[190] The maxim of the first bodyguard is not just confined to his general statement, but is, rather, particularised in the real lives of the audience members.[191]

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187. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1394a–1395b; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 165–8; Quintilian, *Inst*. 8.5. "Aristotle's successors, however, (e.g., Quintilian 8.5) treat the gnomic saying as a stylistic device used primarily for ornament, while he regards it as a tool of logical argument" (Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 164).

188. Oswin Murray, "Hellenistic Royal Symposia," in *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, ed. Per Bilde (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1996), 15–20; Benjamin G. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: 'Aristeas to Philocrates' or 'On the Translation of the Law of the Jews'* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 328. Murray lays out three influential models for the Hellenistic royal symposia: 1) the tyrannical (lavish) model in 6th century BCE; 2) the Macedonian model; and. 3) the Persian model. In other words, the Hellenistic royal symposia are characterised by tyrannical, sizable, and luxurious feasting.

189. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 421. Darius's banquet as modelled on Hellenistic royal symposia (though the story is set in the Persian period) may be promoting intellectual activity by the use of the term διάνοια, since good (or philosophical) discussion by the learned was encouraged (cf. Let. Aris. 286).

190. Walter Burkert, "Oriental Symposia: Contrasts and Parallels," in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1991), 7. Although the value and usage of wine vary across different cultures and societies, the physiological effects of wine are common to all humans.

191. The persuasiveness of this *logos* regarding the influence of wine on διάνοια also appeared in another Hellenistic Jewish work: *The Letter of Aristeas*. In terms of the context of the document, it was modelled on the banquet contest that took place at the court described in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6: the royal symposium (Murray, 126). Its peculiarity – the absence of the term "wine" (*oinos*) from the symposium scene (*Let. Aris*. 187–300) – can be more readily understood when one considers the purpose of Jewish dietary laws, according to the writer — to maintain the purity of one's body and soul (§140–143).

Although the prohibition of wine is not explicitly acknowledged, the fact that the qualified elders (72 translators) seek to avoid "coarse and rude thought" (§122; Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 236) may indicate that they do not want their διάνοια to be tainted – or, indeed, ruled – by wine (cf. Dan 1:15). It seems to be necessary for the elders to maintain the activity of διάνοια (§ 155–156) ruled by God (§ 227). It is also possible that the elders would not be permitted to drink the king's wine because of its association with idolatrous libations.

For the banquet scene in *Let. Aris.* 202, Wright presumes that it includes the drinking of wine (Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 352). However, οἶνος does not appear in the *Letter of Aristeas*. And, the elders may follow their own food laws (cf. *Let. Aris.* 139, 181–3; Tob. 1:10–12) rather than the usual customs of the Hellenistic royal symposium. Philo – who "almost certainly knew *Aristeas*" (Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 6) – exhibits a fairly negative view of drunkenness. Philo delineates five symbols of inebriation: 1) foolishness; 2) insensibility; 3) greediness; 4) cheerfulness; and, 5) nakedness. See Oswyn Murray, "Aristeas and his Sources," in *Studia Patristica XII*, ed. E. A. Lvingstone, TU 115 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 126; Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 6, 236, 352; Philo, *On the Unchangeableness of God. On Husbandry. Concerning Noah's Work As a Planter. On Drunkenness. On Sobriety*, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, LCL 247 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 308–9.

Second, unlike the first orator, who employed a rhetorical syllogism, the second bodyguard and Zerubbabel in his first speech employ a syllogism; this usually infers a specific conclusion on the bases of two or more premises. In his speech, the second bodyguard seeks to validate the second premise.[192] While the second bodyguard seeks to affirm the King's superiority by highlighting the nature of kingship itself, Zerubbabel's first and second speeches promote his own point of view by refuting the validity of the preceding points.

In Zerubbabel's first speech, the persuasiveness of his topic is intensified by comparison. In Zerubbabel's speech, the comparative particle ἢ and the adverb μᾶλλον amplify the notion that men prefer women to other entities – e.g., valuable objects, their homelands and their parents (vv. 19–20, 25). Infatuated men would do anything for women, according to Zerubbabel. They think nothing of risking dangerous situations or moral compromises in pursuit of the women they desire (vv. 23–24). They even love women more than themselves. Zerubbabel speaks of men's acts of self-renunciation for women, in order to signal the superiority of women (v. 26).

Third, in Zerubbabel's second speech, he presupposes a dichotomic criterion – righteous and unrighteous – to demonstrate the superiority of truth. This is the most significant way in which Zerubbabel underscores the positive aspects of truth – its righteousness and permanence – by contrast with the negative aspects of other topics. This approach also functions to refute the first three speeches, including Zerubbabel's own first speech.

Fourth, in his last deliberative speech, Zerubbabel does not explicitly request Darius to fulfil the vow. Rather, while assuming the obligatory nature of the vow, he pleads for him

192. The major premise relates to God's blessing of humanity (e.g., Gen 1:26–28; 9:2; Ps 8:5–9).

to *remember* the vows that Cyrus and Darius made. Rhetorical syllogism is employed to amplify his indirect, polite, and courteous plea.

3.4.2. Interrelated *Logos* between Speeches – Refutation

The contest is competitive in nature, so rebuttal may be an appropriate strategy to weaken the argument of the former orators and to strengthen the persuasiveness of one's own speech. In other words, the rebuttal is the key form of *logos* to examine in order to illuminate how the speeches are interconnected and interwoven with each other.

First, the refutation (λύσις or ἀνασκευή; Lat. *refutatio*)[193] of the words of the first bodyguard by the second bodyguard is not overt; it is implicit in the hypothetical situation in vv. 9–11.[194] In v. 9, the success of farming endeavours is very much dependent on the power of the king. In other words, wine belongs to the king – because vineyards can be cultivated at the king's command.[195] In vv. 10–11, by rejecting any implication that wine can affect the king's authoritative silence, he attests to the superiority of king. The forgetfulness that is caused by wine is one of the major pieces of evidence that bolsters the minor premise of the first speech. The second orator does not dispute the fact that drinking wine has this effect. The main point in vv. 10–11 is that, even though a king may lose his mind while drinking, his absolute command and power is still effective at that time. He controls all – even when physically absent.

Second, Zerubbabel's first speech seeks to discredit the preceding speakers by adopting words or expressions that are similar to those that they previously used: a form of

193. While the Greek terms *lysis* and *elenkhos* were used by Aristotle, Quintilian chose to employ *anaskeuē* instead. See Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1402a–1403a and 1418b; Quintilian, *Inst*. 2.4.18.

194. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 88. Crenshaw explains that the second orator remained silent in his previous speech. See Crenshaw "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," 231.

195. The third bodyguard explicitly refutes the thesis of the second orator (1 Esd 4:14).

diaphora (διαφορά; Lat. *distinctio*): the use of the same word to signify distinct attributes.[196] Refutation by means of *diaphora* induces the audience to recognise the other possibilities of those words or expressions, thereby redefining and reinterpreting them in accordance with Zerubbabel's argument. It is a deft strategy to employ in the art of persuasion.

Table 3.2. Refutation by *Diaphora* in Zerubbabel's First Speech[197]

First speech	Second speech	First speech of Zerubbabel
διάνοια ("mind") – controlled by wine (3:17–19)		διάνοια – controlled by women (4:26)
	τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ("land and sea") – ruled by people (4:2)	τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ τῆς γῆς – ruled by people, who come from women (4:15)
	κυριεύω and δεσπόζω – to denote the king's superiority (4:3)	δεσπόζω and κυριεύω – to denote women's superiority (4:14)
	φυτεύω ("to plant") – to argue that the king is superior to wine (4:9)	φυτεύω – to argue that women are superior to both men and wine (4:16)
μάχαιρα ("dagger") – wine's effect (3:21)		ῥομφαία ("sword") – women's effect (4:23)
	ἀφίημι ("to give up", "to release") – to show the power of the king's command (4:7)	ἀφίημι – to show the influential power of women (4:19, 21)
μιμνήσκομαι ("to remember") – wine's control over mind (3:19–22)		μιμνήσκομαι – women's control over mind (4:21)

Third, as Table 3.3. shows, Zerubbabel in his second speech straightforwardly and boldly refutes his former arguments including his own first speech. Especially, by the repetition of ἄδικος in vv. 36–40 and the use of its antonym δίκαιος in v. 39, Zerubbabel reinforces his

196. Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*, eds. David E. Orton and R. Dean Anderson, trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 1998), 296–7; Galen O. Rowe, "The Genres of Rhetoric," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period 330 B.C.–A.D. 400*, ed. Stanley E. Porter (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1997), 133.

197. Rowe, "Style," 145. This can be defined in the term *synoeciosis*, which "is the exploitation of an opponent's argument to one's own advantage."

argument about truth's superiority over other entities.[198] In addition, the description of the cosmological order and phenomena in v. 34 highlights the ephemerality and mortality of all previous topics and the measureless scope and perennial scale of Zerubbabel's new focus. In v. 36a, by the personification of earth and heavens, Zerubbabel compares truth with them so as to demonstrate the superiority of truth and to ascribe eternality as the attribute of truth.[199]

Table 3.3. Contrast and Refutation in Zerubbabel's Second Speech

<table>
<tr><th>First speech: Wine</th><th>Second speech: King</th><th>First speech of Zerubbabel: Women</th><th>Second Speech of Zerubbabel: Truth</th></tr>
<tr><td>Forgetfulness</td><td colspan="2">Mortality</td><td rowspan="2">Eternity (αἰών "eternity" with the verbs μένω "to remain" and ζάω "to live")</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Temporal (ἀπόλλυμι "to perish")</td></tr>
<tr><td>Confusion
Arrogance
Corruption</td><td>Dictatorship
Exploitation</td><td>Favouritism
Flattery</td><td>Just, no partiality, no bribe</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Unrighteous (ἄδικος), injustice (ἀδικία), wicked (πονηρός)</td><td>Righteous (δίκαιος)</td></tr>
</table>

The component of *logos* – refutation – in these speeches is a decisive rhetorical feature, which represents the inner literary connections between the speeches. This suggests that the feature may have been employed by a single author, who designed Zerubbabel's victory so as to give him a chance to persuade Darius with his plea. I do not entirely negate the possibility that a later redactor, who knew the first three speeches, replicated the pre-existing rhetorical feature and used it in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. Theories of composition of the story of the Three Bodyguards will be thoroughly discussed in 4.7.

198. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 94–5.
199. Sandoval, "The strength of women and truth," 220–1.

3.4.3. Non-Artistic Argument

3.4.3.1. First Speech of Zerubbabel

Non-artistic argument appears in the first and third speeches of Zerubbabel. In his first speech, Zerubbabel substantiates his thesis by pointing to Apame's usurping attitude and behaviour in 1 Esd 4:29–31. The verb θεωρέω ("to see, to observe") implies Zerubbabel's personal observation in his role as bodyguard in private. Before Zerubbabel presents his own witness testimony of the King's and Apame's behaviour, he poses three rhetorical questions in quick succession in 1 Esd 4:28. These questions compel Zerubbabel's audience to question their respect for the authority of the king. This shift in the audience's thinking confirms that Zerubbabel has been successful in drawing their attention to his account. Apame's authoritative physical power – her position sitting beside the King, snatching his diadem and even slapping him – and his servile behaviour in response sufficiently corroborate Zerubbabel's argument in 1 Esd 4:13–27. In many ways, this upholds Zerubbabel's primary claim – namely, that women are stronger.[200]

The specific reference to the position of Apame's seat – at the King's right hand – as well as the one to the particular hand that she uses to slap the King (the left one) highlight's Apame's ostensible superiority. As commentators point out, while her position at the King's right-hand side symbolises Apame's power, authority, and honour (cf. 1 Kgs 2:19; Neh 2:6; Ps 110:5),[201] her use of her left hand to slap the King foregrounds the extent to which her attitude and behaviour dishonour him, especially in the context of ANE cultures.[202] Though

200. For instance, Zerubbabel's description of infatuated men (ἐγχάσκω) in v. 19 is exemplified in the king's behaviour (χάσμα) in v. 31.

201. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 172; Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101-150*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2011), 146–7.

202. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 172.

open to interpretation, this symbolism seems appropriate to 1 Esd 4:29–31, bolstering the strength of Zerubbabel's thesis by highlighting Apame's character.[203]

Because there is no historical or literary evidence available about Apame of 1 Esdras, Zerubbabel's testimony could be regarded as either an artistic or a non-artistic argument.[204] If the anecdote about Apame – an attested name in the Persian period – was transmitted to the author of the story, Zerubbabel's account would be regarded as a non-artistic argument. In this case, the historical, factual evidence that is cited in such contexts, though it is not artistic, "generally takes high powers of eloquence" to articulate.[205] It strongly supports his thesis – the superiority of women – by refuting the thesis of the second orator.

On the other hand, we cannot ignore the possibility that Zerubbabel's testimony may have been invented by the author. If that is the case, then the invented or fabricated witness may be categorised as providing an artistic argument. This means that the author might employ certain rhetorical devices when relaying the anecdote about Apame through Zerubbabel's speech. If we assume that it is, in fact, an artistic argument, then there is a particular rhetorical strategy that one ought to note, the evocation of humour (see below 3.5.2).

3.4.3.2. Third Speech of Zerubbabel

Zerubbabel's argument is based on the vows of Cyrus and Darius. As mentioned earlier, classical rhetoric classifies an oath as being one of the non-artistic arguments.[206] A vow can

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203. S. Park, "Left-Handed Benjaminites and the Shadow of Saul," *JBL* 134.4 (2015): 707. "The two sides, hence, are distinguished and imbued with binary meanings in the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Near Eastern texts. The right hand is associated with sacrality, activity, purity, creativity, life, protection, morality, honor, wisdom, inheritance, consecration, and blessing. The left, though it is not directly stated, is associated with the opposite connotations: passivity, impurity, death, violence, threat, dishonor, profanity, desecration, darkness, secrecy, and the accursed."

204. For some speculative (rather than definitive) theories regarding the identity of Apame, see Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 40–3; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 204–5; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 92.

205. Quintilian, *Inst*. 5.1.

206. Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric,* 102–10; Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1375a–1377b; Quintilian, *Inst*. 5.6.

also be considered as constituting a non-artistic argument.[207] The pre-existing evidence that is cited in such contexts, though it is not artistic, "generally takes high powers of eloquence" to articulate.[208]

Although Cyrus's vow does not appear in the book of 1 Esdras, we can deduce the content of the vow from Cyrus's decree in 1 Esd 2:3–6 and 6:23–25 (e.g., Ezr 1:1–4; 6:1–5). The evidence – the vow and the proclamation of Cyrus the Great (Darius's father-in-law and the founder of the Achaemenid Empire) – fortifies Zerubbabel's plea, thereby reinforcing the strength of his argument when seeking to persuade Darius. In addition, the author may have been aware of certain proof of Darius's vow and could, consequently, have drawn upon it when composing Zerubbabel's speech. If so, then the vow – predicated upon Darius's former promise rather than on Zerubbabel's personal need – constitutes a compelling rhetorical component of the latter's argument to influence Darius's actions. Indeed, the vow itself certainly constitutes a non-artistic argument.

However, we do not have any documentary evidence that vouches the existence of Darius's vow. So, I do not consider Cyrus's and Darius's vow as a historical fact or a historical non-artistic argument. Rather, I focus on demonstrating the rhetorical force of vows *as* the non-artistic argument *in* the story of the Three Bodyguards. I conduct a more detailed analysis of the rhetorical force and significance of the vow in 4.6.1.

Excursus: Sequence of Wine, A King, and Women

In the circumstance that the motif and type of the speech are the same as those of the former speech, some scholars have argued that the original order of the speeches of the first and second bodyguards may have been "king–wine" rather than "wine–king" for several reasons.

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207. Jacobus A. Naudé, "Vow Formulae: Biblical Hebrew," in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew language and linguistics,* ed. Geoffrey Khan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 978.

208. Quintilian, *Inst*. 5.1.

First, the third bodyguard mentions "king" first, then "wine" (1 Esd 4:15–16). Second, the explicit comment about a "king" in the first speech indicates that the first orator was already aware of the earlier speech about the king's superiority. Third, Josippon (6:47) uses a phrase that presents words in a particularly striking order: "king–wine–woman."[209] Fourth, in the assumption that wine is the superior entity to that of king, some scholars argue that the order "wine–king" does not make room for the second orator to begin with his argument; that is, the stronger entity should come later.[210]

However, these reasons in themselves are not enough to determine the particular arrangement of the ordering. As Talshir points out, "far more probably, Josippon reshaped the story on his own initiative."[211] Josephus, who certainly knew 1 Esdras, follows the order of 1 Esd 3:1–5:6.[212] The third bodyguard in 1 Esd 4:37 foregrounds the key topics in the order "wine–king–women." In addition, although the second bodyguard does not mention the word "wine" explicitly, his indirect refutation in 1 Esd 4:9–11 suggests that he already knew the argument of the first speech. It means that the author considers the "king" as the stronger entity than wine. Even if "wine" is superior to "king", the flattering speech style of the second orator indicates that the order "wine–king" is more plausible. The author may attribute a flattering speech to the second orator, as the rhetorical strategy to offset the advantage of the topic "wine", so as to produce a more favourable reaction by the audience to the second oration. Most importantly, in the story, which begins with the banquet scene, the topic of wine is clearly the most pertinent theme, and so deserves to come first. Although it is hard to know the original sequence of the speeches, we do not need to rearrange the order of the speeches in the book of 1 Esdras.

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209. Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 65–7.

210. Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra*, 39–40. Pohlmann follows Laqueur's suggestion. "Demnach hätte der zweite die Macht des Königs preisende Redner von vornherein verlorenes Spiel."

211. Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 66.

212. Josephus, *Ant*.11:38–56.

3.5. *Pathos*

3.5.1. Humour in the Speeches of the First and Second Bodyguards

As mentioned in 3.3, the epideictic speech contains both an entertaining and competitive aspect. This means that the speech, which aims to cause amusement, can be a more competitive one. In the first three speeches, we can find several rhetorical elements that evoke humour. Classical rhetoricians (e.g., Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian) had explained the rhetorical value of humour and laughter.[213] Lausberg details the various benefits of using humour: "It has, among others, the following purposes: α) to relieve strained and gloomy *pathos*; β) to divert tense attentiveness; γ) to refresh the spirits of the audience and thereby to increase their receptiveness."[214] The amusement that may be derived from the sarcastic nuances of the speech entertains the audience members and enables them to enjoy the speech itself.[215] Melissa A. Jackson helpfully summarises the three major theories about humour, which are elaborated by John Morreall.[216] In accordance with these theories, I analyse humorous aspects of the first three speeches.

> In the Superiority Theory, … one laughs scornfully from feelings of superiority over others. … The Relief Theory, … argues that nervous energy builds up in the body and needs to be relieved. Laughter provides such a relief. The Incongruity Theory, … laughter occurs with the experience of the unexpected: broadly speaking, someone or something behaves in such a way that contradicts one's expectation of how she/he/they/it should behave.[217]

213. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1419b; Cicero, *De or.* 2.63; Quintilian, *Inst*. 6.3

214. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 115; Quintilian, *Inst*. 6.3.

215. M. H. Abrams and Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 10th ed. (Andover: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2012), 353: "Satire can be described as the literary art of diminishing or derogating a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking toward it attitudes of amusement, contempt, scorn, or indignation."

216. John Morreall, *Comic Relief: A Comprehensive Philosophy of Humor* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 4–23.

217. Melissa A. Jackson, *Comedy and Feminist Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible: A Subversive Collaboration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 9–10. Aristotle also mentions humour in terms of the superiority theory. See Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1419b; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 248.

In the speech of the first bodyguard, the audience of the contest is supposed to be determining whose speech is wisest, while they are under the influence of wine. This represents the ironic situation that the audience, who have a distorted διάνοια due to their imbibing wine, falsely believe that they can discern the wisest statement. This ridicule, which can be described as "the self-ignorance of others when they falsely believe that they possess wisdom,"[218] could also provide amusement for the audience members. In addition, the self-deprecation of the first bodyguard – who perhaps regards himself as having been affected by wine at the preceding banquet – is another source of humour.

In the speech of the second bodyguard, the subjects, who should be around the king at all times in 1 Esd 4:11, may be also understood as the bodyguards. This understanding arouses amusement in two ways. First, the self-deprecation describing the bodyguard himself as put in fetters by the king is a "comic complaint."[219] Second, the orator's flattering speech – describing a powerful and authoritative king – may evoke feelings of complacency in Darius.[220] Even prior to beginning the second speech, the selection of the topic – a king's superiority – could awaken feelings of pride in Darius. Third, in 1 Esd 4:4–6, the characterisation of the powerful king as a despot is an unexpected answer *before* the king. This incongruity may also lead to laughter in the audience *in* the contest.

3.5.2. Humour and Irony in the First Speech of Zerubbabel

Alison G. Salvesen points out that "If the story ever existed on its own, the climax would surely be the humorous reference to the king's concubine Apame, whose teasing and

218. Sheila Lintott, "Superiority in Humor Theory," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 74.4 (2016): 350.

219. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 164.

220. Yuval Eylon and David Heyd, "Flattery," *PPR* 77. 3 (2008): 686. "An act of flattery typically makes use of excessive commendatory language in describing the qualities or record of another person for the purpose of creating a favo[u]rable attitude in that person towards the flatterer."

irreverent treatment of him only makes him fawn on her the more."[221] As with the preceding orations, Zerubbabel's first speech invites the audience to be entertained in the contest by provoking an amused reaction. Crenshaw helpfully describes the sense of humour that we may discern in Zerubbabel's witness account:

> Furthermore, the spoil that a king's soldiers bring him ultimately adorns the gracious necks of his concubines, while the crown itself may even rest at times upon the lovely head of a woman. This is the point of the humorous anecdote – approaching burlesque – about the playful, flirtatious behaviour of the king and his favourite lover, Apame.[222]

The hyperbolic anecdote about Apame evokes laughter among the reader, because its content is incongruous with the expectations of an androcentric society. When compared with the description in the second orator's speech of the King's superior power to control others, the humour of the ironic figure of men being beholden to their infatuation towards women is heightened.

In a contest in which the aim is to determine who is the superior entity, kings would be too obvious an answer in a monarchical society in the speech of the second bodyguard. In contrast, women may be one of the most unlikely – or unexpected – answers in a patriarchal society. Some rhetorical force arises, as such, from the situational irony: the subversion of societal expectations.

Having examined numerous areas of ancient Mesopotamian society with respect to women (e.g., law, family issues, economic life, and social status), Marten Stol judges that "in the end a balanced judgement leads us to the conclusion that in ancient society women fared much worse than men."[223] Regarding women's position in the Hebrew Bible, Susan Ackerman surmises that "overall, women's contributions within ancient Israel's male-dominated society are more varied and often more important than some might expect. Still,

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221. Alison G. Salvesen, "The Growth of the Apocrypha," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies*, eds. Judith M. Lieu and J. W. Rogerson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 493.

222. Crenshaw, "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," 233–4.

223. Marten Stol, *Women in the Ancient Near East* (Berlin; Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2016), 691.

women's ability to access positions of significant authority in ancient Israel, especially positions outside the home, was limited."[224]

In the Greek symposium, "citizen women were prohibited from participating in the *symposion*."[225] The most prominent orators and audience members of the royal banquet scene in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 are men. In these contexts, which generally imply or presume the inferiority of women, the rhetorical force of proposing that women may, in fact, be superior is strengthened by the incongruity of suggesting so in such a social environment. Because entertainment is one of the notable features of the contest, a comedic speech that deftly exploits the ironic potential of the context can arouse humorous, playful feelings in the audience members and enhance the persuasiveness of Zerubbabel's first speech.

Furthermore, Zerubbabel's humorous and ironic portrayal *before* the king and the disposition of the anecdote about Apame in the last part of the speech represent the "edginess" of the humour. Wills describes the delicacy of humour,

> If the violation is too great, the *communal* aspect of laughter cannot be maintained. But if the violation is too benign, there is no challenge of conventions. Humor exists, then, in a negotiated balance between benign and violation and allows for a communal processing of intentional, carefully manipulated violations.[226]

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224. Susan Ackerman, "Women in Ancient Israel and the Hebrew Bible," in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. John Barton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), doi: 10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.013.45.

225. Oswyn Murray, "The Culture of the *Symposion*," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, eds. Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 518. (508-23) In particular contexts, slave women were permitted to be present. In Dan 5:2, women were invited to the banquets. Collins points out that "there is more evidence on Persian than on Babylonian customs." See John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 245.

The banquet scene in Esth 1, representing the Hellenistic royal symposia, also signals the absence of women. Esther 1:9 indicates that "ladies of the nobility did not drink with their men." See Murray, "Hellenistic Royal Symposia," 18–19; Adele Berlin, *Esther: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 2001), 11.

226. Lawrence M. Wills, *Judith: A Commentary on the Book of Judith*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2019), 98.

Although Zerubbabel's 'edginess' places him in a more dangerous situation, his humour may not be too benign or too risky in the context of an entertaining rhetorical contest; yet, it seems adequate to awaken feelings of embarrassment among the audience (cf. 4:33).[227]

3.5.3. *Pathos* in Zerubbabel's Second and Third Speeches

While the previous speeches no doubt arouse a humorous response from the audience, Zerubbabel's second speech, delivered in a sobering tone is not sarcastic and humorous. This difference in tone may be due to the change of the topic. In speaking about truth and a deity, humour or sarcasm may not give a positive impression to the audience. Zerubbabel's argument emphasizing the righteousness, eternity, and majesty of truth makes the audience recognise the limitation and mortality of human beings. Also, by introducing God the Creator, who cannot be controlled, Zerubbabel argues that truth is the attribute of a deity. So, by means of his philosophical tone, Zerubbabel's second speech evokes feelings of reverence (or gravity, solemnity, or severity).

Zerubbabel's third speech focuses upon Zerubbabel's emotional appeal. By repeating his request (ἀξιόω, αἰτέω, and δέομαι)[228] and approbating the King's character and majesty (μεγαλωσύνη),[229] Zerubbabel appeals to Darius's feelings of benevolence. Such sentiments are strongly intensified by Zerubbabel's account of the Chaldeans and the Idumeans (1 Esd 4:45). If Darius were to allow the rebuilding work to take place, his character would be idealised as benevolent in contrast with the violence of the Chaldeans and the Idumeans. Moreover, the obligatory nature of the vow should elicit Darius's feelings of responsibility.

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227. For the multiple meaning of the audience's reaction in the narrative interjection 1 Esd 4:33, see 2.3.4.

228. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 182.

229. Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 49. Or μεγαλωσύνη may mean "generosity."

3.6. *Ethos*

The persuasive character (*ethos*) of the speech emerges as a result of the character of the three bodyguards *themselves*. Their external reputation as σωματοφύλακες ("private royal bodyguards") serves to assure others of their trustworthiness. However, since all of the participants of the contest hold the same social status, the official title does not make a significant impact on the success rate of their individual competitive activities. The bodyguards' character in the *contest* is shaped by the efficacy of their persuasive speech, especially the *logos*.

While the *logos* of the three bodyguards shows that they share some common character traits, Zerubbabel's distinct character is also revealed. After describing their common character traits, I demonstrate Zerubbabel's character, which subtly shifts through his three speeches. Also, I suggest that Zerubbabel's *ethos* in his second speech is the reason why his speech could be regarded as being the most persuasive of the contest.

The *logos* in the speeches of the first and second orators and the first speech of Zerubbabel convey an ambivalent and sardonic character. The three bodyguards demonstrate both the positive and negative aspects of their own topics; the beneficial or harmful effects of drinking wine, the authority or autocracy of kingship, and the worth or danger of women. Although these inconsistencies in their ambivalent attitude may seem to weaken the persuasiveness of their speech, they may well be highlighting this juxtaposition deliberately and strategically in order to cultivate the image of possessing a balanced character.[230]

The speeches also represent their sardonic character. In the speech of the first bodyguard, although wine temporarily makes people experience forms of pleasure, it also functions to dissolve the structures of the society that is governed by the rulers. They enjoy

230. The seemingly ambivalent attitude of the second bodyguard towards the king especially implies that he embodies a different character than the others. His adulation for the king signals his character's capacity for flattery.

wine – but it is a drug. The second bodyguard's description of the autocratic character of a king *in front of* the king and rulers reveals the sardonic facet of his character. Zerubbabel's first speech, in which he demonstrates the strength of women in the male-dominated contest, is also sarcastic.

Zerubbabel's second and third speeches represent his distinctive character traits. Zerubbabel's second speech, which refutes his own previous speech, seems to undermine the persuasive character he established through his first speech. However, it may be a strategy to subtly disclose his persuasive character – frankness in terms of παρρησία (*parrēsia*; Lat. *licentia*), which "is claiming to use candor, which by appearing to risk the good will of the audience instead is intended to strengthen it due to the speaker's courage in speaking the truth."[231] This notion suggests that he possesses virtue (ἀρετή) as well as practical wisdom (φρόνησις), which are aspects of *ethos*.[232]

> Michel Foucault appropriately explains the aspect of *parrēsia*:
>
> The parrhesiast is not a professional. And *parrēsia* is after all something other than a technique of a skill, although it has technical aspects. *Parrēsia* is not a skill; it is something which is harder to define. It is a stance, a way of being which is akin to a virtue, a mode of action.[233]

Zerubbabel's frank speech about the righteousness of truth reinforces his character as a moral person. Of course, we do not know whether or not Zerubbabel was really moral, but the speech connoting Zerubbabel's passion for virtue could lead the audience to view Zerubbabel as exhibiting good morality. The rhetorical value of truth is not just from its nature, but from the way in which truth is embodied. In other words, the reason why Zerubbabel won the

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231. Rowe, "Style," 139.

232. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 2.1.5; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 112.

233. Michel Foucault, *The Courage of the Truth (The Government of Self and Others II): Lectures at the Collège de France, 1983–1984*, ed. Frédéric Gros, trans. Graham Burchell (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 14. Although Foucault argued that "rhetoric does not involve any bond of belief between the person speaking and what he [states]," we do not exclude that a rhetorical speech can be derived from a personal belief.

contest is not only because truth is a universally venerated entity, but also because Zerubbabel *demonstrated* it in his *ethos*. This is more crucial in both the narrative of the story and the Hellenistic period.

Zerubbabel's frankness is an appropriate strategy for forming a close bond with the king in the contest. In the Hellenistic period, frankness rather than flattery is one of the required attitudes for true friendship. David Konstan explains,

> The philosophers of friendship were, accordingly, concerned to discriminate the type of the flatterer or adulator from that of the true friend, and the surest sign of the difference was candor and honesty–the παρρησία characteristic of the true friend as opposed to the deceitfulness that marked the parasite.[234]

Zerubbabel's frankness indicates his character in harmony with the formation of true friendship. If the prize of the contest were only money or valuables, this character would not be significant. However, the winner will be συγγενής ("kinsman") of the king (1 Esd 3:7). It is likely that συγγενής ("kinsman") is not just a high ranking official but is an honourable position implying close relationship with the king. In this context, frankness is one of the most relevant character traits for a winner in the contest.[235] While Zerubbabel's first speech proves his intellectual ability by articulating a convincing argument, in the second speech, Zerubbabel shows his moral character as well as practical wisdom. Again, the rhetorical value of truth is not merely to speak about truth, but to behave in truth.

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234. Foucault, *The Courage of the Truth*, 11–12; David Konstan, "Friendship, Frankness and Flattery," in *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald, NovTSup 82 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 10 (pp. 7–19). "Frankness was not just a pedagogical strategy on the part of the teacher, however. Openness and the revelation of personal faults were also required on the part of the disciple as a condition of moral development" (Konstan, 13). "Plutarch discusses in detail the topic of frank speech or παρρησία; the reason is that frankness is the primary indicator of the openness and honesty characteristic of the friend as opposed to the dissimulation that marks the toady" (Konstan, 7).

For the diachronic approach of the word παρρησία, see Kyriakoula Papademetriou, "The Performative Meaning of the Word παρρησία in Ancient Greek and in the Greek Bible," in *Parrhesia: Ancient and Modern Perspectives on Freedom of* Speech, ed. Peter-Ben Smit and Eva van Urk, STAR 25 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), 15–38. "[The word παρρησία] was developed by Epicureans so as to particularly reference a virtue between friends, who should have the courage to use sincere language in their relations" (p. 23).

235. J. H. Moulton and George Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament* (London: Hodder, 1930), 595; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:189 (note 81). See also Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 45. note h.

Unlike the straightforward speech of Zerubbabel, the indirectness of his last speech shows his courtesy and polite character. Because the *stasis* of his third speech is to request Darius to allow the rebuilding work to take place, politeness is a better strategy to persuade the king. The straightforward request of the bodyguard towards the king may elicit feelings of anger. In addition, if Darius's vow that Zerubbabel describes is a fiction on the part of Zerubbabel, the indirectness functions to gloss over the nature of the vow. Zerubbabel presents a very ambiguous account of past events. Although this may seem to be an unsophisticated strategy on his part, Zerubbabel's aim seems to be to overwhelm, confuse or otherwise entice Darius with his circumlocutionary description as a way of convincing Darius of the truth and validity of what is, in fact, a fabricated vow.

3.7. Arrangement

While the structure of Zerubbabel's first speech corresponds with the predetermined structure of classical rhetoric (prologue, argument, narration, and epilogue),[236] the other speeches form a chiastic structure. The structure of the five speeches warrants comparison with the other structures that are detailed in the theories of classical rhetoric. A speech, in classical rhetoric, ought to be structured into four parts and arranged in a particular sequence: prologue, narration, argument, and epilogue.[237]

In the prologue of all the speeches (except Zerubbabel's third speech), a direct address functions to capture the audience's attention; a rhetorical question naturally and effectively introduces the topics of the bodyguards.[238] Although Zerubbabel's third speech does not contain a prologue, 1 Esd 4:41–42 indicates that all of the listeners were already attentive to the content of Zerubbabel's speech; Darius's request implies that there was a

236. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 5.
237. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 122–3.
238. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1414b; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 231. A prologue functions to effectively introduce the theme in question as well as calling for the listeners' attention.

situational introduction to Zerubbabel's answer.[239] Thus, in this situation, a prologue may be deemed redundant.

Table 3.4. The Structure of the Speech of the First Bodyguard

The Structure of the Speech of the First Bodyguard	
Prologue:	**A –** 3:17 – A direct address and a rhetorical question
Argument:	**B –** 3:18–22 – Main argument and its rationale
Epilogue:	**A` –** 3:23 – A direct address and a rhetorical question
The Structure of the Speech of the Second Bodyguard	
Prologue:	**A –** 4:2–3 – A direct address, rhetorical question, and main thesis;
Argument:	**B –** 4:4–6 – Argument by means of hypothetical situations;
	C – 4:7a – Proclamation of the king's absolute authority;
	B` – 4:7b–11 – Argument by means of the hypothetical situations;
Epilogue:	**A` –** 4:12 – A direct address, rhetorical question, and main thesis.
The Structure of Zerubbabel's First Speech	
Prologue:	4:14 – A direct address and rhetorical questions
Argument:	4:15–27 – Main argument and the speaker's rationale
Narration:	4:28–31 – Zerubbabel's witness account
Epilogue:	4:32 – A direct address and a rhetorical question
The Structure of Zerubbabel's Second Speech	
Prologue:	**A –** 4:34–35 – Cosmological Phenomena and God the Creator
Argument:	**B –** 4:36 – Truth's superiority
	C – 4:37 – Unrighteous and ephemeral entities: wine, a king, and women
	B` – 4:38–39 –Righteous and eternal truth
Epilogue:	**A` –** 4:40 – The Greatness of truth and the God of truth
The Structure of Zerubbabel's Third Speech	
Argument:	**A –** 4:43a – Entreaty: "Remember the vow."
Narration:	**B –** 4:43b–44a – Darius's vow: To build Jerusalem and send back all of the vessels
	C – 4:44b – Cyrus's vow: To separate out the vessels
	B` – 4:45 – Darius's vow: To build the temple – Destruction by Chaldeans and Idumeans
Epilogue:	**A` –** 4:46 – Entreaty: "Fulfil the vow."

239. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1415b–1416a; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric,* 235. The conventions of classical rhetoric do not demand that deliberative speech contains a prologue.

The speeches of the first two bodyguards do not include the part of the narration about the value of wine and a king. It is important to note that narration, as a key component of persuasive speech, differs from "*narrative*, meaning any account of a course of events."[240] They thereby lose out on their opportunity to strengthen the persuasiveness of their speeches with a non-artistic proof (e.g., witness).

Unlike the preceding speeches, Zerubbabel's first and third speeches includes narration: his witness account. In a patriarchal society in which women's words and views could be all too easily ignored, the narration plays a crucial role in demonstrating women's superiority.[241] In his third speech, narration constitutes the majority of Zerubbabel's speech (1 Esd 4:43b–45). The unconventional features of Zerubbabel's deliberative speech, such as his long narrative and short argument, in no way diminish the extent to which his speech serves to persuade others. It appears to be a useful tool in inducing Darius to make a favourable decision; it does so by reminding him of past events: the vows of Cyrus and Darius.[242]

As their *logos* shows, the argument in the speeches of the three bodyguards is well-structured and reinforces the persuasiveness of their own speeches. Exceptionally, unlike many texts which exhibit classical rhetorical features, Zerubbabel's third speech begins with a very simple argument (1 Esd 4:43a) rather than with narrative.[243] The impact of Zerubbabel's argument is, though, amplified by the narrative about the vow that follows in 1 Esd 4:43b–45, as well as by the repetition of Zerubbabel's entreaty to fulfil the vow. This

240. Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 238. Cf. Kennedy, *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*, 5. Narration, in rhetoric, provides contextual information or factual details about the issue in question.

241. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1416b; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric*, 239.

242. Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric,* 242; Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1418a; Quintilian, *Inst*. 3:8:10–11.

243. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 160–1. In classical rhetoric, because the argument is a decisive component of the extent to which a speech succeeds in being persuasive, the brevity of Zerubbabel's argument is especially striking.

style of argument may be regarded as being typical of that which is often used in persuasive speech.

While the first three speeches conclude with the repetition of a direct address and a rhetorical question which serve to remind the audience of the superiority of wine,[244] Zerubbabel's second and third speeches show a different style of epilogue. Zerubbabel's second speech concludes with an assertive notion about truth (v. 40a–b) and a doxology (v. 40c). This ending is appropriate in that to praise truth comports with the epideictic nature of the speech. Although a narration does not appear in Zerubbabel's second speech, unlike his first and third speeches, the illustration that bolsters the account of the universality of truth – cosmological phenomena – and the personification of the earth and heavens serves to present them as witnesses to support the eternality and superiority of truth. In addition, the epilogue of Zerubbabel's third speech begins with the conclusive marker καὶ νῦν, the equivalent of ועתה ("and now"), which often serves as a conclusive marker in speeches within the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Gen 44:33).[245]

As the epilogue in classical rhetoric, all of these styles of epilogue, though the forms are diverse, function "1) to refresh the memory and 2) to influence the emotion."[246] By recapitulating their own speeches in the epilogue, the orators inscribe their words in the audience's mind. The repetition of the rhetorical question, the direct address, and the thesis serves to effectively reinforce the persuasiveness of each individual speech. In particular, the orators add the vocative particle ὦ to his direct address not only to draw attention of the

244. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 204. In classical rhetoric, epilogue functions "1) to refresh the memory and 2) to influence the emotion."

245. Gera, *Judith*, 88. καὶ νῦν is certainly acceptable in classical Greek.

246. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 204.

audience but also to heighten the emotion and to evoke the admiration of those present, so as to create a favourable impression in the eyes of the audience.[247]

I would like to clarify one structural issue in the speech of the second bodyguard, Bird points out that there is a particularly awkward section with regard to the flow of the speech between 4:7b–10a (B-text 4:7b–10) and vv. 10b–11. He suggests that vv. 7b–10a may have been a later addition and that the original order of vv. 1–12 may have been in the form of the following sequence: vv. 1–6; 11; 7a; 12.[248] Although I do not rule out the possibility that the final redactor may have added some words and amended the ordering of the constituent parts of the argument, I think that the speech itself is original for several reasons.

First, the verbs ἀφίημι ("to release") in v. 7 and φυτεύω ("to plant") in v. 9 also appear in the speech of the third bodyguard (4:16, 19, and 21). This suggests that the author intentionally crafted the same verbs into the speech of the third bodyguard in order to reinforce the refutation of the argument of the second bodyguard. In doing so, the author foregrounds the notion of the superiority of women. Second, I agree that there are stylistic differences between vv. 7b–10a and vv. 10b–11. However, as I have already pointed out, the stylistic and topical change in vv. 10b–11 could reflect courtesy on part of the orator when refuting the argument of the first orator. Third – and more importantly – the chiastic structure of this speech seems to have been adopted in order to highlight the ostensible superiority of the king. I cannot identify a convincing reason as to why the speech of the second orator would be rearranged.

Generally, the speeches of the three orators are well-structured for the purpose of delivering their own thesis and argument, and for doing so effectively.

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247. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 190. The particle ὦ can express an intense emotion on the part of the speaker such as admiration (e.g., 4 Macc 15:29; 17:4). The second orator also uses this particle in the introduction of his speech.

248. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 163–4.

3.8. Style

3.8.1. Amplification

One of the most significant rhetorical devices is that of amplification (αὔξησις; Lat. *amplificatio*); this, as Lausberg explains, "is a graded enhancement of the basic given facts by artistic means, in the interest of the party."[249] Amplification, as the most appropriate rhetorical style for epideictic rhetoric, underscores the superiority of each topic.[250] In the first speech, the depiction of wine as powerful is intensified by the manner in which it is compared with mind, royalty, feeling, friendship, and memory.[251] The inability to recall one's own behaviour is the nadir of wine's negative effect. In the second speech, the king's authority is amplified by the term ἐπακουστός, heightening submission to the king's order (see 2.3.2). In the first speech of Zerubbabel, as mentioned in 3.5.1, the entertaining and humorous aspects of the contest reach a climax through the potentially highly offensive anecdote about Apame. In the second speech of Zerubbabel, the superiority of truth is amplified by the repetition of the terms used to nuance the nature of superiority – ἰσχύς, βασίλειον, ἐξουσία, and μεγαλειότης (cf. Dan 2:37; 7:27).

3.8.2. *Anaphora*

In the speeches, *anaphora* (ἀναφορά; Lat. repetitio), which means "intermittent repetition of the beginning of a colon or a comma,"[252] appears twice. In the speech of the second orator, *anaphora* is used to effectively introduce several hypothetical situations – ἐάν λέγω in vv. 3, 4, 7b and λέγω in vv. 7b-9. In Zerubbabel's second speech, employing anaphora in his use of

249. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 118.

250. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1392a; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric,* 157. For the usage of amplification in the Hebrew Bible, see Robert Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 75–103.

251. Quintilian, *Inst*. 8.4.9–15.

252. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 281.

ἄδικος in v. 37, he strongly affirms the unrighteousness of wine, a king, and women so as to intensify the righteous attribute of truth.

3.8.3. *Diaphora*

As I mentioned above (3.4.2), *diaphora* is a particular stylistic feature that shows the interconnectedness of the speeches, hence it implies that the speeches may have been composed by one author. This style is also attested in the speech of the first orator as well as the second and third orators' speeches. Three of the bodyguard's words belong to this style: διάνοια, μιμνήσκομαι, and πᾶς. The repetition of πᾶς emphasises the superiority of wine over all other things.

Table 3.5. *Diaphora* in the Speech of the first bodyguard

διάνοια	διάνοια in 3:17 – confused thought διάνοια in 3:18 – levelled thought διάνοια in 3:19 – changed thought
μιμνήσκομαι	μιμνήσκομαι in 3:19 – forgetting of grief and debt μιμνήσκομαι in 3:20 – forgetting of king and satrap μιμνήσκομαι in 3:21 – forgetting of friend and brother μιμνήσκομαι in 3:22 – forgetting of one's own behaviour
πᾶς	πᾶς in 3:17 – all the men πᾶς in 3:19 – all thought πᾶς in 3:19 – all grief all debt πᾶς in 3:20 – all hearts πᾶς in 3:20 – everyone

3.8.4. Hyperbole

The distinct rhetorical style in Zerubbabel's third speech is that of hyperbole (ὑπερβολή; Lat. *hyperbolē*), which "is a fitting exaggeration of the truth in order to make something appear greater or smaller than it is."[253] The professed superiority of women is represented by the exaggerated representations of men's seemingly insane actions of infatuation and of Apame's

253. Rowe, "Style," 128.

uncouth behaviour. This hyperbolic style is highly ironic, proving the superiority of women in a male-dominated competition and providing comic relief in an entertainment-oriented contest.[254]

3.8.5. Hypothesis

After having presented his thesis (4:3), the second bodyguard presents a series of hypothetical (or fictitious) situations (ὑπόθεσις, Lat. *fictio*)[255] in order to attest to the superiority of the king in vv. 4–11. As Table 3.6. shows, two attributes of the king are revealed through the *hypothesis*. While the first one highlights the tyrannical nature of kingship, the second one could also be seen to connote a "good" character. These positive and negative characteristics of the king are reminders of the extent of his power to control beings; the authority and strength of his rule are not contingent upon the ethical quality of his character.

Table 3.6. Categorised Aspects of the King's Superiority

vv. 4–5a	Absolute command in warfare	**Autocracy**
vv. 5b–6	Labour and contribution to the king	
vv. 7b–9	Control of destruction and construction	**Authority of the king**
vv. 10–11	Control in silence	

3.8.6. *Inclusio*

Another shared stylistic feature of the speeches is *inclusio* (or *redditio*): the repetition of words at the beginning and the end of a series of sentences.[256] The first three speeches open and close with a rhetorical question (3:17, 23; 4:2, 12; 4:14, 32). Using interrogation by means of a rhetorical question is an especially effective way in which one may encourage the

254. Abrams and Harpham, *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, 166.

255. Quintilian, *Inst*. 5.10.95–99.

256. Quintilian, *Inst*. 9.3.34–35; Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 280–1; Kieran J. O'Mahony, *Pauline Persuasion: A Sounding in 2 Corinthians 8-9* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 107. As O'Mahony points out, Quintilian – at first – explains the concept of *inclusio* by using Cicero's words.

audience to consider what the potential answer might be – the answer to which the speaker wants the audience to arrive.[257]

3.8.7. Interrogation

One of the styles most frequently deployed among these speeches is interrogation. Lausberg defines it and describes its function:

> *Interrogatio* is the expression of an intended statement in the form of a question to which no answer is expected, since in view of the situation, from the point of view of the speaking party, the answer is supposed to be self-evident. The impatient and emotive couching of the statement in the form of a question is intended to humiliate the opposing party.[258]

The first three speeches begin and end with interrogation (1 Esd 3:17, 23; 4:2, 12; 4:14, 32). Notably, 1 Esd 4:14 and 28 in Zerubbabel's first speech both contain three consecutive rhetorical questions. While, in the beginning, such questions function to show the competitiveness of one's own answer over the other topics, the orators also employ interrogation to assert their own argument in the end. It is a very appropriate style for an epideictic speech. By omitting this style, in the end of Zerubbabel's second speech, he straightforwardly praises truth.

3.8.8. Metonymy

In 1 Esd 4:28, references to 'all of the lands' can be defined as metonymy (μετωνυμία, Lat. *Denomination*): "the name of one thing applied to another with which it is closely associated."[259] The reference to 'all of the lands' seems to pertain, by implication, to all of the people who inhabit all of the lands. The fear of the personified lands with respect to

257. Aristotle, *Rhet*. 1420a–b; Kennedy, *Aristotle on Rhetoric,* 250; Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 340. Interrogation is "the expression of an intended statement in the form of a question to which no answer is expected, since in view of the situation" (Lausberg, 340).

258. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 340.

259. Rowe, "Style," 126.

touching the king represents the fact that no one is allowed to touch the king except for Apame. The fact that the King – who cannot be touched – is slapped by Apame attests to the superiority of women.

3.8.9. Personification

Personification (προσωποποιία, Lat. *fictio personae*) is "the introduction of non-personal things as persons capable of speech and other forms of personified behavior." Personification is a highly appropriate stylistic feature for demonstrating superiority. This style is employed in the first speech and Zerubbabel's second speech. In the first speech, it functions to vividly illustrate the power and effects of wine upon the minds of those who drink it.[260]

In Zerubbabel's second speech, this style is crucial to understanding the character of truth. As Hilhorst points out, the concept of truth personified and ruling supreme in 1 Esdras may be unique.

> While we have noted various points of contact with ideas current in Greece, Persia, Egypt, and Israel, none of these worlds yielded exact parallels for a truth concept combining the characteristics *personified, supreme power,* and *meaning 'justice'.* Each of the areas was familiar with personification, each of them showed examples of personified and more or less divine truth, and at least two of them could use one word both for 'truth' and 'justice', but nowhere have we found the idea of personified truth ruling supreme. So apparently the image of truth in 1 Esdras was unique in this respect.[261]

This unique style is very appropriate for describing the personified truth's performative or active nature, which is a distinct concept of truth in the Hebrew Bible as compared with other cultures (see 4.5.2).

260. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 370. Quintilian, *Inst*. 9.2.
261. Hilhorst, "The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41," 148.

3.8.10. Repetition

In this chapter, I pointed out several repeated stylistic features. So, in this section, I highlight one notable repetition in the speech of the second orator. The repetition of contrasting verbs serves to highlight the extensive reach of the power of the king. This style, which alludes to the paired antonymous verbs in Jer 24:6 and 31:28, will be discussed in 4.3.1.[262]

Repetition of Contrast Words (King's Command / Submission by People)	
v. 7b ἀποκτείνω ("to kill")	v. 7c ἀφίημι ("to release")
v. 8b ἐρημόω ("to lay waste")	v. 8c οἰκοδομέω ("to build")
v. 9a ἐκκόπτω ("to cut down")	v. 9b φυτεύω ("to plant")

3.8.11. Synedoche

The distinct style that is exhibited in the speech of the second orator is synecdoche (συνεκδοχή; Lat. *intellectio*) which "occurs when a part of something is signified by the whole or the whole is signified by its part."[263] In 1 Esd 4:2, "the land and the sea and all things" represent the material world: that which is ruled by human beings.[264] The various stylistic techniques that are used in the speech of the second orator strengthen his *logos*, attesting to the king's superiority and functioning to communicate the orator's reasoning capabilities to the audience both effectively and impressively.

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262. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 181. In this style of repetition, v. 8a is an exceptional clause, breaking the pattern in vv. 7–9 by excluding one part of an expected pair. Talshir offers two possible explanations: 1) that these were later additions, effected by an individual who was unable to recognise the specific literary pattern; 2) that the paired verset had accidentally been omitted. By way of offering another suggestion, I contend that the author intentionally broke the pattern. In the LXX, the verbs πατάσσω and τύπτω are only paired in 2 Kgs 14:10 and 1 Esd 4:8. In the letter that King Jehoash of Israel sent to King Amaziah of Judah (2 Kgs 14:10), the paired verbs were used to describe how Judah had defeated Idumea. One of the most peculiar things about third speech of Zerubbabel is the fact that he mentions the Idumeans in 1Esd 4:45. It is possible that the reference to the Idumeans reflects the fact that the scene unfolded in the second century B.C.E. (e.g., 2 Macc 10:15–17).

263. Rowe, "Style," 133; cf. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric*, 260–1.

264. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 172. This verse recalls Gen 1:26, 28; 9:2; Ps 8:5–9.

3.8.12. Trope of Flattery

First Esdras 4:31, Zerubbabel describes how the King's attitude depends on the sentiments of Apame at any given time. While Apame's pleasure makes the King jovial in turn, the King takes it upon himself to try to soothe the irritated woman by means of flattery (κολακεύω, "to flatter"). In 3.3.1.3–4, I pointed out the importance of flattering others to the second orator; he sought to highlight the King's authoritative power by designating the King as a target worthy of flattery. Zerubbabel's rationale, in contrast, is to foreground Apame's superiority by identifying her as the subject of the King's flattery. As such, we may infer that he seeks to indirectly refute the words of the second orator via the anecdote about Apame.

3.9. Comedy

3.9.1. Developmental or Eclectic Model[265]

In 3.5.1, I discussed humorous aspects in the first three speeches. As I suggested in 2.4.2, the humour in these speeches may be compared with the literary aspects of Greek Comedy. Let us consider two basic theories for explaining how the author of the story placed these comedic aspects in the story of the Three Bodyguards.

First, the author may have developed these humorous features from the Hebrew Bible. The fact that ancient Greeks had well-developed theories of humour (or of the role of laughter in persuasion) does not mean that they were the only culture that used humour rhetorically. In fact, humour often appears in the Hebrew Bible, especially in the form of satire, with its own cultural nuances. Although humour is not a pervasive literary feature in the Hebrew Bible, it is possible that the author learned this sort of sarcastic speech, or the

265. Here, the term 'eclectic' or 'eclecticism' refers to authors selecting ideas or styles from a diverse range of sources (cf. Jewish and Greek literature).

description of an incongruous situation, from the Hebrew Bible.[266] It is plausible that the comedic element in the first two speeches in the contest was influenced by similar examples in the Hebrew Bible. Nevertheless, the ironic figure of men, ridicule, the incongruous situation, burlesque, slapstick, and the "edginess" in the anecdote about Apame described in Zerubbabel's first speech are atypical when compared with most topics of Hebrew humour.

Of course, the book of Esther in the Hebrew version shares various elements with the Apame anecdote and the story of the Three Bodyguards: a lavish banquet scene and a happy ending, and the heroic action of Esther. However, in the book of Esther, there is no slapstick or subversive humour showing women's usurpation of the king's position.

Furthermore, the literary similarity between the anecdote about Esther and Apame may not fully support the evolutionary model due to the fact that we cannot ignore the suggestion that the book of Esther, which possesses the elements of Greek comedy, may also have been influenced by Greek literature.[267] In addition, if we think about the relationship between the Hebrew Esther and the Greek additions to Esther, it is hard to deny the possibility that the newer Greek literary aspect was incorporated into the Greek version of Esther.[268]

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266. Gen 17 takes the form of a dialogue between God and Abraham, focusing on God's promise and Abraham's reaction to it. In the conversation, God persuades Abraham to believe His promise about the covenantal relationship between God and Abraham's descendant. Although God promises that Sarah will bear a child, Abraham reacts by laughing (Gen 17:17). Likewise, in Gen 18:12–13, Sarah also responds to the LORD's promise that she will bear a son by laughing. For them, it is a contradictory, incongruous, impossible idea that an elderly person could bear a child. The divine, persuasive (if incongruous) speech arouses feelings of amusement; their laughter implies, of course, that they are not actually persuaded by the divine speech. This example is confined to the incongruity theory.

Comedic elements of the Hebrew Bible have also been highlighted by several scholars. For a recent scholarly discussion about the use of humour in the Hebrew Bible, see Jackson, *Comedy and Feminist Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible*; Mark Roncace, "He's Driving like Jehu – Like a Madman: Humor and Violence in 2 Kings 9–10," in *Characters and Characterization in the Book of Kings*, eds. Keith Bodner and Benjamin J. M. Johnson (London; New York: T&T Clark, 2020), 167–81.

267. Berlin, *Esther*, xvi–xxii; Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2002), 140–8.

268. Wills, *Introduction to the Apocrypha*, 28–9. The colophon (F 11) is the most distinct literary feature of Greek Esther. It offers that "we are still provided with a date between 114 and 48 BCE" (28). So, the literary aspect of Greek Esther is comparable to the story of the Three Bodyguards.

For instance, the significance of the slapstick comedy in the action of Apame by the term ῥαπίζω ("to strike" or "to slap") can be understood by examining Aristophanic slapstick. In the works of Aristophanes, who is a representative writer of Old Comedy in ancient Athens, slapstick by hitting, striking, and beating appears as a dramatic technique to provoke humour. Jasper Donelan explains the purpose and function of slapstick comedy:

> Such action may be gratifying when the victims are authority figures, thus allowing the audience to experience a vicarious victory over those who, in real life, would be protected by their status. Physical attacks also serve to humble characters who profess undue authority. As for the anti-intellectual aspect of hitting, Aristophanes counters this, in part, when he has his characters employ objects; these can add a semantic layer to the action by creating visual/verbal puns (e.g. the 'guts and intestines' in *Knights*, the 'Corcyrean wings' in *Birds*) or irony (the horse-goad in *Knights*, the book roll in *Birds*). The *basanos* episode in *Frogs* is a special case since there is no obvious aggressor/victim configuration, but it is a successful and funny set piece for the reasons outlined above. Common to all instances of hitting in Aristophanes is the fact that there are never any serious consequences. Like the cinematic slapstick discussed in the Introduction, characters that are struck, though they may cry out in pain, are always allowed to exit alive and uninjured.[269]

In this regard, the description of Apame's slapping by her hand in Zerubbabel's speech is appropriate to show the strongness of women by eliciting humour. So, in this circumstance, I suggest the second hypothesis in which the comedic element in the story of

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Wills summarises several scholarly opinions suggesting the Greek literary features of Greek Esther. For instance, Cameron Boyd-Taylor argues that "Esther has stepped through the looking-glass of Greek sentimental romance, and she will never be the same" (113). See, "Esther's Great Adventure: Reading the LXX Version of the Book of Esther in Light of Its Assimilation to the Conventions of the Greek Romantic Novel," *BIOSCS* 30 (1997): 113.

Wills also argues that "two of the additions to Esther, B and E (Greek Esther 13 and 16), exhibit a much more developed Greek rhetorical style than do the other additions, or indeed, than any part of any Jewish novella." See Wills, "Jewish Novellas in a Greek and Roman Age: Fiction and Identity," 162.

For the history of scholarship on the issue of textual relationship between MT, OG, and AT of Esther, see Tyler Smith and Kristin De Troyer, "The Additions of the Greek Book(s) of Esther," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Apocrypha*, ed. Gerbern S. Oegema (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 388–96.

269. Jasper F. Donelan, "Conflict and Comedy: Insults, Threats, and Slapstick in the Plays of Aristophanes" (PhD diss., The University of Nottingham, 2018), 187–8. Donelan makes a "catalogue of violent acts in Aristophanes" (pp. 231–5).

the Three Bodyguards was not developed from the Hebrew Bible but expanded by the author who chose and employed the literary features of Greek Comedy in his use of rhetoric.

3.9.2. Purpose and Function of Comedy

With a preference for the eclectic model, I must suggest the intention of the author's selection and the function of the comedic elements in Zerubbabel's first speech.

First, as I pointed out several times, *in* the story, the author may infuse comedic qualities into the anecdote about Apame to amplify a playful atmosphere or to make Zerubbabel's first speech more competitive in the entertaining contest.[270]

Second, the function of comedy in Zerubbabel's first speech can be understood in the socio-cultural context that the author was living in. In other words, the function hinges on the significance of the comic effect for the readers/listeners of the story. What feelings of the audience might be evoked? For which purpose did the author select it and place it in the larger context of the rebuilding story? Because the target of this story is likely to be contemporary Jews, I present the purpose and function as appropriate to the cultural context of Jews who lived in the 2nd century BCE.

Two views are applicable for understanding the function of comedy in Zerubbabel's first speech – polemic versus resolution. First, women constitute a topic of interest for the author, who, not incidentally, rewrote the mixed marriage crisis in 1 Esd 8:65–9:36 (Ezra 9–10). Such is the case not only for the author, for women and marriage are recurrent themes in the Second Temple literature (e.g., *Jubilees*, 4Q215, 4Q545, and *The Aramaic Levi Document*). In this regard, the comedy in the anecdote about Apame functions not only to destabilise the common cultural values but also to convey a subversive attitude to the readers,

270. I do not mean that the idea of women being superior to men in itself is humorous. To my mind, the idea itself may be neutral. The idea can be formulated or expressed in humour or seriousness. We may find the comedic element, not from the idea but from the description.

who recognise women's subordinate situation in Jewish culture. On the other hand, if we take into account Zerubbabel's first and second speeches together, the sarcasm, the ironic portrayal of the king, and Apame's usurping behaviour in his first speech seem to support his argument in his second speech – the wickedness or unrighteousness of women.

In a similar vein, Sandoval notes that women's powerful and negative influence on men in Zerubbabel's first speech (1 Esd 4:13–32) reflects the Israelites' iniquities that were commensurate with marriage to foreign people (1 Esd 8:81–2). In addition, he contends that "Ezra's framing of the people's situation and especially the interrogative of 8:85 (Eng.=8:88), a rhetorical linchpin in his sermon, resonate distinctly with Zerubbabel's earlier discourses on women and Truth."[271] In his argument, the rhetorical question in 1 Esd 8:85 indicates that women's unrighteousness is judged by truth's righteous and everlasting nature. He concludes that the speeches about women and truth in the story of the Three Bodyguards function to anticipate and nullify objections to the expulsion of foreign women in 1 Esd 8:65–9:36.

However, the polemical view of the comedic element – either weakening or strengthening the contemporary perspective regarding women – is inadequate. As Sandoval emphasises, I do not disregard the argument that the positive description of women could amplify their dangerous influence upon men.[272] Nevertheless, we cannot overlook the theme of women's worth and superiority in 1 Esd 4:16–17 (see 4.4.1). Indeed, we should consider that Zerubbabel's speech demonstrates the unrighteousness of all the topics (wine, a king, and women) including men, in 1 Esd 4:37. Zimmermann and Talshir pointed out the existence of two different views about women in the speech.[273] While Talshir considers the verses (4:20–

271. Sandoval, "The strength of women and truth," 218.

272. Ibid., 217.

273. Ibid., 225. Sandoval supports his argument with the contrasting reaction to Ezra's decision of the expulsion. "Whereas Ezra 10:15 might indicate Jonathan, Jahzeiah, Meshullam, and Shabbethai opposed Ezra, in 1 Esdras 9:14 these explicitly support the decision" (225). However, this difference may not be interpretive, but translational. LXX Ezra 10:15, which displays a very literal translation technique, reads עִמָּדִי rather than עָמְדוּ. This indicates that the source of 1 Esdras's author might have עִמָּדִי.

21, 25) an expansion of the original speech,[274] Böhler argues that the different views "are intended, just as in the discourses on wine and the king, to demonstrate the ambiguity of women's power over men."[275]

As I pointed out in 3.6, an ambivalent perspective is a shared characteristic of the three orators. In view of what we have seen to be a harmonious and selective attitude on the part of the author, I am reluctant to presume that the author's intention was to be polemical over tendentious issues.

So, I suggest the other possibility that the author may have employed the comedic element to resolve tensions at a social or cultural level. Comedy functions not only to create tensions but also to release them;[276] the structural character of comedy affirms this. Ian C. Storey and Arlene Allan describe the structural character of Old Comedy: "A typical comedy might run: formulation and presentation of the great idea, debate (*agōn*) to put the idea in action, the comic consequences of the idea, culminating in a resolution, these various elements connected by singing and dancing by the chorus."[277]

In addition, as Gruen points out, I suggest that, in the anecdote about Apame, we can recognise a certain kind of humour – *Diaspora Humour*: one that came into being in the form of Jewish texts such as Esther, Daniel, Tobit, or Judith in the Second Temple period, representing the lives and thoughts of those in the diaspora.[278] Gruen presents two remarkable purpose for diaspora humour. First, diaspora humour sublimates the fear, suffering, or sorrow of the people who live under the power of the governing classes: "By ridiculing the 'other,' mirth can suppress fear. Comedy serves as compensation."[279] Second,

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274. Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 69–70
275. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 106.
276. Wills, *Judith*, 98–100.
277. Ian C. Storey and Arlene Allan, *A Guide to Ancient Greek Drama*, 2nd ed. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014), 178.
278. Gruen, *Diaspora*, 135–212.
279. Ibid., 137.

sarcasm-oriented humour often connotes disdain or ridicule for a situation of subordination or the implicit attitude of the subservient towards those in power. Thus, "mockery can direct itself against foreign rulers, but also against Jews themselves – or, more commonly, against both."[280]

In light of this, on the one hand, we cannot dismiss the idea that the sarcasm of the speeches was aimed at a Jewish audience. On the other hand, we should remember that sarcasm is not the ultimate purpose of the comedy, but the process to achieve the resolution. Most notably, as I already mentioned in 2.4.2, one of the functions of court tales or Jewish novellae is to resolve tensions. If the author was aware of the function of comedy, to place it in a court tale is an appropriate way to achieve the purpose and the message that the author intended.

Then, what is the significance of resolving tensions through humour in the first three speeches? The author may not have chosen to employ a comedic element strictly for the purposes of resolving tensions or suggesting solutions. Rather, comedy may function to unveil controversial issues among Jews in the second century BCE so as to refresh the spirits of the readers/listeners in their disagreements, though it is questionable whether humour actually mitigated their polemical attitudes. Although it would be a temporary resolution, it is enough to make the readers/listeners focus on the author's message embodied in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. I will discuss the author's message further in 4.7.

3.10. Greek *Paideia* in the Story of the Three Bodyguards

In this chapter, I have analysed the five speeches in relation to classical rhetorical conventions. There are evident similarities between the theories of classical rhetoric and the speeches in the story. In addition, I have argued that the speeches contain the elements of

280. Ibid.

Greek Comedy. Two explanations are applicable for this resemblance. First, the author had an intuitive sense of the universal or cross-cultural principles of persuasion and humour. Second, the author may have learned about classical rhetoric and comedic literature through educational institutions in the Hellenistic age, whether formally (and informally).

I suggest that the author of the story acquired a Greek education, which would include rhetorical training and the curriculum of literary studies. First, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, Harvey shows that the form of this story resembles the Constitutional Debate (Herodotus, *Hist*. 3.80–82), which involved the deliberative speeches of three Persian aristocrats (Otanes, Megabyzus, and Darius) about the preferred form of government.[281] Each orator argued the superiority of democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy respectively. The argument with respect to the disadvantages of monarchy in Otanes's speech and of the advantages of monarchy in Darius's speech especially exhibit commonalities with the description of the autocratic and authoritative kingship in the speech of the second orator. Second, in regard to the curriculum of rhetorical training at secondary schools (cf. *Progymnasmata*, preliminary exercises in the rhetorical schools) and the sophisticated education of rhetoric in higher education in the Hellenistic era, it is plausible that the author, who is able to write the story in Greek, was exposed to Greek literary studies.[282] Third, we do not know to what extent the Alexandrian (or Palestinian) scholars or people in the second and first century BCE were familiar with the conventions of Greek Comedy, because very few comedic writings ("less than 1 percent of the total production in this genre")[283] have been preserved. Nevertheless, as Nigel Wilson contends, the author likely had a chance to read or listen to the comedic literature. Fourth, although the historicity of the performance in Jerusalem of the festival of Dionysus is

281. Harvey, "Darius' Court and the Guardsmen's Debate," 179–90.
282. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, 172–5, 194–205.
283. Nigel Wilson, "The transmission of comic texts," in *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*, ed. Martin Revermann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 424.

debatable (cf. 2 Macc 6:7),[284] it is clear that comic competitions were associated with the festival of Dionysus and were a well-known fashion in the Eastern Mediterranean world in the second century BCE.[285]

Fifth, as I mentioned in 3.2, the coexistence of philosophy and rhetoric in the story implies two pillars of higher education in the Hellenistic era. Sixth, Wright insists that the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* "has acquired a Greek education of at least sufficient sophistication that it enabled him to produce a Hellenistic Greek work that blends genres, that is expressed through Greek rhetorical forms, and that adopts and adapts Greek literary sources."[286] Wright's suggestion implies that the author of the story was not exceptional with respect to being an educated and prolific Jewish author during the Hellenistic era. This writer could choose to employ literary quality Greek – namely, rhetoric and comedy. In a bilingual and multi-cultural world, the ability to use another language or cultural perspective is not an extremely remarkable or out-of-the-ordinary proposition. However, the author's use of this calibre of Greek does not mean that the author used Greek literary features to illustrate the superiority of Greek literature or to represent his assimilation to Greek culture. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, the author of the story did not forget to include Jewish aspects in the speeches. So, the author's use of Greek literary features represents his scribal eclecticism.

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284. Ory Amitay, "Dionysos in Jerusalem and the Historicity of 2 Macc 6:7 *," *HTR* 110.2 (2017): 265–79; Benjamin Edidin Scolnic, "The Festival of Dionysus in 2 Macc 6:7b," *JSJ* 49.2 (2018): 153–64.

285. Brigitte Le Guen, "The Diffusion of Comedy From the Age of Alexander to the Beginning of the Roman Empire," in *Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*, eds. Michael Fontaine and Adele C. Scafuro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 362–7. "The association of Egyptian *tekhnitai*, under the patronage of Dionysus and the Lagid monarchs—that is, first designated as being under the patronage of 'Dionysus and the Fraternal Gods (*Theoi Adelphoi*),' and then later as under 'Dionysus and the Gods Made Manifest (*Theoi Epiphaneis*)' ; it may have preceded the Athenian guild, and had its seats at Ptolemais and perhaps Alexandria, as well as an affiliate active on Cyprus between the middle of the second century and the beginning of the first century BCE" (363).

286. Benjamin G. Wright, "Greek *Paideia* and the Jewish Community of Alexandria in the Letter of Aristeas," in *Second Temple Jewish Paideia in Context*, eds. Jason M. Zurawski and Gabriele Boccaccini, BZNW 228 (Berlin; Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2017), 109.

3.11. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have analysed the five speeches according to the constituent parts of classical rhetoric. Although the speeches have different *stases* and genres, I suggested that the speeches and the entire surrounding narrative may have been devised by an author who wanted to augment the story of how Zerubbabel became the winner in the contest so as to make his plea to Darius. Importantly, I pointed out that Zerubbabel's second speech, as a transitional speech, has a hidden motive: to prepare for his third speech. Zerubbabel's *ethos* and his different style and tone in his speeches functioned to make him the winner of the contest.

In addition, I highlighted the *pathos* in the first three speeches and their comedic elements (sarcasm, humour, and irony). I suggested that the climactic humorous speech in the anecdote concerning Apame was derived from Greek Comedy (e.g., Aristophanic slapstick). While *in* the story the humour strengthens the entertaining aspect of the contest, *beyond* the story it functions to resolve some controversial and polemical issues. It is likely the author intended to alleviate certain tensions around these issues provisionally, mainly in order to accomplish the larger goal of advancing the message conveyed by Zerubbabel's second and third speeches.

Furthermore, I suggested that the author, who acquired a Greek education during the Hellenistic period, deliberately employed Greek literary devices without neglecting to incorporate distinctively Jewish colourings in the speeches. In the next chapter, I uncover the Jewish markers in the speeches and investigate their significance (purpose and message). I also examine why the author incorporated both Greek and Jewish literary features.

Chapter 4. Transmission of Rhetoric

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed the five speeches of 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 according to theories of classical rhetoric and found several rhetorical features, devices, and figures represented by the *logos*, *pathos*, *ethos*, style, and arrangement of each speech. I also described the comedic elements in the first three speeches and discussed how they functioned *in* and *beyond* the story.

In this chapter, I undertake to identify the rhetorical features that were plausibly transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint and their significance in the story of the three bodyguards. In 1.4.1, I explained that the identification of allusion helps to reveal the transmission of the rhetoric.[287] So, based on the categories for identifying allusion – lexical *and* thematic (or topical) correspondence, I will endeavour to determine what speeches and texts that the author of the story was likely to have alluded to. In these sections, I will show how the rhetorical force in the evoked texts listed in Table 4.1 is employed in the five speeches of the story, even though the *stasis* and genre are different.

Then, after outlining these allusions and based on my analysis in Chapters 3 through 4.6, I summarise the purpose of the allusions in 4.7. I will explain how the purpose and function of allusion in the first three speeches resembles the purpose and function of comedic

287. For a thorough treatment of allusion, see 1.3.

elements in the speeches that I discussed in 3.9.2. In this regard, I will point out that, while allusion in Zerubbabel's first speech evokes humour, which makes a resolution in the mind of the readers/listeners, Zerubbabel's second and third speeches convey the actual rhetorical message of the story. In this way, through a thorough understanding of allusion in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches, and the significance of the narrative after the contest in 1 Esd 4:47–63, I examine the perspective of the author and the message of the story of Three Bodyguards.

Table 4.1. List of Allusions

Speech	Allusion
Speech of the First Bodyguard	πλανάω caused by οἶνος in Isa 28:7 (and/or LXX Isa 28:7)
	Forgetting in Prov 31:5–7
Speech of the First Bodyguard	Paired antonymous verbs in Jer 24:6 and 31:28 (and/or LXX Jer 24:6 and 31:28) in Eccl 3:2–3
	παραβαίνω with its object λόγος in LXX Deut 28:14 and LXX 1 Sam 15:24
First Speech of Zerubbabel	Gen 2:24, 3:16b (and/or LXX Gen 2:24, 3:16b) and Prov 31:16
	καλός ("good") and εἶδος ("form")
Second Speech of Zerubbabel	ἄδικος and δίκαιος in Lev 19:15, 35 and Deut 10:17 (and/or LXX Lev 19:15, 35 and LXX Deut 10:17)
	Ethos of truth-telling in Zech 8:1–17 (and/or LXX Zech 8:1–17)
Third Speech of Zerubbabel	εὔχομαι and εὐχή in Num 30:2 (and/or LXX Num 30:2)
	Destruction by the Chaldeans and the Idumeans

4.2. Speech of the First Bodyguard

Wine was a very familiar beverage to the ancient Israelites, who lived in an agrarian and viticultural society.[288] They would all have had some experience of the physiological and psychological effects of wine. The consumption of wine is not forbidden in the Torah.[289] Even the Deuteronomic law in Deut 14:26 allows the consumption of wine at the place that the LORD will choose.[290] On the other hand, the pernicious power of wine is well-documented in the Hebrew Bible.[291] Several accounts of the harmful effects of wine in the Hebrew Bible do not appear without a coherent motif, nor are they just confined to proverbial sayings. Rather, the pernicious power of wine is used typologically as a consistent rhetorical figure, especially in the prophetic books.

So, in this section, I argue that the speech of the first bodyguard deliberately alludes to Isa 28:7 (and/or LXX Isa 28:7) and Prov 31:5–7 as evident through their lexical (e.g., πλανάω caused by οἶνος) and thematic (confusion and forgetfulness as the prevalent effects of wine) correspondence. Although the *stases* and genres of the speeches in Isa 28:7 and Prov 31:5–7 differ from those of the speech of the first bodyguard, I argue that the author of the story – who would have been acquainted with the rhetorical force of wine in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint – makes use of such force in the epideictic speech of the first orator, who seeks to demonstrate the superiority of wine.

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288. Patrick E. McGovern, "The Holy Land's Bounty," in *Ancient Wine: The Search for the Origins of Viniculture* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 210–38. Archaeological evidence also proves the viticulture society of ancient Israel. See Ivan T. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness to Hebrew Writing," *BA* 45.4 (1982): 235. The inscription found Samaria Ostracon 6, could be dated to the second quarter of the 8th century B.C.E., reads "a jar of old wine."

289. Drunkenness at religious places occurred in ancient Israel (e.g., Judg 9:27). In 1 Sam 1:13–14, Eli's suspicions about Hannah's drunkenness implies that drinking wine at religious places was not uncommon.

290. In the Hebrew Bible, abstention from drinking alcohol was required in accordance with the Nazirite vow, especially if a woman was bearing a child that would be a Nazirite (cf. Num 6:3–4; Judg 13:7). The self-discipline that was necessitated by abstention was praised. For instance, Jer 35:14–16 admires the Rechabites' commitment to abstention for the obedience that they show towards their ancestor's command.

291. Rebekah Welton, *'He Is a Glutton and a Drunkard': Deviant Consumption in the Hebrew Bible*, BI 183 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill), 224–82. I do not deny that the Hebrew Bible also presents positive views of wine. For instance, drinking wine has the potential to bring joy (e.g., Eccl. 10:19; Zech 10:7) and represents the blessing of the LORD (Amos 9:13–14). I intend, following the speech of the first bodyguard, to focus on the negative aspects of wine drinking.

4.2.1. Confusion

In the speech of the first bodyguard, wine (οἶνος) leads drunkards astray (πλανάω) to the extent that they cannot recognise their own status (3:18), senses (3:19), and friends (3:21). By identifying confusion as an effect of wine, the orator prompts the audience to recognize its danger.

While the active voice of πλανάω and its passive form mean "to lead away from the right path (misguide or mislead)," the usual meaning of the middle πλανάω is "to wander about or not knowing whither heading."[292] In classical and koine Greek (BCE), the verb πλανάω is not accompanied by οἶνος, even with other terms of drunkenness or an intoxicant such as μέθη ("strong drinking or drunkenness") or σίκερα ("strong drink"). This suggests that in non-Jewish Greek usage, an alcoholic beverage – particularly wine – is not regarded as an agent of wandering or forgetfulness, at least in conjunction with the verb πλανάω. However, the use of πλανάω in relations to οἶνος appears in LXX Isa 28:7, which strongly suggests that the use in 1 Esdras was influenced by Hebrew Isa 28:7 and/or LXX Isa 28:7. Although the voice of πλανάω in LXX Isa 28:7 (passive) and 1 Esd 3:17 (active) is different, their meaning is same "to mislead." As I mentioned in 2.3.1 and 3.8.9, the active πλανάω in 1 Esd 3:17 personifies wine so as to describe the power of wine. The active voice is rhetorically employed to strengthen the persuasiveness of the first speech.

Although the description of the minds and behaviours of the drunkards in Isaiah's *logos* is not literally the same as the first bodyguard's description, both speeches characterise the drunkards using the same topical or thematic image – confusion. Not all texts that feature the image of confusion may necessarily be deliberately evoked by the speech of the first

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292. GELS, 560. As Aitken points out, the verb πλανάω ("to wander", "to lead astray") has the same dual meaning as its usual Hebrew equivalent תעה ("to wander", "to lead astray"). שגה ("to stray") is also the equivalent of πλανάω (e.g., Deut 27:18; Prov 28:10). See James K. Aitken, "The Literary and Linguistic Subtlety of the Greek Version of Sirach," in *Texts and Contexts of the Book of Sirach / Texte und Kontexte des Sirachbuches*, eds. Gerhard Karner, Frank Ueberschaer, and Burkard M. Zapff (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2017), 137–9.

bodyguard, for, if there is only a topical or thematic correspondence, it could be coincidental. However, both texts share the image of confusion as well as sharing a very rare locution – πλανάω caused by οἶνος. As Molly M. Zahn comments, "If the overlaps involve rare words or locutions that appear only or primarily in a given text, the case for reuse is bolstered."[293] In this regard, the rare lexical and thematic correspondence can be a marker that the speech of the first bodyguard alludes to Isaiah's speech in Isa 28:7. Table 4.2 shows the lexical correspondence between Isa 28:7 and 1 Esd 3:17.

Table 4.2. Lexical Correspondence of πλανάω caused by οἶνος[294]

MT Isa 28:7	LXX Isa 28:7	1 Esd 3:17
וְגַם־אֵלֶּה בַּיַּיִן שָׁגוּ וּבַשֵּׁכָר תָּעוּ כֹּהֵן וְנָבִיא שָׁגוּ בַשֵּׁכָר נִבְלְעוּ מִן־הַיַּיִן תָּעוּ מִן־הַשֵּׁכָר שָׁגוּ בָּרֹאֶה פָּקוּ פְּלִילִיָּה	οὗτοι γὰρ οἴνῳ πεπλανημένοι εἰσίν, ἐπλανήθησαν διὰ τὸ σικερα· ἱερεὺς καὶ προφήτης ἐξέστησαν διὰ τὸν οἶνον, ἐσείσθησαν ἀπὸ τῆς μέθης τοῦ σικερα, ἐπλανήθησαν· τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι φάσμα.	Ἄνδρες, πῶς ὑπερισχύει ὁ οἶνος; πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸν πλανᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν.
These also reel with wine and stagger with strong drink; the priest and prophet reel with strong drink, they are confused with wine, they stagger with strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in giving judgment.	For these have gone astray with wine; they went astray because of sikera; the priest and the prophet lost their senses because of wine; they were shaken up as a result of the drunkenness of sikera; they went astray; this is an omen.	

While there is no consensus regarding the textual formation and the literary coherence of Isa 28,[295] it is clear that Isa 28:1–13 describes how the drunkards' behaviours triggered the Assyrian crisis in the kingdoms of both Israel and of Judah.[296] The judicial speech of Isa

293. Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism*, 51.

294. H. Braun, "πλανάω," *TDNT* 6:228–53. In the LXX, the usual equivalent of hifil תעה is active πλανάω (excl. Hos 4:12; Job 12:25; Prov 10:17). All the qal occurrences of תעה are rendered by passive forms of πλανάω.

295. For the recent scholarship on the debate of the coherence of Isa 28, See Daniel J. Stulac, "History and Hope: The Agrarian Wisdom of Isaiah 28–35," (PhD diss., Duke University, 2017), 79–90; Nathan Mastnjak, "Judah's Covenant with Assyria in Isaiah 28," *VT* 64.3 (2014): 465–83.

296. It is debatable as to whether or not the speech in Isa 28:7–13 is directed towards the rulers of Ephraim or Jerusalem. See Stulac, "History and Hope," 98. Even though the words of Isa 28:7–13 are aimed at the northern kingdom; the speech of Isaiah in Isa 28:1–13 functions to indicate that Judah was reproached for their arrogant behaviour.

28:1–13 accuses the prophets and priests of corrupt conduct to be judged by YHWH. In this judicial speech, the *logos* is the bewildering behaviour that is caused by the drinking of wine.[297]

Strikingly, Isaiah's sarcastic *ethos* is also attested in the *ethos* of the first bodyguard. Isa 28:1–6 presents a vivid and direct illustration of pride and drunkenness. By repeating the phrase "the proud garland of the drunkards of Ephraim" (Isa 28:1, 3)[298] and by contrasting the proud garland with the beautiful garland (Isa 28:5), the judicial speech of Isaiah, here, magnifies the pride of the northern kingdom in a negative manner. J. J. M. Roberts illuminates the sarcastic meaning of pride in association with drunkenness: "The characterization of the Israelite king as 'the proud crown' and his princes and advisors as 'the drunkards of Ephraim' marks both the king and his court as living in a fool's paradise of misplaced pride and drunken oblivion to the disaster that was upon them."[299]

Expressions such as *crown of pride* and *glorious beauty* in Isa 28:1 especially represents Isaiah's *ironic* or *sarcastic ethos*.[300] Although they seem to be pleasant words, they criticize the rulers, who consider themselves to be honoured leaders, by implying that they are, in fact, drunkards, going astray in their rule by drinking wine. This same *ironic* or *sarcastic ethos*, utilizing the elements of pride, drinking wine, and rulers, appears in the speech of the first bodyguard. In the contest to prove which is the strongest, the first bodyguard demonstrates wine's superiority before the king and rulers. He goads the audience

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297. The political and religious leaders, who are responsible for conveying and teaching God's message to the people, are in a state of confusion that interferes with their ability to see visions and to make decisions (Isa 28:7). They do not seem to be able to distinguish between which things should and should not be on the table (e.g., *filthy vomit*, Isa 28:8). Their mumbling implies that they have become confused about what they are supposed to be saying to the people (Isa 28:10). Even a falsehood has been exposed through the confused thought-processes of the drunkards (Isa 28:15).

298. D. Kellermann, "גָּאָה," *TDOT* 2:344–50; J. J. M. Roberts, *First Isaiah: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), 345. The nouns עֲטָרָה ("crown"), גַּאוּת ("pride"), צִיץ ("rosette"), צְבִי ("ornament"), and תִּפְאֶרֶת ("glory") in Isa 28:1–2 are related with kingship or royalty.

299. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 344.

300. Textual variance appears between MT and LXX Isa 28:1, but the ironic and sarcastic nuance maintains in both texts.

into recognising the strong negative effects of wine. Although wine temporarily makes people experience forms of pleasure, it also functions to dissolve the mind of the rulers and structures of the society that is governed by the rulers. They enjoy wine, but it is a drug.

In addition, Isaiah's *logos* of contrast is also attested in the *logos* of Zerubbabel's second speech. By contrasting between YHWH's spirit of justice and the confused minds of the prophets and the priests, Isaiah not only strengthens the persuasiveness of his judicial speech, but also praises YHWH's justice (מִשְׁפָּט; κρίσις) and strength (גְּבוּרה; ἰσχύς) in Isa 28:6. Likewise, Zerubbabel in his second speech praises truth's character but, ultimately, God's character – justice (κρίσις) and strength (ἰσχύς) in 1 Esd 4:40 – by refuting the argument of the first bodyguard and criticizing the unrighteousness of wine which induces confusion and impaired judgment (1 Esd 4:37–9).

It is possible to find other speeches that include the use of πλανάω (or its Hebrew equivalents) with an alcoholic beverage, or the themes of confusion or pride in association with drinking the beverage.

In Isa 19:1–15, Isaiah's judicial speech denounces the foolishness of Egypt's princes and counsellors who did not know the plan of YHWH and, thus, led the people of Egypt astray. In his *logos*, Isaiah links the spirit of confusion with the staggering (תעה or שגה; πλανάω) drunkard (v. 19:14b).[301] In addition, although the term תעה or שׁגה (πλανάω) does not appear, Isaiah's judicial speech associated with the topic of wine and pride is attested in the Hebrew Bible. In Isa 5:11–17, Isaiah accuses the drunken elite of disregarding the work that has been undertaken by YHWH's hands. The activity to which Isaiah refers may include all of His works as depicted in the book (e.g., "creation of Israel or of Assyria, past blessing,

301. In the MT, the noun קיא (vomit) appears three times (Isa 19:14; 28:8; Jer 48:26). Each occurrence is related to a drunkard. In Isa 19:14b, πλανάω appears two times. While Muraoka points out the second πλανάω is in the form of middle voice, my argument is based on the first πλανάω in the active form. See GELS, 560.

present threat, and future promise").[302] In this circumstance, forgetting the Creator and His gracious works is, in H.G.M. Williamson's words, "indicative of a self-sufficient human pride."[303] The rhetorical figure of wine and this pernicious quality – pride – is decisive in Isaiah's judicial speech.

It may be that the speeches in Isa 19:1–15 and Isa 5:11–17 are echoed (not necessarily alluded to) in the speech of the first bodyguard. However, we discern that the thematic speech deriding the drunken rulers for their confusion (Isa 19:1–15) and for their pride (Isa 5:11–17) are conflated in Isa 28:1–13. The rhetorical force and features in Isa 28:1–13 were also transmitted from the former speech.

By means of this cumulative and sustained allusion, the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards easily recognizes the thematic speech in relation to the terms πλανάω and οἶνος. So, we can argue that the speech of the first bodyguard alludes to Isa 28:7 and/or LXX Isa 28:7 in contextual understanding of Isa 28:1–13.[304]

Beginning with the identification of the marker of allusion – πλανάω caused by οἶνος, I showed the correspondence of the rhetorical force between the speeches of Isaiah and the first bodyguard. It would be hard to believe that the correspondence is merely coincidental. Rather, it seems to indicate the deliberate reuse of the earlier text by the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards. Although the genres and the audience of the speeches of Isaiah and the first bodyguard are not identical, the rhetorical force – *logos* of confusion and *ethos* of irony or sarcasm – in the lexical and thematic allusion works in the epideictic speech of the first bodyguard.

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302. H. G. M. Williamson, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 1–5*, ICC (London; New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2006), 371–2.

303. Williamson, *Isaiah 1–5*, 365.

304. Abi T. Ngunga and Joachim Schaper, "Isaiah," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint,* ed. J. K. Aitken (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 458. "No firm date can be offered, but the consensus places the work sometime in the second century B.C.E." It is possible that the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards could read LXX Isa. On the other hand, because the usual equivalent of תעה is πλανάω, the author could employ a rare locution – πλανάω caused by οἶνος – directly from Isa 28:7.

4.2.2. Forgetfulness

The most frequently repeated expression in the speech of the first bodyguard is οὐ μέμνηται. The forgetfulness with which the consumption of wine is also linked is echoed in several episodes in the Hebrew Bible. For instance, Gen 19:30–38 reports the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites: descendants of Lot. As the sons-in-law of Lot had died in the catastrophic destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, Lot's daughters became preoccupied with preserving his offspring. So, the first daughter suggested that they lie with their father. In her deliberative speech, she exploits the sexually disinhibiting effects and forgetfulness with which wine drinking is commonly associated in order to persuade the younger daughter to attempt to lie with her father (Gen 19:32–35).[305]

Table 4.3. Lexical Correspondence between Prov 31:5–7 and 1 Esd 3:18–20

MT Prov 31:5–7	LXX Prov 31:5–7	1 Esd 3:18–20
5 פֶּן־יִשְׁתֶּה וְיִשְׁכַּח מְחֻקָּק וְיַשַּׁנֶּה דִּין כָּל־בְּנֵי־עֹנִי׃ 6 תְּנוּ־שֵׁכָר לְאוֹבֵד וְיַיִן לְמָרֵי נָפֶשׁ׃ 7 יִשְׁתֶּה וְיִשְׁכַּח רִישׁוֹ וַעֲמָלוֹ לֹא יִזְכָּר־עוֹד 5. or else they will drink and forget what has been decreed, and will pervert the rights of all the afflicted. 6. Give strong drink to one who is perishing, and wine to those in bitter distress; 7. let them drink and forget their poverty, and remember their misery no more. (NRSV)	5. ἵνα μὴ πιόντες ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς σοφίας καὶ ὀρθὰ κρῖναι οὐ μὴ δύνωνται τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς. 6. δίδοτε μέθην τοῖς ἐν λύπαις καὶ οἶνον πίνειν τοῖς ἐν ὀδύναις, 7. ἵνα ἐπιλάθωνται τῆς πενίας καὶ τῶν πόνων μὴ μνησθῶσιν ἔτι. 5. lest they drink and forget wisdom and will not be able to judge the powerless rightly. 6. Give strong drink to those who are in pain and wine to drink to those in sorrow, 7. that they may forget their poverty and not remember their labor any more. (NETS)	17. Ἄνδρες, πῶς ὑπερισχύει ὁ οἶνος; πάντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς πίνοντας αὐτὸν πλανᾷ τὴν διάνοιαν. 18. τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ τοῦ ὀρφανοῦ ποιεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν μίαν, τήν τε τοῦ οἰκέτου καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου, τήν τε τοῦ πένητος καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλουσίου. 19. καὶ πᾶσαν διάνοιαν μεταστρέφει εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ εὐφροσύνην καὶ οὐ μέμνηται πᾶσαν λύπην καὶ πᾶν ὀφείλημα. 20. καὶ πάσας καρδίας ποιεῖ πλουσίας καὶ οὐ μέμνηται βασιλέα οὐδὲ σατράπην καὶ πάντα διὰ ταλάντων ποιεῖ λαλεῖν.

305. In Gen 29 after the banquet, Jacob did not recognise with whom he had lain. See Carey Ellen Walsh, "Under the Influence: Trust and Risk in Biblical Family Drinking," *JSOT* 90 (2000): 26–7.

Among several texts, as James L. Crenshaw demonstrates, the speech of the first bodyguard has the appearance of Prov 31:1–9.[306] The royal instruction encompasses the deliberate speech of King Lemuel's mother.[307] The reiteration of the admonishing phrase "No! My son!" in Prov 31:2 represents her urgent plea (or *stasis*) to her son to be a righteous king.[308] Table 4.3 shows the lexical correspondence between Prov 31:5–7 and 1 Esd 3:18–20.

One notable speech concerns a mother's perspective on the value of wine. While the mother in Prov 31:4–5 dissuades rulers from drinking wine, 31:6–7 encourages the provision of wine for the poor.[309] Although her view is ambivalent and, on the surface, contradictory, the forgetfulness that may be induced by wine is a theme shared by both of her pieces of advice. The negative effect of wine, its ability to cause forgetfulness (v.5), inhibits the upholding of justice: that which is a king's duty. The benefits of forgetting (v. 7), meanwhile, primarily include the hope that the needy might live without anxiety about their poverty or misery for even a moment.

Both of these types of forgetting are attested in the speech of the first bodyguard. The orator not only alludes to the forgetting of debt and grief, but also uses the harmful effect of wine (forgetfulness of the rulers) as in Prov 31:5 to demonstrate the superiority of wine. It means that the author of the story adopted the *logos* – the forgetting – in a different *stasis* and genre. While Prov 31:5 persuades the king to refrain from drinking wine, the first bodyguard describes the king, who is controlled by wine. For anyone familiar with Prov 31:1–9, this reverse allusion functions to amplify the humorous or sarcastic aspect of the speech. In

306. James L. Crenshaw, "A Mother's Instruction to Her Son (Proverbs 31:1–9)," in *Perspectives on the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honor of Walter J. Harrelson*, ed. James L. Crenshaw (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 18.

307. Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2009), 883.

308. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2nd ed. (Roma: Gregorian & Biblical Press, 2006), 503 (§144h). "A rhetorical מה can, in certain circumstances, be equivalent to a negation (e.g., 1 Kgs 12:16)." Victor A. Hurowitz, "The Seventh Pillar–Reconsidering the literary Structure and Unity of Proverbs 31," *ZAW* 113.2 (2001): 210. A negative particle *mā* appears in Arabic.

309. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 886–7.

addition, Zerubbabel in his second speech refutes the thesis of the first orator by emphasising wine's unrighteousness, which leads to unjust judgment. This reinforces the proposition that the author of the story alludes to Prov 31:1–9. Furthermore, for the readers/listeners who were familiar with Prov 31, the allusion to Prov 31:5–7 represents the situational irony – the advice to restrain from drinking wine in the banquet scene – a counterintuitive setting for such advice – which evokes the sarcastic and humorous aspects of the speech. So, effectively, through the speech of Zerubbabel, who is really a Jew as the reader knows, the author draws on the wisdom of the Jewish scriptural tradition to refute the arguments of the (ostensibly) Persian first orator.

In LXX Prov 31:4, the mother instructs her son (the king) to drink wine with *counsel*. The MT version makes no such allowance or condition. "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine, or for rulers to desire strong drink" (MT Prov 31:4). The difference between the MT and the LXX may be due to the translator's interpretation. However, because the caution against misjudgement by forgetting wisdom appears in LXX Prov 31:5, both aspects of forgetting – that of forgetting trouble and that of forgetting wisdom – are still maintained in the LXX version.[310] It is possible that LXX Prov may have been known to the author of the story.[311] James Aitken points out that "the name Lemuel is omitted (perhaps the *–El* termination has been preserved in θεός), and the emphasis is placed on one king."[312] If the author of the story was influenced by the perspective of the idealisation of the king in LXX Prov, Zerubbabel's first speech represents the ironic and

310. See Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 299–300.

311. Some scholars (e.g., Martin Hengel and David-Marc d'Hamonville) suggested a date of composition in the early or middle of the second century BCE. See Lorenzo Cuppi, "Proverbs," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 353–68, at 360–1.

312. James K. Aitken, "Poet and Critic: Royal Ideology and the Greek Translator of Proverbs," in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, eds. Tessa Rajak, Sarah Pearce, James Aitken, and Jennifer Dines (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 195.

humorous situation that even the idealised king with counsel (or bodyguards) could not escape from the controlling power of wine. On the other hand, the Hebrew version is appropriate for the author to emphasise the negative aspect of wine drinking and to reinforce the incongruity of the positive and negative aspects of wine under different circumstances.[313]

4.3. Speech of the Second Bodyguard

In a monarchical society, one might presume that there is no better response in a contest that is being held by the king than one that demonstrates that the king himself is the strongest entity. In the Persian period – the setting for 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 – the king, equipped by a god (e.g., Ahuramazda), was considered to have immense power. Although the king was not regarded as a god, "his role in defending the god-given order means that his subjects must remain obedient to it, as symbolised by his god(s) and incarnated by him – a message clearly stated by Darius I and Xerxes."[314]

A body of philosophical literature (including *the Letter of Aristeas*) in the Hellenistic period – the era in which 1 Esd 3:1–5:6 was composed – indicates that the "monarchy was seen as a potential ideal form of government."[315] In the Hebrew Bible and in the Hellenistic Jewish literature, this phenomenon – the notion that the word "king" could metaphorically designate the sovereign God – shows how kingship was valued in Jewish religion and culture.[316] While it might seem that the arguments of the second bodyguard in favour of the king's superiority show its cross-cultural coherence, it could equally be considered obvious

313. I argue that 1 Esd 4:16 alludes to the Hebrew version of Prov 31:16 (see 4.4.2).

314. Amélie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period* (London: Routledge, 2010), 473.

315. Oswyn Murray, "Philosophy and Monarchy in the Hellenistic World," in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, eds. Tessa Rajak, Sarah Pearce, James Aitken, and Jennifer Dines (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 14. Murray presents several examples from the fourth century B.C.E and the fourth century C.E.

316. Benjamin Wright, "Ben Sira on Kings and Kingship," in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, eds. Tessa Rajak, Sarah Pearce, James Aitken, and Jennifer Dines (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 78. "If there is a central notion in Ben Sira about kingship, it is that God reigns as sovereign over the cosmos."

that the author of the story employed this rhetorical feature under influences from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint.

In this section, I suggest that the speech of the second bodyguard in 1 Esd 4:1–12 alludes to Jer 24:6 and 31:28 due to the significance of the paired antonymous verbs and to LXX Deut 28:14 and LXX 1 Sam 15:24 on account of the correspondence of the rare verbal phrase παραβαίνω with its object λόγος.

4.3.1. Significance of the Paired Antonymous Verbs

As mentioned earlier (3.8.10), the repetition of paired antonymous verbs in the sevenfold conditional clauses (1 Esd 4:7b–9) serves to support the thesis of the second orator. The chain of opposite verbs, used as a rhetorical device, also appears in several verses in the book of Jeremiah. As Crenshaw comments, 1 Esd 4:7b–9 stylistically, structurally, and semantically echoes Qohelet's speech in Eccl 3:2–8 (the *Catalogue of Times*) – which consists of fourteen opposites.[317] Table 4.4 shows the verbal correspondence between 1 Esd 4:7–9 and the book of Jeremiah (and Eccl 3). Based on this observation, in this section, I detail the rhetorical force of the paired opposite verbs and argue that the force was transmitted from the Hebrew Bible.

Table 4.4. Lexical and Stylistic Allusion between 1 Esd 4:7–9 and Jeremiah (and Eccl. 3)

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">1 Esd 4:7–9
7. καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς μόνος ἐστίν· ἐὰν εἴπῃ ἀποκτεῖναι, ἀποκτέννουσιν· εἶπενἀφεῖναι, ἀφίουσιν·
8. εἶπεν πατάξαι, τύπτουσιν· εἶπεν ἐρημῶσαι, ἐρημοῦσιν· εἶπεν οἰκοδομῆσαι, οἰκοδομοῦσιν·
9. εἶπεν ἐκκόψαι, ἐκκόπτουσιν· εἶπεν φυτεῦσαι, φυτεύουσιν.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Eccl 3:2–3
2 עֵת לָלֶדֶת וְעֵת לָמוּת עֵת לָטַעַת וְעֵת לַעֲקֹר
נָטוּעַ׃ 3 עֵת לַהֲרוֹג וְעֵת לִרְפּוֹא עֵת לִפְרוֹץ וְעֵת
לִבְנוֹת׃</td><td>Eccl 3:2–3
2. καιρὸς τοῦ τεκεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν, καιρὸς τοῦ φυτεῦσαι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἐκτῖλαι πεφυτευμένον, 3.καιρὸς τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ ἰάσασθαι, καιρὸς τοῦ καθελεῖν καὶ καιρὸς τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι,</td></tr>
</table>

317. Crenshaw, "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," 231–2.

Jer 1:10 רְאֵה הִפְקַדְתִּיךָ ׀ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה עַל־הַגּוֹיִם וְעַל־ הַמַּמְלָכוֹת לִנְתוֹשׁ וְלִנְתוֹץ וּלְהַאֲבִיד וְלַהֲרוֹס לִבְנוֹת וְלִנְטוֹעַ׃ פ	Jer 1:10 ἰδοὺ κατέστακά σε σήμερον ἐπὶ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας ἐκριζοῦν καὶ κατασκάπτειν καὶ ἀπολλύειν καὶ ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν.
Jer 18:7 רֶגַע אֲדַבֵּר עַל־גּוֹי וְעַל־מַמְלָכָה לִנְתוֹשׁ וְלִנְתוֹץ וּלְהַאֲבִיד׃	Jer 18:7 πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος ἢ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ ἀπολλύειν,
Jer 18:9 וְרֶגַע אֲדַבֵּר עַל־גּוֹי וְעַל־מַמְלָכָה לִבְנֹת וְלִנְטֹעַ׃	Jer 18:9 καὶ πέρας λαλήσω ἐπὶ ἔθνος καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλείαν τοῦ ἀνοικοδομεῖσθαι καὶ τοῦ καταφυτεύεσθαι,
Jer 24:6 וְשַׂמְתִּי עֵינִי עֲלֵיהֶם לְטוֹבָה וַהֲשִׁבֹתִים עַל־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וּבְנִיתִים וְלֹא אֶהֶרֹס וּנְטַעְתִּים וְלֹא אֶתּוֹשׁ׃	Jer 24:6 καὶ στηριῶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἰς ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ μὴ καθελῶ καὶ καταφυτεύσω αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκτίλω·
Jer 31:28 וְהָיָה כַּאֲשֶׁר שָׁקַדְתִּי עֲלֵיהֶם לִנְתוֹשׁ וְלִנְתֹץ וְלַהֲרֹס וּלְהַאֲבִיד וּלְהָרַע כֵּן אֶשְׁקֹד עֲלֵיהֶם לִבְנוֹת וְלִנְטוֹעַ נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃	Jer 38:28 καὶ ἔσται ὥσπερ ἐγρηγόρουν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς καθαιρεῖν καὶ κακοῦν, οὕτως γρηγορήσω ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοῦ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ καταφυτεύειν, φησὶν κύριος.
Jer 42:10 אִם־שָׁוֹב תֵּשְׁבוּ בָּאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת וּבָנֵיתִי אֶתְכֶם וְלֹא אֶהֶרֹס וְנָטַעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם וְלֹא אֶתּוֹשׁ כִּי נִחַמְתִּי אֶל־ הָרָעָה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי לָכֶם׃	Jer 49:10 Ἐὰν καθίσαντες καθίσητε ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, οἰκοδομήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ μὴ καθέλω καὶ φυτεύσω ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐκτίλω· ὅτι ἀναπέπαυμαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς, οἷς ἐποίησα ὑμῖν.
Jer 45:4 כֹּה ׀ תֹּאמַר אֵלָיו כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הִנֵּה אֲשֶׁר־בָּנִיתִי אֲנִי הֹרֵס וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר־נָטַעְתִּי אֲנִי נֹתֵשׁ וְאֶת־כָּל־ הָאָרֶץ הֵיא׃	Jer 51:34 εἰπὸν αὐτῷ Οὕτως εἶπεν κύριος Ἰδοὺ οὓς ἐγὼ ᾠκοδόμησα, ἐγὼ καθαιρῶ, καὶ οὓς ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, ἐγὼ ἐκτίλλω·
הרג (“to kill”) נתש (“to uproot”) הרס (“to annihilate”) בנה (“to build”) נטע (“to Plant”)	ἀποκτείνω (“to kill”) ἐκκόπτω (“to cut down”) ἐρημόω (“to lay waste”) οἰκοδομέω (“to build”) φυτεύω (“to plant”)

In the book of Jeremiah, the *logos* of paired antonymous verbs in Jer 1:10; 18:7. 9; 24:6; 31:28; 42:10; 45:4 represents the divine *power* that is needed in order to be able to destroy – or to construct – nations. Else K. Holt comments on the function of the paired verbs: “In all these instances, YHWH is the grammatical subject of the string of verbs. … God is the one we expect to have the whole world in his hand; the action denoted by these verbs cannot be

undertaken by any mortal, not even a prophet."[318] In other words, through Jeremiah's mouth God *Himself* characterises His almighty *ethos* so as to strengthen the persuasiveness of Jeremiah's speeches in various *stases*. The rhetorical features – the speech locution (paired antonymous verbs), theme (*power*), and rhetorical device (characterisation of the subject) – are employed in all those verses.

First, in Jer 1:10, paired antonymous verbs are used not only to commission Jeremiah as a prophet to the nations but also to persuade him to accept the commission. The divine power that rules over nations could, likewise, empower him. Second, in the judicial speech in Jer 18:1–12, paired verbs emphasise the divine nature of the authoritative body that is in a position to be able to judge all nations. Although this arouses feelings of fear, thereby persuading the Judahites to turn away from wicked ways, they do not ultimately choose to follow the word of the LORD (v. 12). Third, in Jer 24:6, 31:28, and 42:10, paired opposite verbs frame the promise of restoration to those who are in exile as well as to those who remain in Judah. The continuing covenantal relationship between the LORD and His people is reaffirmed. Fourthly, in Jer 45:4, Jeremiah conveys the word of the LORD to Baruch. Paired verbs function to encourage the lamenting Baruch (45:3).

Likewise, in 1 Esd 4:7–9, the second orator praises the king's superiority by demonstrating the king's *powerful* character similarly using paired antonymous verbs. So, the lexical (paired antonymous verbs) and thematic correspondence (*power*) and rhetorical device (characterisation of the subject) between the texts implies that the author of 1 Esd 4:7–9 has the theme in the texts of Jeremiah with its recurring cluster of rhetorical features in mind, and alludes to it as a salient theme for his audience in his own use of rhetoric.

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318. Else K. Holt, "Word of Jeremiah—Word of God: Structures of Authority in the Book of Jeremiah," in *Uprooting and Planting: Essays on Jeremiah for Leslie Allen*, ed. J. Goldingay, LHBOTS 459 (New York, NY: T & T Clark, 2007), 177–8.

Many instances of the usage of same paired antonymous verbs in the Hebrew Bible suggest that its rhetorical force in 1 Esd 4:7–9 was not invented by the author but was transmitted. Among the texts echoed, I suggest that Jer 24:6 and 31:28 are recalled in the speeches of 1 Esd 4:7–9. First, their themes – return and restoration – are the same as in the main plot of the story of the three bodyguards. Second, the texts commonly employ the Greek term οἰκοδομέω ("to build"), which implies their main theme.

There are, of course, numerous textual and compositional differences between the MT, the LXX, and the DSS (e.g., 4QJer^{b}) in these verses. These can be attributed to later redactional work in the MT, the existence of different versions of the book of Jeremiah, and the translator's own interpretation (or error). However, importantly, the textual variance does not prevent readers from grasping the rhetorical significance of the paired antonymous verbs in those texts to which I refer.[319] On the assumption that the author of the story of the three bodyguards may possibly have known LXX Jer (translated probably in the second century BCE), two scenarios are possible.[320] The author may have been referring to the Hebrew version of Jeremiah, or the author may have employed the paired antonymous Greek verbs from LXX Jer.[321]

In addition, the *Catalogue of Times* in Eccl 3:2–8 is alluded to in 1 Esd 4:7–9. The purpose of Qohelet's speech in Eccl 3:2–8 is to persuade the listener to stand in fear before God (Eccl 3:14). As C. L. Seow states, "The concept of the fear of God here, as elsewhere in

319. For the textual history of Jeremiah, see Richard D. Weiss, "7.1 Textual History of Jeremiah," in *Textual History of the Bible*, eds. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

320. Matthieu Richelle, "Jeremiah and Baruch," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, eds. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 260. "References to Jeremiah in Sirach show that the LXX of Jeremiah already existed around 130 BCE. The translation may have been made in the first half of the second century BCE in Alexandria (Dorival 1988: 90–1, 97, 105)." Cf. Gilles Dorival, 'Les origines de la Septante: La traduction en grec des cinq livres de la Torah,' *in La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, eds. Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 39–125.

321. In Mic 5:13, the equivalent of נתשׁ is ἐκκόπτω. Although in the LXX ἐρημόω does not appear as the equivalent of הרס, it is possible that the bilingual author may have rendered הרס with ἐρημόω.

Israelite wisdom literature, stresses the distance between divinity and humanity."[322] There are two analogues between 1 Esd 4:7b–9 and Eccl 3:2–8. First, in 1 Esd 4:7b–9, the repeated opposite actions represent the king's supreme power; human actions depend on the right time (or occasion), which the king determines. Likewise, Eccl 3:2–8 communicates the message that every act and event in the human world takes place at the right time (or under the right circumstances), as determined by God. The Hebrew term עֵת ("time, occasion") is repeated in this text (Eccl 3:2–8) more than in any other Hebrew text, thereby commending this understanding.[323] Although the word "time" does not appear in the speech of the second bodyguard, the repeated temporal clauses in 1 Esd 4:7b–9 suggest that the significance of the term עֵת contributes to the rhetorical force of the speech of the second bodyguard.

Although the *stasis* and genre of the second orator in 1 Esd 4:1–12 were not the same as those of Jeremiah's and Qohelet's speeches, the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards might have easily envisioned God's almighty character through reading or hearing the paired antonymous verbs. The string of paired verbs that signal the LORD's (the King of Israel) power over all nations is extraordinarily appropriate for demonstrating the superiority of the king, that is, his powerful *ethos*. It is highly appropriate for epideictic speech. For Jewish readers/listeners who were familiar with Jeremiah's speeches, the rhetorical force of the paired antonymous verbs to demonstrate the king's power would have been doubly amplified.

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322. C. L. Seow, *Ecclesiastes: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale University Press, 2008), 174.

323. Michael V. Fox, "Time in Qohelet's 'Catalogue of Times'," *JNSL* 24.1 (1998): 25–39. Fox distinguishes between two uses of עֵת: "1) temporally defined: a particular segment of time of any duration; 2) substantively defined: events and their configurations." I agree with Fox, who argues that the second definition could be applied to the meaning of עֵת in Eccl 3. See Stuart Weeks, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ecclesiastes: Introduction and Commentary on Ecclesiastes 1.1–5.6* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2020), 488. Furthermore, there is no consensus about where Qohelet's determinate worldview in Eccl 3:2–8 was originated from. Rudman summarises three approaches to understand the origin of Qohelet's thought. 1) It was influenced by Stoic thought (Tyler, Plumptre, Siegfried, Blenkinsopp, Rudman, Samet). 2) It was based on Hebraic thought (Renan, McNeile, Barton, Loretz, Seow). 3) It was not the result of direct influence, but a general thought in the Hellenistic period (Hengel, Fox, Murphy). See Dominic Rudman, *Determinism in the Book of Ecclesiastes* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 173.

Thus, I argue that the rhetorical, strategic allusion of chains of antonymous paired verbs in 1 Esd 4:7b–9 is an identifiable feature that has been adopted from the Hebrew Bible and/or Septuagint.

4.3.2. *Pathos* of παραβαίνω

The rationale, "they do not transgress the word of the king," in 1 Esd 4:5 indicates that the people have a submissive attitude towards royal commands. The term παραβαίνω in the LXX and its equivalents in the Hebrew Bible are mostly used to indicate the violation of or disobedience exhibited towards the command of God – typically in the context of a covenantal relationship with God.[324] So, how do we understand the rhetorical significance of παραβαίνω in the speech of the second orator?[325]

Above all, we should remember this observation. In 1 Esdras, the verb παραβαίνω appears in six verses (aside from 1 Esd 4:5), but their equivalent verses in 2 Chr 35–36 and Ezra do not have παραβαίνω.[326] The absence of παραβαίνω in LXX 2 Chr 35–36 and LXX Ezra confirms that the lexical choice of the author (or the translator) of 1 Esdras was not coincidental, but deliberate.

The verb παραβαίνω in 1 Esd 4:5 was used to refer to the act of disobeying the king – not God, which makes adequate sense in Greek. However, the verbal phrase παραβαίνω with

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324. Exception: In Num 5:12, 19, 29, παραβαίνω implies the violation happened in the relationship between a husband and a wife. There is no fixed Hebrew equivalent for παραβαίνω. The following constitute the Hebrew equivalents that I use throughout this thesis: סור ("to turn aside;" Deut 28:14; Dan 9:5), עבר ("to transgress;" Num 14:41; Josh 23:16; 1 Sam 15:24; Hos 8:1; Is 24:5; Jer 5:28), פרר ("to break;" Ezek 16:59). See, T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2010), 89.

325. J. Schneider, "παραβαίνω," *TDNT* 5:737. Schneider points out, "The usage [of παραβαίνω] found in the pap. and inscr. is plainly to be seen in the LXX, except that here there is little or no trace of the sphere of private law. Man becomes guilty in respect of God's commandments and ordinances."

326. κινέω ("to disturb") in 2 Chr 35:15 (1 Esd 1:15); ἐπιστρέφω ("to turn back") in 2 Chr 36:13 (1 Esd 1:46); ἀλλάσσω ("to change") in Ezra 6:11 (1 Esd 6:31); μή ποιέω ("do not obey") in Ezra 7:26 (1Esd 8:24); ἐγκαταλείπω ("to forsake") in Ezra 9:10 (1 Esd 8:79); διασκεδάζω ("to scatter") in Ezra 9:14 (1 Esd 8:84).

its object λόγος ("word of command")[327] in 1 Esd 4:5 is not idiomatic Greek but appears in the LXX (e.g., Deut 28:14, 1 Sam 15:24, and Sir 39:31). This phrase is not even attested in Josephus and Philo. The correspondence of the rare locution deserves consideration in the argument that the author of the story learned it from the Hebrew Bible or the LXX. The term παραβαίνω, when it accompanies λόγος, can be a marker for identifying the text that 1 Esd 4:5 evokes. So, the usage of παραβαίνω in 1 Esd 4:5 implies, as I argue throughout this thesis, that the author of the story was acquainted with both Septuagint and idiomatic Greek.

So, can we say that παραβαίνω in the second orator's speech connotes the same rhetorical force as the other examples? Because 1 Esd 4:5 is very short, the intratextual links of παραβαίνω between the story of the Three Bodyguards and the rest parts of 1 Esdras help us to grasp the rhetorical force of παραβαίνω.

Before analysing the texts in 1 Esdras, a distinction must be made between "the law of your God (דָּתָא דִי־אֱלָהָךְ)" and "the law of the King (דָּתָא דִי מַלְכָּא)" in Ezra 7:26 (1 Esd 8:24). Some scholars (e.g., Frei) argue that there is no clear distinction between the law of God and of the king, while others, such as Philip Y. Yoo, state that "Ezra 7:26 presents two distinct legal codes–the law of the Israelite god and royal Achaemenid law."[328] This distinction between the law of God and the law of the Hellenistic monarch is reflected in 1 Esd 8:24.[329]

First Esdras 6:27–33 and 8:9–24 are letters of the kings Darius and Artaxerxes, respectively, pledging to support the works of Zerubbabel and Ezra. In the deliberative speeches of the kings in the form of letters, 1 Esd 6:31 and 8:24 describe hypothetical situations in which the one who transgresses the king's command will be harshly punished

327. LSJ, 1057–9.

328. Philip Y. Yoo, *Ezra and the Second Wilderness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 97–102 (99).

329. Murray, "Philosophy and Monarchy in the Hellenistic World," 23. There were varied forms of kingship in the Hellenistic world – but "the accepted definition of kingship was *anhupeuthunos archē* [unaccountable rule] and the central problem in any defen[c]e of monarchy was how to ensure that such a rule was good."

and cursed. So, in these verses, παραβαίνω in 1 Esd 6:31 and 8:24 is intended to evoke feelings of fear so as to strengthen the imperative of their edicts. Importantly, as noted above, 1 Esd 8:24 explicitly employs παραβαίνω in reference to God's law. It does not imply that God's law *is* the king's law, but that the rhetorical force in the term παραβαίνω can be used in both contexts. The term παραβαίνω, which represents the authority of God's command, is appropriate and pertinent as employed by the author who demonstrates the king's power.

First Esdras 8:65–87, taking the form of confessional prayer, represents a deliberative speech that is meant to persuade the Israelites to repent of their transgressions (1 Esd 8:88–92; e.g., Ezra 10:1–3).[330] In this public speech, Ezra proclaims that he is ashamed of the intermarriage of the leaders (1 Esd 8:65–74; e.g., Ezra 9:1–7)[331] – an act that is considered to be a transgression of God's command and law (1 Esd 8:79, 84). In this sense, identifying the transgression as desecrating the name of the LORD God and His word prompts the transgressor to experience feelings of shame and guilt.

In Ezra's deliberative speech, the feelings of shame and guilt are expressed in confession where the Israelites admit to having *transgressed*.[332] The feeling that typically follows shame and guilt is fear. Those who feel shame and guilt in their confession as a result of recognising their own transgressions often suspect that a curse may follow. In his speech, Ezra asserts that destruction follows transgression. This evokes feelings of fear among the Israelites, thus motivating them to avoid any such transgression and to repent of their faults. As Ezra warns and as they fear, if they do not return to YHWH, they will be cursed.

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330. The prior purpose of the prayer was to seek the forgiveness of the LORD.

331. In 1 Esd 8:71, αἰσχύνω is the usual equivalent of בוש: a term which is most frequently linked to the notion of "shame."

332. Sir 10:19 affirms the idea that those who transgress the command of the Lord are dishonourable. In Isa 53:3, ἄτιμος corresponds with the Hebrew term בזה ("to despise"). The act of covering one's face is related to feelings of shame (e.g., Ps 69:8). See James N. Jumper, "Honor and Shame in the Deuteronomic Covenant and the Deuteronomistic Presentation of the Davidic Covenant," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2013), 81.

It is hard to imagine that the author of 1 Esdras, who frequently chose παραβαίνω and knew its significance, put the term παραβαίνω on the lips of the second orator, who demonstrates the strongness of the king, accidentally and unintentionally[333]. Even if the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards was a later interpolator, the author would have learned the rhetorical force of παραβαίνω from the other verses in 1 Esdras.

In this understanding, I suggest that the rare locution – παραβαίνω with λόγος – and its use with an earthly king in 1 Esd 4:5 shows the author's scribal eclecticism and the hybridity of idiomatic and Semitic linguistic features. On the one hand, the author of the story learned the rhetorical locution – παραβαίνω with λόγος, which is typically used with reference to God's word or command – from the Septuagint, especially from LXX Deut 28:14 and LXX 1 Sam 15:24, which were presumably known to the author.[334] On the other hand, the author adopted the idiomatic usage of παραβαίνω in which the authority to which humans are subject in 1 Esd 4:5 is an earthly king. In other words, while there is the lexical allusion of παραβαίνω and λόγος in 1 Esd 4:5 and the *pathos* allusion of παραβαίνω, the author does not abandon the rhetorical *pathos*, which is connoted in the Greek usage of παραβαίνω. The imagined psychological and emotional response of those who heard the

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333. Josephus uses παραβαίνω in relation to the will of a king, who commanded the midwives to cast away every male Israelite child into the river (*Ant*. 2.207).

334. Philippe Hugo, "1–2 Kingdoms (1–2 Samuel)," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint,* ed. J. K. Aitken (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 127. "A *terminus a quo* can be set with the translation of the Pentateuch (beginning of the third century B.C.E.) and a *terminus ante quem* with the appearance of the *kaige* recension (first century B.C.E.). Some external indices allow a little more precision, since Sirach (translated between 132 and 117 B.C.E) seems to cite 1 Kingdoms but does not know the translation of 2–4 Kingdoms." In this suggestion, I assume that the author of the story knew the Greek version of 1 Samuel. Interestingly, Sir 39:31 is another instance, in which appears the rare verbal phrase παραβαίνω with object λόγος. I conjecture that there is an intertextual link between Sir 39:31 and the second speech of the story. If then, there may be a dependence between them, though the direction is hard to know. Or, if there is no direct dependence between them, the phrase in both texts was transmitted from LXX Deut 28:14 and LXX 1 Sam 15:24. In any case, it seems likely that the verbal phrase was transmitted from the Septuagint.

The influence of the LXX Pentateuch on the later LXX books is clear. See Francis Woodgate Mozley, *The Psalter of the Church: the Septuagint Psalms compared with the Hebrew, with various notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), xii–xiii; Emanuel Tov, "The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*, ed. Pierre Casetti, Othmar Keel, and Adrian Schenker, OBO 38 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 557–92; reprinted in Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible,* 183–94.

affirmation, “they do not transgress the word of the king,” attests to the presumed – or, indeed, the established – superiority of the king.

4.4. First Speech of Zerubbabel

As I demonstrated in 3.5.2 and 3.10, the literary aspect of the first speech of Zerubbabel – especially the anecdote about Apame – may be influenced by the conventions of Greek Comedy. It may be difficult to find speeches that demonstrate women’s superiority or power over men in the Hebrew Bible.[335] Nevertheless, we find that certain allusions in Zerubbabel’s first speech evoke texts from the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint. Greek culture was not likely to have been the author’s only source of influence for describing women’s beauty. First, regarding the theme of relationships between men and women, I will show that Zerubbabel’s first speech alludes to Gen 2:24, 3:16b, and Prov 31:16. I emphasise that the author amplifies the humorous aspect of the speech through the allusion of Gen 2:24, 3:16b, and Prov 31:16. Second, I argue that the author likely derived from the Septuagint the adjective and noun combination – καλός (“good”) and εἶδος (“form”) – which conveys the attractiveness of women.

335. There are women who act *wisely* in narrative, and so outwit men (e.g., Jael in Judg 4:17–23 or Abigail in 1 Sam 25)

4.4.1. Relationship of Men and Women

As commentators show, 1 Esd 4:20 lexically and thematically alludes to Gen 2:24.

Table 4.5. Lexical and Thematic Allusion between Gen 2:24 and 1 Esd 4:20

MT Gen 2:24	LXX Gen 2:24	1 Esd 4:20
עַל־כֵּן יַעֲזָב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו וְאֶת־אִמּוֹ וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ וְהָיוּ לְבָשָׂר אֶחָד	ἕνεκεν τούτου καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν	20. ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐγκαταλείπει, ὃς ἐξέθρεψεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα κολλᾶται·
Therefore a man leaves his father and his mother and clings to his wife, and they become one flesh.	Therefore a man will leave his father and mother and will be joined to his wife, and the two will become one flesh.	20. A man leaves his own father, who brought him up, and his own country, and clings to his own wife.
1) Lexical and phrasal correspondence: • עָזַב־אִישׁ אֶת־אָבִיו = καταλείψει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ = ἄνθρωπος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα ἐγκαταλείπει • וְדָבַק בְּאִשְׁתּוֹ = καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ = καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα κολλᾶται 2) Thematic correspondence: man's leaving and clinging to his wife.		

Genesis 2:24 is not a part of a human's speech, but "an etiological observation on the part of the Narrator."[336] In this verse, a man's leaving his own mother (and father) to cling to his own wife represents the relationship of men and women. Although Gen 2:24 does not appear to be intended to convince the audience of the superiority of women, the author of 1 Esdras alludes to it in the context of Zerubbabel's speech while demonstrating the superiority of women.

As Böhler points out, a small modification made by the author of Zerubbabel's speech effectively signals the superiority of women.[337] While Gen 2:24 says that a man leaves his

336. Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis*, JPS Torah commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 23.

337. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 90.

father *and* mother, 1 Esd 4:20 describes how a man leaves his own father – but omits *mother* from the phrase. Given the close lexical and thematic correspondence between Gen 2:24 and 1 Esd 4:20, the deliberate omission of the word *mother* in 1 Esd 4:20 may allow the suggestion that a man clings more strongly to his mother than to his father. Even the infatuation of love cannot break the connection between a man and his own mother, though he leaves his father and his homeland for his wife. For the readers who are familiar with Gen 2:24, this allusion with its omission, following the figure of supportive and competent women in 1 Esd 4:16–17, highlights women's abilities to support men as well as the dependence of men on women.

In contrast to this approach, 4Q416 (4QInstr^{b}) 2iii:21–2iv:10 emphasises women's submissiveness to men. Paul Heger explains,

> Qumran scholars considered that Gen 2:23–24, which asserts that woman was created from man, acknowledges that she becomes one flesh with the man at their marriage; thus, in becoming part of man's flesh, she loses her identity. The mandatory character of 4Q416 4QInstr^{b} indicates the legal relationship between man and woman and the man's dominion over his wife after their union.[338]

Although we cannot have an exact answer, it is possible that the author of the story may be familiar with this kind of perspective towards the relationship of men and women. In addition, Gen 3:16b is one of the most famous verses to support an androcentric perspective. Although it is still debatable what the meaning of the Hebrew verb משל in Gen 3:16b is,[339] 1 Esd 4:22 obviously alludes to Gen 3:16b. While the subject of משל is a man and the object is a woman in Gen 3:16b, this relationship of a man and woman is reversed in 1 Esd 4:22. In Gen 3:16b, the meaning of תשוקה is also debated.[340] Apparently, the preposition אל implies

338. Paul Heger, *Women in the Bible, Qumran and Early Rabbinic Literature: Their Status and Roles*, STDJ 110 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 39.

339. Doukhan Abi, "The Woman's Curse: A Redemptive Reading of Genesis 3:16," *Religions (Basel, Switzerland)* 11.11 (2020): 600 (https://dx.doi.org/10.3390/rel11110600).

340. Joel N. Lohr, "Sexual Desire? Eve, Genesis 3:16, And, תשוקה," *JBL* 130.2 (2011): 227–46. The translator chose ἀποστροφή ("turning") in Gen 3:16 and 4:7 rather than ἐπιθυμία ("desire"), which is the usual

that something is passed from a woman to a man. However, in Zerubbabel's first speech, all the materials that men possess and their love go towards women. Thus the androcentric status of men and women present in Gen 3:16b is inverted in 1 Esd 4:22.

Here, the more important thing is that, if the author lived in a culture that looked at the world through a male-dominated lens, the allusion to Gen 2:24 with the omission of the word mother and to Gen 3:16b by reversal is a very appropriate complement to an argument demonstrating the superiority of women. It is sarcastic and ironic, so as to provoke amusement.

Table 4.6. Lexical and Thematic Allusion between Gen 3:16b and 1 Esd 4:22

MT Gen 3:16b	LXX Gen 3:16b	1 Esd 4:22
וְאֶל־אִישֵׁךְ תְּשׁוּקָתֵךְ וְהוּא יִמְשָׁל־בָּךְ	καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἡ ἀποστροφή σου, καὶ αὐτός σου κυριεύσει.	καὶ ἐντεῦθεν δεῖ ὑμᾶς γνῶναι ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες κυριεύουσιν ὑμῶν· οὐχὶ πονεῖτε καὶ μοχθεῖτε, καὶ πάντα ταῖς γυναιξὶν δίδοτε καὶ φέρετε;
yet your desire shall be for your husband, and he shall rule over you	And your return will be to your husband, and he will dominate you.	Therefore, you must recognise that women are your masters. Do you not labour and toil, and bring and give everything to women?

The author also alludes to Prov 31:16 with indications that the entire speech context of Prov 31:10–31 is also in mind. While it is debatable as to whether or not Prov 31:10–31 constitutes the continued instructive speech of Lemuel's mother in Prov 31:1–9, the alphabetical, acrostic speech that begins with a rhetorical question in v. 10a has the same persuasive force either way in terms of instructing the reader to find worthy women.[341] The expected answer to the rhetorical question is negative – but this is not to say that such a

equivalent of תשוקה. Wevers argues that "it is quite unnecessary to presuppose a reading תשובתך instead of תשוקתך" and explains that "The Hebrew word refers to sexual desire, but the Greek avoids this (as it does at 4:7). What the translator probably meant was that though 'in pains you will bear children,' yet 'your return will be to your husband,' i.e. you will keep coming back to him" (Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 45).

341. Hurowitz, "The Seventh Pillar–Reconsidering the Literary Structure and Unity of Proverbs 31," 209–18. Most scholars consider Prov 31 as comprising two independent sections. Hurowitz argues that Prov 31, displaying a chiastic structure, can be regarded as one unit; this is because Lemuel's words echo his mother's.

woman cannot be found. Rather, her rarity emphasises just how precious she is.[342] Worthy women comprise the descriptions of her value (vv. 10b–12), her activities (vv. 13–22, 24–27), her effect upon her husband (v. 23), praise of her (vv. 28–29) and concluding remarks (vv. 30–31).[343]

There are several lexical and relevant correspondences between Prov 31:10–31 and Zerubbabel's first speech. First, as Bird points out, the priceless value of a woman in Prov 31:10b may compel infatuated men to dedicate all of their riches to women (1 Esd 4:18–19).[344]

Table 4.7. Lexical Allusion between Prov 31:16 and 1 Esd 4:16

MT Prov 31:16	LXX Prov 31:16	1 Esd 4:16
זָמְמָה שָׂדֶה וַתִּקָּחֵהוּ מִפְּרִי כַפֶּיהָ נָטְעָ כָּרֶם	θεωρήσασα γεώργιον ἐπρίατο, ἀπὸ δὲ καρπῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς κατεφύτευσεν κτῆμα.	καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο, καὶ αὗται ἐξέθρεψαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυτεύοντας τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας, ἐξ ὧν ὁ οἶνος γίνεται.
She considers a field and buys it; with the fruit of her hands she plants a vineyard. (NRSV)	After considering a field, she bought it, and with the fruits of her hands she planted the purchase. (NETS)	And from them they were born, and it is they that brought up those who plant the vineyards from which comes the wine. (NETS)

Second, we cannot ignore the similarities in terms of allusions to the activities of women with respect to clothing in Prov 31:22–25 and 1 Esd 4:17a.[345] Prov 31:23 envisages women bringing men glory (cf. 1 Esd 4:17). Note that Prov 31:23 portrays a man who is known and respected by the elders and his peers.[346] This portrayal suggests that a man's

342. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 891.

343. Roland E. Murphy, *Wisdom Literature: Job, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*, FOTL 13 (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1981), 82.

344. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 169.

345. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 191–2.

346. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 896: "Civic, personal, and judicial business was conducted in the gates by the city elders…It says that when he sits in the gates, he is known and respected." This scene is reminiscent of Boaz talking with the elders at the gate (Ruth 4:1–2). For further discussion regarding the affinity between Ruth and Prov 31:10–31, see Yair Zakovitch, *The Song of Songs: Riddle of Riddles*, LHBOTS (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 95–6.

honour may be attributed to his worthy wife (cf. Prov 12:4).[347] In 1 Esd 4:17, images of men's clothing (στολή) metaphorically represent that female activity with regard to garment-making has the potential to be a source of esteem for men.[348] Although the Greek term στολή does not appear in LXX Prov 31:22–25, לְבוּשׁ ("garment") in Prov 31:22 and 25 is often rendered into στολή.[349] I already argued the possibility that the author of the story was influenced by Prov 31:1–10 in 4.2.2. Likewise, the lexical choice of στολή as the equivalent of לְבוּשׁ implies that the author is alluding to the Hebrew version of Prov 31:22–25 with the relevant understanding of clothing.[350]

Third, while in Prov 31:16 the vintner is a woman, 1 Esd 4:16 describes women as rearers of male vintners. The status of women is reversed. In other words, the author of the story alludes to Prov 31:16 by reversal.[351] While Prov 31:16b may, as such, be seen to highlight the capability and wisdom of a woman who can successfully profit from viticulture, Zerubbabel employs an aspect of viticulture to demonstrate women's superiority over men in 1 Esd 4:16b. In addition, while Prov 31:30 describes the vanity of women's beauty, Zerubbabel's first speech demonstrates the power of beauty. The allusion by reversal of the perspective on beauty and of the vintner's sex increases the sense of incongruity so as to cause a humorous reaction in those acquainted with the Hebrew version of Prov 31.[352]

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347. For other interpretations, see Yoder, *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance*, 89.

348. In the LXX, the Greek term στολή ("robe") "means 'clothing' of any kind, especially the 'upper garment'" (cf. Sir. 6:29, 31 "the robe of glory"). See U. Wilckens, "στολή," *TDNT* VII: 687–91. Amestric, Xerxes' wife, wove to him a great gaily-coloured mantle (φᾶρος). See Herodotus, *Hist*. 9.109.

Although women play a crucial role in Herodotus's *Histories*, "he depicts no ideal model for women." See Minke W. Hazewindus, *When Women Interfere: Studies in the Role of Women in Herodotus' Histories* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 2004), 243.

349. Gen 49:11; Isa 63:1; Job 30:18; Esth 6:8, 11; 8:15

350. Christine Roy Yoder, *Wisdom as a Woman of Substance: A Socioeconomic Reading of Proverbs 1–9 and 31:10–31*, BZAW 304 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2001), 38. I share Yoder's views on the dating of Prov 31: "The linguistic findings point to LBH and, thereby, to a date between the beginning of the sixth century BCE and the end of the third century BCE—most likely sometime in the Persian period."

351. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, 891. Fox points out, in planting a vineyard, she "does not necessarily perform the physical labor herself." I do not deny his interpretation, but I denote the change of the vintner from a woman to a man.

352. I argued in 4.2.2 that allusion of Prov 31:5–7 amplifies the humorous aspect of the speech.

The author demonstrates the superiority of women by alluding to Gen 2:24, 3:16b (and/or LXX Gen 2:24, 3:16b), and Prov 31:16 *with* his stylistic alteration – omission of the term *mother* and reversal of women's status and the perspective on beauty – which increases the sense of irony and incongruity not only *in* but also *beyond* the narrative. I discussed in 3.5.2 and 3.9.2 the comedic aspect and purpose of Zerubbabel's first speech. Likewise, the allusion in Zerubbabel's first speech serves to evoke feelings of humour in Zerubbabel's audience *within* the narrative and in the Jewish readers/listeners *beyond* the narrative. The main thrusts of the Greek and Jewish elements in Zerubbabel's first speech do not conflict with each other.

4.4.2. Attractiveness of Women

Zerubbabel's speech describes the attractiveness of women (1 Esd 4:18) as the primary factor that causes men to become infatuated with women. Notably, the attractiveness of women is expressed in the phrase καλὴν τῷ εἴδει καὶ τῷ κάλλει" in 1 Esd 4:18, which is not idiomatic Greek.[353] However, the combination of adjective and noun – καλός ("good") and εἶδος ("form") – frequently appears in relation to the appraisal of beauty in the LXX, and its peculiarity represents the Semitic Greek, influenced by their Hebrew equivalents – יָפֶה ("beautiful") and תֹּאַר ("form") or מַרְאֶה "appearance". This phrase recalls a number of pertinent biblical episodes describing how attractiveness influenced men's (or woman's) behaviours.[354] The combination of adjective and noun – καλός ("good") and εἶδος ("form") – frequently appears in relation to the appraisal of beauty in the Septuagint.

353. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 53 (note e); Talshir, *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 92. Torrey argues that the unnatural and unnecessary barbarism conveyed by "καλὴν τῷ εἴδει καὶ τῷ κάλλει" in 1 Esd 4:18 could not have been expressed by a Greek author but, rather, by a translator. As per Torrey's suggestion, Talshir reverts to Aramaic.

354. Another chain of adjective and noun – ὡραῖος ("beautiful") and ὄψις ("outward appearance") – appears in Gen 29:17; 39:6; Jdt 8:7 . Moreover, the Greek term κάλλος is also employed to describe beauty (e.g.

Jacob decided to serve Laban for fourteen years because he fell in love with Rachel, who was beautiful (Gen 29:17–18, 30). David, who was infatuated by Bathsheba's beauty, takes destructive actions; adultery and murder (2 Sam 11:1–3). Amnon, who was fascinated by Tamar's beauty, raped her (2 Sam 13:14–15). Strikingly, Joseph's attractiveness evoked feelings of sexual desire in his master's wife (Gen 39:7). In addition, in Second Temple literature, the phrase is used to describe the beauty of Esther (Esth 2:2, 3, 7) and Judith (Jdt 8:7).[355]

Although it is not easy to pinpoint a particular text among these various examples, I suggest that the nuance of the phrase in Zerubbabel's first speech resembles the usage in Gen 29:17–18, 30; 2 Sam 11:1–3, 13:14–15; and Deut 21:11 in which they describe men's (subject) active behaviours towards beautiful women (object). Thus, when the author of the story of the three bodyguards chose the topic of women, he may have recollected these scenes – which include the terms καλός ("good") and εἶδος ("form") – in Jacob's, David's, and Amnon's stories and employed the terms to argue for the superiority of women in Zerubbabel's speech.[356]

Esth 1:11; Jdt 10:14; Ezek 16:14–15). In Jdt 10, κάλλος refers to her beauty which astounds the men looking at her both her Jewish fellow-citizens and the Assyrian enemy (cf. Jdt 16:6, 9).

Although I agree with the notion that the expression is not an eloquent one in Greek, this is not to say that the expression itself has arisen from translation. LXX Is 53:2 is the only verse that has Hebrew equivalents for key terms: εἶδος and κάλλος. The Hebrew equivalent of the noun κάλλος is the verb חמד ("to desire"). This exceptional rendering may be due to the translator's interpretation; it might, for instance, have been influenced by LXX Gen 2:9; 3:6 – in which חמד is rendered as ὡραῖος).

Should it be the case that the equivalents of the nouns εἶδος and κάλλος do not originate from the translator's Semitic equivalents, I contend that the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards – who would have been familiar with Septuagint Greek (maybe LXX Is 53:2) – *himself* composed the exceptional phrase "καλὴν τῷ εἴδει καὶ τῷ κάλλει" in 1 Esd 4:18.

355. Gera, *Judith,* 327–8. Judith 10:1–17 narrates the transitional moment at which Judith relocates from her house to Holophernes's tent in order to accomplish her mission – to save her people by killing Holophernes. Judith's plan for the mission was to approach him in his tent at the Assyrian military camp. When Judith faces the guard of the Assyrians, she persuades the guard to allow her to enter the military camp by means of a deceptive speech. It is obvious that her speech in vv. 11–12, in which she disguises herself as a spy who hopes to aid the victory of Holophernes, is successful (cf. v. 17). Gera points out that "Judith's beauty is part of her message: her beauty underlines her words and guarantees her a solicitous audience. At the same time, like Pandora, her beautiful external appearance and her deceitful words cannot be separated" (Gera, 339).

356. There are several proverbial sayings that warn of being enticed by women's beauty (Sir. 9:8; 25:21) and that also present the superior influence of women's beauty (Sir. 36:22).

4.5. Second Speech of Zerubbabel

Hilhorst represents the rhetorical value of truth as a topic of universal concern:

> In 1 Esdras 4,34-41 truth is depicted with the features of God. This device enables the author to satisfy a Persian as well as a Jewish audience, both of which had a special interest in truth. It satisfies the Persian audience still more by using the word ἀλήθεια in such a way that it denotes both truth and justice, which is, though not going squarely against Jewish views, specifically Persian.[357]

As Richard J. Clifford points out, the relation of cosmogony to a temple appears in other ANE cultures:

> Measured by Mesopotamian exemplars, the Isaian cosmogony is perfectly standard. The Chaldean cosmogony, for example, prefacing prayer, not lost, for the *akītu* festival in Seleucid times, describes creation in terms of temple cities and temples by describing the precreation state as the absence of those realities.[358]

In the Old Babylonian period, "the gods were asked to judge the human inquirer's case in truth and justice."[359] In Hellenistic philosophy, *cosmos* "was defined by the Stoic Chrysippus as a 'system of heaven and earth and the natures contained in these' (Ar. Did. Fr. 31 ap. Stob. I.184.8–10), and this is a definition that reappears, sometimes with small variations, fairly frequently."[360] And, can we discuss Plato without the term "truth"?

I acknowledge that Zerubbabel's second speech contains the concept of truth, which is also found in other ANE and Greek cultures. Nevertheless, in this section, I argue that this speech alludes to the nature and character of truth as found in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint.[361] I suggest that through the speech of Zerubbabel the author alludes to Lev

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357. Hilhorst, "The Speech on Truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-41," 151. Hilhorst also argues that "all in all, the conception of truth in 1 Esdras 4,34-40 is remarkably close to the Persian *aša* idea" (143).

358. Richard J. Clifford, "The unity of the Book of Isaiah and its cosmogonic language," *CBQ* 55.1 (1993): 11.

359. Marc Van De Mieroop, *Philosophy before the Greeks: The Pursuit of Truth in Ancient Babylonia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 140.

360. David Furley, "Cosmology," in *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*, eds. Keimpe Algra et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 412.

361. Pohlmann, *Studien zum dritten Esra*, 42–5; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 96–7. Pohlmann and Böhler suggest that Zerubbabel's second speech has an obvious Jewish origin.

19:15 and 19:35, to adapt the rhetorical force of ἄδικος and δίκαιος with a contextual understanding of the verses, and to Zech 8:16–17, to show the performative nature of truth. I especially emphasise that the performative nature of truth (e.g., אמת) in Zerubbabel's speech is a feature that marks it as distinctively Jewish in origin.[362]

4.5.1. Rhetoric of ἄδικος and δίκαιος

As mentioned in 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, the Greek terms ἄδικος and δίκαιος are crucial for arguing the superiority of truth and the inferiority of other entities. In the LXX, ἄδικος has two meanings.

1) "deceitful" or "deceptive" – distinct usage in the LXX (e.g., Lev 19:12)[363]
2) "unjust," which refers to juridical and moral injustice – common usage in Greek literature and the LXX

For the meaning and usage of the term δίκαιος – the antonym of ἄδικος –in classical Greek, these two definitions are required to understand its meaning in the LXX and 1 Esdras.[364]

1) What is 'right' or 'just' from the assumed perspective of other humans or gods, who 'point out' the right direction.
2) What is 'right' or 'just' because it shows a fair division, a proper balance.

Because the words have several meanings, the specific nuances of the terms should be primarily defined in their contexts. In the second speech of Zerubbabel, both definitions of δίκαιος fit the context, whereas ἄδικος connotes the second meaning outlined above.

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362. Jepsen, "אָמַן," *TDOT* 1:292–323. "*'emeth* describes the character of a person on whose words and deeds one can rely" (320).

363. Dorota Hartman, "ἄδικος," *HTLS* 1:195–207, (especially 200). In this case, the usual Hebrew equivalent of ἄδικος is שֶׁקֶר.

364. Saskia Peels, *Hosios: A Semantic Study of Greek Piety*, Mnemosyne Supplements 387 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2015), 108–10. Based on various lexicons, Saskia Peels helpfully summarises the meanings of δίκαιος: 1) What is characteristic, customary; 2) What is 'right' or 'just' from the assumed perspective of other humans or gods, who 'point out' the right direction; 3) What is 'right' or 'just' because it shows a fair division, a proper balance; 4) what is 'right' or 'just' because it conforms with what humans have legally committed to. Regarding the second definition, although it has been argued that δίκαιος is more appropriate to denote actions towards other humans rather than gods (e.g., Plato, *Gorg*. 507a6–b4), this distinction does not necessarily hold in classical Greek or in the LXX. See, G. Schrenk, "δίκη, δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιόω, δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις, δικαιοκρισία," *TDNT* 2:178–225; GELS, 169.

Numerous texts in the Hebrew Bible contain the rhetorical force derived from the terms ἄδικος and δίκαιος and their Hebrew equivalents. 1 Esdras 4:39–40 may carry allusions to several of these Hebrew Bible passages, but, among them, the strongest case can be made for Lev 19:15, 35 and Deut 10:17. Before analysing the rhetorical force of ἄδικος and δίκαιος in the texts, I lay out their lexical and phrasal similarities with Zerubbabel's second speech. Note that ἄδικος connotes the second definition outlined above in Lev 19:15, 35 and Deut 10:17.

Table 4.8. Lexical Allusion between Lev 19:15, 35 and Deut 10:17 and 1 Esd 4:39–40

Lexical Allusion (NRSV and NETS)		
MT Lev 19:15, 35	LXX Lev 19:15, 35	1 Esd 4:39–40
לֹא־תַעֲשׂוּ עָוֶל בַּמִּשְׁפָּט לֹא־תִשָּׂא פְנֵי־דָל וְלֹא תֶהְדַּר פְּנֵי גָדוֹל בְּצֶדֶק תִּשְׁפֹּט עֲמִיתֶךָ׃ You shall not render unjust in judgment; you shall not be partial to the poor or defer to the great: with justice you shall judge your neighbor.	Οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει· οὐ λήμψῃ πρόσωπον πτωχοῦ οὐδὲ θαυμάσεις πρόσωπον δυνάστου· ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖς τὸν πλησίον σου. You shall not do something unjust in judgment; you shall not accept the person of the poor or admire the person of a high official; with justice you shall judge your neighbor.	39. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα οὐδὲ διάφορα, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν· καὶ πάντες εὐδοκοῦσιν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῆς, 40. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ κρίσει αὐτῆς οὐθὲν ἄδικον. καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλειότης τῶν πάντων αἰώνων. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας.
לֹא־תַעֲשׂוּ עָוֶל בַּמִּשְׁפָּט בַּמִּדָּה בַּמִּשְׁקָל וּבַמְּשׂוּרָה׃ You shall not cheat in measuring length, weight, or quantity.	οὐ ποιήσετε ἄδικον ἐν κρίσει ἐν μέτροις καὶ ἐν σταθμίοις καὶ ἐν ζυγοῖς· You shall not do what is unjust in judgment in measures and in standard weights and in balances.	
MT Deut 10:17	LXX Deut 10:17	
כִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הוּא אֱלֹהֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וַאֲדֹנֵי הָאֲדֹנִים הָאֵל הַגָּדֹל הַגִּבֹּר וְהַנּוֹרָא אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִשָּׂא פָנִים וְלֹא יִקַּח שֹׁחַד׃ For the LORD your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, mighty and awesome, who is not partial and takes no bribe,	ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὑμῶν, οὗτος θεὸς τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων, ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ὁ φοβερός, ὅστις οὐ θαυμάζει πρόσωπον οὐδ' μὴ λάβῃ δῶρον, For the Lord your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, mighty and fear–inspiring, who does not marvel at a person, neither will he take a bribe,	

As Table 4.8. shows, there are various lexical and phrasal correspondences:

1) לֹא + נשׂא + פָּנֶה = οὐ + λαμβάνω + πρόσωπον

2) לֹא + עשׂה + בַּמִּשְׁפָּט (MT Lev 19:15, 35) = οὐ + ποιέω + ἐν κρίσει (LXX Lev 19:15, 35) ≈ οὐ + εἰμί + ἐν τῇ κρίσει (1 Esd 4:40)

3) לֹא +נשׂא + פָּנֶה and לֹא + לקח + שֹׁחַד (MT Deut 10:17) = οὐ + θαυμάζω + πρόσωπον (LXX Lev 19:15 and LXX Deut 10:17) and οὐ + λαμβάνω + δῶρον (LXX Deut 10:17) ≈ οὐ + λαμβάνω + πρόσωπον and οὐ + διάφορος (1 Esd 3:39)

In Lev 19, the purpose of YHWH's deliberative speech through Moses is to persuade the Israelites to imitate YHWH's holiness so as to be a holy people.[365] Various religious and ethical laws in Lev 19 are based on the covenantal relationship with YHWH.[366] Therefore, a key reason that Israelites should obey the laws is that various laws represent YHWH's character, not simply because the laws themselves are imperative or independently good. In this sense, the underlying theme in Lev 19:15 and 35 is, in the words of Jacob Milgrom, that "the God of justice will not tolerate injustice. This is another aspect of YHWH's attribute of holiness" (cf. Lev 19:13).[367] In Deut 10:12–22, by describing YHWH's attributes, Moses also persuades the Israelites to obey God in the future.[368] In other words, the *logos* (or reasoning) used to persuade the Israelites to behave with justice is that justice is an attribute of YHWH. There may be no more effective speech to persuade the Israelites to be like Him than the description of His *ethos*.

The rhetorical features in Lev 19:15, 35 and Deut 10:17 (and/or LXX Lev 19:15, 35 and LXX Deut 10:17) – the vocabulary of words and phrases, theme (juridical justice), and rhetorical device (characterisation of the divine) – are alluded to in Zerubbabel's second

365. Baruch A. Levine, *Leviticus*, JPS Torah commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 125–6.

366. For several structural analyses of Lev 19, see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, 3 vols, AB 3A (New York, NY: Doubleday, 2000), 2:1596–602.

367. Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22*, 2:1642

368. Jeffrey H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, JPS Torah commentary (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 107.

speech. The lexical and phrasal correspondence in the texts of Lev 19:15, 35; Deut 10:17; and 1 Esd 4:39–40 concerns ideas that culminate in the rendering of a just judgment.[369] In Zerubbabel's second speech (1 Esd 4:39–40), ἄδικος indicates unjust judgment by partiality and bribery.[370] Truth is superior because it is an attribute of God (characterisation of the divine). So, the usage of ἄδικος and δίκαιος in Zerubbabel's speech reinforce the attribution of righteousness and eternal truth to God.

4.5.2. *Ethos* of Truth-Telling – Zech 8:1–17

Adrian Schenker argues that Zerubbabel's demonstration concerning truth is the narrative reflection of Zech 7–8 in terms of *midrash*.[371] Although there is some lexical correspondence between Zech 8:1–17 and Zerubbabel's third speech (Table 4.9), it does not provide decisive proof for an allusion because the association of truth and righteousness, and truth and judgment, is not uncommon in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint.[372] However, two corresponding rhetorical aspects accompany the lexical correspondence: 1) truth in terms of juridical and moral justice is the nature or character of a deity (YHWH), and 2) truth is to be enacted by people in covenantal relationship with YHWH. These additional correspondences deserve consideration in the argument that Zerubbabel's second speech alludes to Zech 8:1–17 (and/or LXX Zech 8:1–17).[373]

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369. LXX Dan 3:31–32 makes a distinction between a true judgement of God and an unjust one of the king.

370. Additionally, because Zerubbabel emphasises the unrighteousness of wine, a king, and women, the indication of ἄδικος is related to the former speeches. So, ἄδικος implies forgetfulness and confusion through drinking wine; dictatorship and exploitation by a king; and favouritism and flattery by women.

371. Adrian Schenker, "La Relation d'Esdras A' au texte massorétique d'Esdras-Néhémie," in *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of His 70th Birthday*, eds. Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano, OBO 109 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 218–49, at 246–7.

372. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 95.

373. On the assumption that the Minor Prophets were translated in the middle of the second century BCE, it is possible that the author of the story read the XII in the MT and/or LXX version. For the dating of LXX XII, see Jennifer M. Dines, "The Minor Prophets," in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2015), 441.

Table 4.9. Lexical Correspondence between Zech 8:8, 16–17 and 1 Esd 4:39–40

MT Zech 8:8, 16–17	LXX Zech 8:8, 16–17	1 Esd 4:39–40
8.וְהֵבֵאתִי אֹתָם וְשָׁכְנוּ בְּתוֹךְ יְרוּשָׁלִָם וְהָיוּ־לִי לְעָם וַאֲנִי אֶהְיֶה לָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים בֶּאֱמֶת וּבִצְדָקָה׃ ס and I will bring them to live in Jerusalem. They shall be my people and I will be their God, in faithfulness and in righteousness.	8. καὶ εἰσάξω αὐτοὺς καὶ κατασκηνώσω ἐν μέσῳ Ιερουσαλημ, καὶ ἔσονταί μοι εἰς λαόν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτοῖς εἰς θεὸν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. and I will bring them and make them tent in the midst of Ierousalem. And they shall become my people, and I will become a god to them, in truth and in justice.	39. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν παρ’ αὐτῇ λαμβάνειν πρόσωπα οὐδὲ διάφορα, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ πονηρῶν· καὶ πάντες εὐδοκοῦσιν τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῆς, 40. καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ κρίσει αὐτῆς οὐθὲν ἄδικον. καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ τὸ βασίλειον καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ μεγαλειότης τῶν πάντων αἰώνων. εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀληθείας.
16.אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲשׂוּ דַּבְּרוּ אֱמֶת אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ אֱמֶת וּמִשְׁפַּט שָׁלוֹם שִׁפְטוּ בְּשַׁעֲרֵיכֶם׃ 17.וְאִישׁ ׀ אֶת־רָעַת רֵעֵהוּ אַל־תַּחְשְׁבוּ בִּלְבַבְכֶם וּשְׁבֻעַת שֶׁקֶר אַל־תֶּאֱהָבוּ כִּי אֶת־כָּל־אֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵאתִי נְאֻם־יְהוָה׃ ס 16. These are the things that you shall do: Speak the truth to one another, render in your gates judgments that are true and make for peace, 17. do not devise evil in your hearts against one another, and love no false oath; for all these are things that I hate, says the LORD.	16. οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, οὓς ποιήσετε· λαλεῖτε ἀλήθειαν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ κρίμα εἰρηνικὸν κρίνατε ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ὑμῶν 17. καὶ ἕκαστος τὴν κακίαν τοῦ πλησίον αὐτοῦ μὴ λογίζεσθε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν καὶ ὅρκον ψευδῆ μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε, διότι ταῦτα πάντα ἐμίσησα, λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ. 16. These are the matters that you shall do: Speak the truth each to his neighbor; render in your gates judgment that makes for peace, 17. and do not devise evil in your hearts each against his neighbor, and do not love a false oath; for all these things I have hated, says the Lord Almighty.	

In Zech 8:1–17, YHWH proclaims His pledge to restore Jerusalem and Judah.[374] This deliberative speech was delivered by the prophet Zechariah before the completion of the rebuilding of the Temple and was intended to persuade the people to hope for the restoration

374. Marvin A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets*, Berit Olam, 2 vols (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 2:647. Although the word temple appears only once in Zech 8 (v.9), YHWH’s holy mountain in 8:3 refers “Jerusalem’s status as the site for the Temple of YHWH.” The restoration of Jerusalem and Judah cannot be detached from the restoration of the Temple.

of the Temple and Jerusalem (vv. 1–13) and to live as people who belong to YHWH (vv. 14–17).[375]

First, the unique epithet – the city of truth (עִיר־הָאֱמֶת) in Zech 8:3– suggests that Jerusalem will demonstrate YHWH's character, truth, since it is ruled by YHWH. This notion is related to v. 8, which describes the new covenantal relationship between YHWH and the Judeans *in* truth and *in* righteousness. As Mark J. Boda claims, the בְּ preposition

> introduces the manner or norm of the preceding verbal notion. Thus, here the new covenant relationship will be practiced by means of or on the basis of the norms of truth and righteousness. … The use of the term *ʾemeṯ* (*truth*) is designed to bring into play the concern over injustice which is expressed in the broader context of Zechariah 7–8. The addition of the term righteousness (*ṣᵉḏāqâ*) here bolsters this call to justice.[376]

Although the preposition could be causal, implying that the covenantal relationship is restored on account of YHWH's character of truth and righteousness, Zech 7:9 and 8:16 convey that YHWH's character should be imitated and enacted by the Judeans who will be governed by YHWH.[377] It compels the Judeans, who lived in injustice (see 8:10), to expect to live in a just society.

Second, YHWH persuades the Israelites to live in truth and justice. Zech 8:16–17 explains that truth-telling is to avoid lying to neighbours in everyday life, to encourage peaceful and truthful judgment, and to prohibit false oaths. In this sense, YHWH exhorts the Israelites "to ensure that truth and justice are the reigning values."[378] Generally, the unique expression שְׁבֻעַת שָׁקֶר ("a false oath") in v. 17 indicates perjurious behaviour.[379] On the other

375. While this speech was delivered in the fourth year of the reign of King Darius, the rebuilding work was completed in the sixth year (cf. Ezra 6:15; Zech 7:1).

376. Mark J. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, NICOT (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2016), 486–7. Similar usage appears in Isa 48:1 and Jer 4:2.

377. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1-8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1987), 413

378. Boda, *The Book of Zechariah*, 506. In addition, this ethical exhortation, coming after the proclamation of YHWH's reign over the Judeans (vv. 1–13) gives a future hope that the Judeans themselves can be the people, who speak out and behave in truth under YHWH's guidance.

379. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai, Zechariah 1–8*, 428.

hand, David L. Petersen suggests that the term שְׁבוּעָה "is understood as something that may or may not be kept (e.g., the oath of Yahweh mentioned in Jer 11:5)."[380] In other words, the rhetorical force of truth-telling is not only in the conceptual aspect of truth, but also in its performative nature – namely, the responsible or *truthful* action of keeping an oath, especially in covenantal relationship with God.

As I argued in 4.5.1, it is not difficult to detect the rhetorical correspondence – the theme (juridical and moral justice) and the characterization of YHWH – between the speeches in Zech 8:1–17 and 1 Esd 4:39–40. So, how do we know that the performative nature of truth, which was spoken by Zecharaiah, is alluded to in the second speech of Zerubbabel? In 1 Esd 4:39, by affirming that she (truth) *does* (ποιέω) what is righteous, Zerubbabel evokes the performative nature of truth.[381] In addition, he demonstrates it through his *ethos*. In other words, the author of the story of the Three Bodyguards embodies Zechariah's speech in Zerubbabel's *ethos* – a truth-telling persona (see 3.6). The author may intend to show that Zerubbabel imitates Zechariah's speech. The author of the story transformed the *logos* in Zechariah's speech into the performative *ethos* of Zerubbabel.

In summary, truth has the following rhetorical aspects in YHWH's speech in Zech 8:1–17: 1) truth, which is accompanied by justice and righteousness, is the character of YHWH; and 2) truth is not merely a concept but an action enacted by the people in covenantal relationship with YHWH (e.g., through truth-telling). These very same aspects are also evoked, by way of allusion, in Zerubbabel's second speech.

Wills succinctly summarises scholarly opinion on the nature of truth in Zerubbabel's speech.

> A common question is the origin and nature of the final speech on truth. Truth will rightly sound like a Greek value of independent reason, but it also held an

380. David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1985), 311.

381. In *Ant*. 11.55–6, the verb ποιέω does not appear. The rhetorical force in the performative nature of truth seems to be decreased in Josephus's work.

> important place in Persian affirmations of eternal truth, and in Egyptian tradition as well. Verses 37–40 do add righteousness and unrighteousness (*dikaios, adikia*) to the debate about truth, a congenial marriage of Western and Persian ethical language, but the speech is perhaps not supposed to sound "typically" biblical. Israelite tradition speaks often of wisdom, but truth, *'emet,* is used in a practical sense of honesty or faithfulness, and rarely of abstract "truth."[382]

As Wills suggests, "a congenial marriage of Western and Persian ethical language" shows the rhetorical force of Zerubbabel's second speech *in* and *beyond* narrative. The supposed Persian context of the narrative – but written in the Hellenistic period – means that the centrality of truth also works in its imagined setting – i.e., the Persian audience within the narrative are convinced by the reference to truth, which plays an important part in their world view and religion. The Jewish audience of 1 Esdras understands this reference while interpreting truth in its Hebrew or Judaic form (אמת). Accordingly, the performative nature of personified truth in Zerubbabel's speech is clear.

Furthermore, Zerubbabel's second speech prepares for and increases the persuasiveness of his third speech. In his second speech, Zerubbabel impresses the superiority of truth as well as its nature and character – the just judgement and the performative nature – on the mind of Darius. After this insinuating speech, Zerubbabel persuades Darius the King by demanding Darius's fidelity and *action* with respect to the vows that Cyrus and Darius had made. What might Darius think is the just judgement in the situation if the king does not carry out his promise? For the one who keeps the performative nature of truth in mind, the next step is to *act* upon the obligations entailed in the vow.

4.6. Third Speech of Zerubbabel

The Jewish colouring concerning the obligations entailed in the vow is prominent. In this section, I will show that the author of the story, by alluding to the vow formula – the cognate

382. Wills, *Introduction to the Apocrypha*, 114.

construction in the Hebrew Bible (נדר and נֶדֶר or נֶדֶר) and the Septuagint (εὔχομαι and εὐχή) – places the rhetorical force of the vow in the deliberative speech of Zerubbabel. In addition, I demonstrate how the allusion in the non-artistic argument functions to strengthen the persuasiveness of Zerubbabel's plea.

4.6.1. Obligatory Nature of the Vow

A crucial rhetorical feature of Zerubbabel's third speech is his leveraging of the obligatory nature of the vow that was made by Darius. Although, as I described in 3.4.3.2, readers do not necessarily regard Darius's vow as a *historical* non-artistic argument, the rhetorical force of the vow *in* the story is delivered to the readers. The words εὔχομαι and εὐχή in 1 Esd 4:43 and 46 indicate that Darius's vow in Zerubbabel's speech may represent a conditional and voluntary promise.[383]

The obligatory nature of a vow is foregrounded in the Hebrew Bible, particularly through the use of the term נדר ("to vow"); it is the Semitic equivalent of εὔχομαι (e.g., Deut 23:22–24; Eccl 5:3).[384] In the Hebrew Bible, vows are mostly conditional and voluntary promises to God (e.g., Gen 28:20–22; 1 Sam 1:11; 2 Sam 15:7–8).[385] The vows are used in a

383. See Chapter 2, note 105. This cognate vow formula – εὔχομαι and εὐχή – does not appear in Josephus's retelling (*Ant*. 11.58). It means that the rhetorical force in the vow formula derived from the Hebrew Bible is diminished.

384. Although the Semitic *Vorlage* of the story is unknown, we can trace the Hebrew equivalent of εὔχομαι. The verb נדר and its noun form appears 91 times in the MT. Except Lev 22:18, Deut 12:11 and Jer 51:25 (MT 44:25), all their equivalents are εὔχομαι or εὐχή.

Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 96. As Talshir pointed out, 1 Esdras does not seem to distinguish between the usage of נדב and נדר. In MT Ezra, נדב or נְדָבָה appears five times, and their equivalents in the LXX Ezra are ἑκουσιάζομαι and ἑκούσιος (1:4, 6; 2:68; 3:5; 8:28). In 1 Esdras, the equivalents are εὔχομαι or εὐχή (1 Esd 2:4, 6; 5:43, 52; 8:57). However, this translation tendency of 1 Esdras does not diminish the usage of εὔχομαι or εὐχή in 1 Esd 4:43–46. The context of 1 Esd 4:43–46 clearly presents the vows of Darius and Cyrus as conditional and voluntary promises.

385. O. Kaiser, "נָדַר," *TDOT* 9:242–55; Jacob Milgrom, *Numbers* (Philadelphia, NY: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 488–90; Cartledge, *Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the ancient Near East*, 12; Moshe Benovitz, *Kol Nidre: Studies in the Development of Rabbinic Votive Institutions* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1998), 9. While Milgrom and Cartledge affirm that vows in the Hebrew Bible are always conditional, Kaiser designates the vows in Numbers 6 and Psalm 132 as vows of abstinence. In addition, the vows in 1 Sam 1:21 and Jonah 1:16 do not present explicit conditions of the vows.

comparable manner to how εὔχομαι and εὐχή are utilized in Greek culture. This concept of vow-making also appears in other ancient Near Eastern cultures.[386]

In the Hebrew Bible, the vow formula is that the verb נדר usually takes its cognate object נֵדֶר or נֶדֶר ("vow").[387] In classical and Hellenistic Greek, the verb εὔχομαι does not normally take εὐχή as its cognate object. However, such a cognate construction appears extensively in Septuagint Greek; there is a strong argument that it was influenced by ancient Hebrew.[388] Likewise, in 1 Esd 4:43 and 4:46, εὔχομαι takes the cognate object εὐχή in the relative clause (τὴν εὐχήν, ἣν ηὔξω).[389]

In this sense, although Zerubbabel's speech does not quote the exact wording of Darius's original vow to the King of Heaven, it may be inferred as follows: 'If the King of Heaven gives me the kingship, I will build Jerusalem and send back all the vessels that had been taken from Jerusalem'.[390] The vow would have been made before Darius became the king of Persia.[391] Zerubbabel's specific reference to Darius's accession to the throne indicates that the protasis of Darius's vow relates specifically to his enthronement. Although such details are not entirely clear in Zerubbabel's account, the sequence of events seems to have been that: 1) before Darius received the crown, he made a vow; 2) at the time at which Zerubbabel entreated Darius, the vow had not yet been fulfilled.

While the vow begins with a voluntary act, Zerubbabel suggests that Darius attached a condition to the vow: a certain action by the King of Heaven.[392] As the vow represents the

386. Cartledge, *Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 73–136. Especially, Ugaritic vows (e.g., *Keret*'s vow) show close similarities with Hebrew usage.

387. Cartledge, *Vows in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, 138–9. נדר appears 31 times in the MT. In 22 of these it is used as a transitive verb. Its cognate construction appears 19 times.

388. Muraoka, *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*, 528.

389. Judg 11:39 – ἐπετέλεσεν Ιεφθαε τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτοῦ, ἣν ηὔξατο (Jephthah fulfilled his vow that he had vowed).

390. Although in 1 Esd 4:43 a conditional marker does not appear, the temporal phrase "on the day" represents the protasis in Darius's vow. For instance, in the MT, כי in Deut 23:22 is substituted by כאשר in Eccl 5:3.

391. Benveniste, *Indo-European language and society*, 497. "We conclude that *eúkhomai* never involves a reference to the past nor to an accomplished fact but always to a present or future situation."

392. Naudé, "Vow Formulae: Biblical Hebrew," 976.

obligatory promise that was made by Darius himself, Zerubbabel's reiteration of the vow (1 Esd 4:43) – together with his plea for the fulfilment of it (1 Esd 4:46) – constitutes a very persuasive entreaty. Given that Darius actively wanted to hear Zerubbabel's request (1 Esd 4:42), there was no reason for him to ignore it. The request relates, in fact, to Darius's own vow from his mouth (1 Esd 4:46). Moreover, by highlighting the fact that the condition upon which the vow was premised has now been fulfilled, Zerubbabel stirs up Darius's sense of gratitude and obligation, compelling him to honour his vow.

Several instances of the cognate construction in the terms נדר and εὔχομαι appear in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint. Among them, I suggest that Zerubbabel's third speech alludes to Num 30:3 (and/or LXX 30:2), which exemplifies the conditional and voluntary nature of a promissory vow. This verse also signifies that a vow, which proceeds out of one's mouth, is to be fulfilled.

Table 4.10. Lexical Correspondence between Num 30:3 and 1 Esd 4:46

MT Num 30:3	LXX Num 30:2	1 Esd 4:46
אִישׁ כִּי־יִדֹּר נֶדֶר לַיהוָה אוֹ־הִשָּׁבַע שְׁבֻעָה לֶאְסֹר אִסָּר עַל־נַפְשׁוֹ לֹא יַחֵל דְּבָרוֹ כְּכָל־הַיֹּצֵא מִפִּיו יַעֲשֶׂה׃ If a man makes a vow to the LORD, or swears an oath to bind himself by a pledge, he shall not break his word; he shall do according to all that proceeds out of his mouth.	ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἂν εὔξηται εὐχὴν κυρίῳ ἢ ὀμόσῃ ὅρκον ἢ ὁρίσηται ὁρισμῷ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, οὐ βεβηλώσει τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ· πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ποιήσει. Person by person (any person)—if he vows a vow to the Lord or swears an oath or determines for himself with determination about his soul, he shall not profane his word; everything that proceeds out of his mouth he shall do.	καὶ νῦν τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅ σε ἀξιῶ, κύριε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ὃ αἰτοῦμαί σε, καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μεγαλωσύνη ἡ παρὰ σοῦ· δέομαι οὖν ἵνα ποιήσῃς τὴν εὐχήν, ἣν ηὔξω τῷ βασιλεῖ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιῆσαι ἐκ στόματός σου.

If such a vow formula, involving a cognate accusative construction, does not appear in Greek, it is plausible that these linguistic features in 1 Esd 4:43 and 46 were transmitted from the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint, specifically from Num 30:3 (LXX 30:2). Although it is

possible that the author consulted either the Hebrew or Greek version of the Torah, I suggest that the author may likely have read and learned this Greek showing Hebrew interference from the Pentateuch. It is clear that the author was indebted to the biblical text for the foregrounding of the concepts of obligation and duty in relation to the vow. So, the Jewish readers/listeners of the speech, especially, would also recognise the obligatory force in Zerubbabel's speech.

4.6.2. Chaldeans and Idumeans

As I mentioned in 3.4.3.2, Zerubbabel's third speech contains a non-artistic argument in 1 Esd 4:45. Interestingly, he narrates that Jerusalem was laid waste by the Chaldeans and that the shrine was burned by the Idumeans.

Although the MT states that the Temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans (e.g., 2 Chr 36:17–19),[393] another tradition implies that Edom was one of the participants who were responsible for the destruction of the Temple (e.g., Ezek 25:12–14; 36:5–7; Ps 137:7; Obad 1:10–14). While scholars regard the latter tradition as presenting a symbolic image, we cannot ignore the possibility that the latter tradition could reflect historical fact and experience. The fact that the destruction is attributed to both the Chaldeans and the Idumeans in 1 Esd 4:45 may indicate that two traditions were woven together by the author of the story.[394]

The allusion to the obligatory nature of the vow and the mention of Chaldeans and Idumeans strengthens the persuasiveness of Zerubbabel's deliberative speech. While

393. 2 Kgs 25:8–9 describes that Jerusalem was destroyed by Babylonians – Nebuchadnezzar (the king of Babylon).

394. Collins, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, 392. Ezra 9:1 in the MT and LXX reads "Amorites" instead of "Edomites"in 1 Esd 8:69. The difference may have been caused by some confusion between ד and ר. "Edomites" is preferred in the reference with Deut 23:4–7 and 1 Kgs 11:1. The Amorites could be designated by reference to the Canaanites. See Bird, *1 Esdras*, 256–7; Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 441; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (London: SCM, 1988), 17.

Zerubbabel explicitly mentions the ethnic groups who destroyed Jerusalem and the shrine, he omits King Artaxerxes' political decision to stop the construction of the Temple in 1 Esd 2:25. In addition, Zerubbabel repeats narrative accounts of the vows rather than directly requesting that Darius continues the rebuilding work.

The indirect speech represents Zerubbabel's diplomatic attitude towards the king. Because King Artaxerxes decided to prevent the building work, politeness is the appropriate strategy to evoke a reaction of benevolence (see 3.5.3), to avoid conflict, and to resolve tension with the government.[395] This indirect speech helps Zerubbabel to avoid a potentially awkward political (or social) issue. In his speech, Zerubbabel – as a representative of the exiles in Babylon (1 Esd 4:61–63) – transmutes Darius's rewards, one that reflects a personal need (4:42), into a national plea (4:43).[396] In this context, a direct plea could only be interpreted as being a request for a change of official policy. Although Darius gives Zerubbabel the honorific title *kinsman*, a direct entreaty might not have had the desired effect. Indirect speech is an effective tactic for sidestepping any prospective obstacles to a rhetorical exercise.

4.7. Rhetorical Message of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

In 3.9.2, I discussed the twofold purpose and function of comedy – *in* and *beyond* the story. In the first three speeches, while functioning *in* the story to embellish the entertaining aspect of the contest and to strengthen the persuasiveness of each contestant's speech, comedy serves *beyond* the story to unveil issues that were controversial among the Jewish

395. Edward J. Bridge, "Polite rhetoric: Judah's plea to Joseph in Genesis 44.18-34," *JSOT* 43.4 (2019): 571–87. Bridge explains 'strategic politeness' in Judah's speech in Gen 44:18–34. "Judah's plea to Joseph in Gen. 44.18-34 contains extensive linguistic politeness strategies and elements to assist his request to be substituted as a slave instead of Benjamin to be favourably heard by the unknown-to-him Joseph."

396. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 221.

readers/listeners – not to increase tensions, but to provide a temporary resolution from their contentious stance through humour.

Likewise, in the first three speeches (see Table 4.11), the allusion to the evoked texts in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint serves to demonstrate the superiority of each topic *in* the narrative. On the other hand, *beyond* the narrative, the topics of the speeches that include allusion may highlight the controversial issues or socio-cultural complications prominent among Jews in the second century BCE. The topic of wine and the use of allusion in the first speech evoke the corrupted priests or leaders who led Jews astray (e.g., Jason in 2 Macc 4:7–22 or Alcimus in 1 Macc 7:8–25). The speech of the second bodyguard recalls the tyrannical behaviours of Antiochus IV towards Jews (e.g., 1 Macc 1:29–64)[397]. As I explained in 3.9.2, the topic of women relates to the issue of endogamous marriage. Each of these represents well-known second century Jewish concerns.

However, the purpose of allusion is not to deepen controversy. As I elaborated in 4.4.1, the allusion with omission of the term *mother* and reversal of women's status and the perspective on beauty in Zerubbabel's first speech was likely to have caused amusement among the Jewish readers/listeners *beyond* the narrative. The purpose of allusion in this speech is the same as the function of the comedic elements that I discussed in 3.9. The comedic elements of the first three speeches from both Greek and Jewish aspects, especially through Zerubbabel's first speech, refresh the minds of the readers/listeners. The effect of humour is an appropriate device to lead them to focus on the serious message of the authors embedded in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. So, in this section, I demonstrate the purpose and message of the story by examining the significance of the allusions in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches.

397. Paul Carbonaro, "Les Trois Pages de Darius, du Premier Livre d'Esdras (3,1-5,6) aux 'Antiquités Juives' (XI, 33-67)," *RB* 119.1 (2012): 20–44. Carbonaro argues that the speeches of the Three Bodyguards denounced the tyrannical behaviours of Ptolemy VIII Physcon.

Table 4.11. Purpose of Allusion in the Narrative

	Allusion	Purpose of Allusion *in* the Narrative
Speech of the First Bodyguard	• πλανάω caused by οἶνος in Isa 28:7 (and/or LXX Isa 28:7)	To exaggerate wine's effect
	• Forgetting in Prov 31:5–7	To evoke humour
Speech of the First Bodyguard	• Paired antonymous verbs in Jer 24:6 and 31:28 (and/or LXX Jer 24:6 and 31:28) and in Eccl 3:2–3	To demonstrate a king's power
	• παραβαίνω with its object λόγος in LXX Deut 28:14 and LXX 1 Sam 15:24	To evoke feelings of shame, guilt, and fear
First Speech of Zerubbabel	• Gen 2:24, 3:16b (and/or LXX Gen 2:24, 3:16b) and Prov 31:16	To evoke humour
	• καλός ("good") and εἶδος ("form")	To demonstrate the strongness of women by emphasising women's beauty
Second Speech of Zerubbabel	• ἄδικος and δίκαιος in Lev 19:15, 35 and Deut 10:17 (and/or LXX Lev 19:15, 35 and LXX Deut 10:17)	To demonstrate the superiority of (just) truth by comparing with other (unjust) things
	• *Ethos* of truth-telling in Zech 8:1–17 (and/or LXX Zech 8:1–17)	To show the performative nature of truth
Third Speech of Zerubbabel	• εὔχομαι and εὐχή in Num 30:2 (and/or LXX Num 30:2)	To emphasise the obligatory nature of vows
	• Destruction by the Chaldeans and the Idumeans	To persuade Darius to fulfil the vow

So, how do we understand the significance of allusion in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches? I suggest that the purpose of allusion should be considered not just in Zerubbabel's second speech, but in the relationship of Zerubbabel's second *and* third speeches. I have

already pointed out the importance of the relationship of Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. I must add that, in view of the major theme of the book of 1 Esdras and the story of the Three Bodyguards being the rebuilding of the Temple, Zerubbabel's last speech, which constitutes a critical moment in the story of the rebuilding the Temple, cannot be ignored.

After I demonstrate the significance of allusion in each speech (Zerubbabel's second speech in 4.7.1 and his third speech in 4.7.2), by integrating them in 4.7.3, I illuminate the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

4.7.1. Is there polemic in Zerubbabel's second speech?

Let us consider whether the purpose of allusion in Zerubbabel's second speech is either to attack or to defend a certain polemical proposition *beyond* the story. Readers may think that the author, through Zerubbabel's first speech, emphasises the negative aspect of women, as I discussed in 3.9.2. In addition, Böhler explains that truth in Zerubbabel's second speech resembles the concept of truth employed by the Yaḥad in the Qumran writings (e.g., the Community Rule or Damascus Document).[398] He contends that the concept of truth in Zerubbabel's speech represents anti-Hasmonean propaganda as below.

> In Qumran truth was a battle cry against the Hasmonean establishment and the 'man of lies' (1QpHab II 2; V 11; X 9; 4QpPs37 I 18). In contrast to the Hasmonean usurpers, the people of Qumran rejoiced "in your truth" (1QH X 30).… The praise of truth in 1 Esdr 4:35–40, and especially the contrast between truth (ἀλήθεια) and unrighteousness (ἄδικον) (4:39), and the assertion that truth abides forever (4:38) are immediately reminiscent of 4QInstr, even though no direct dependence can be established. Zerubbabel's speech on truth could have been delivered in Qumran exactly as it stands. The Qumran writings show that (1) a Jew could speak about truth as Zerubbabel does, that (2) such a discourse on truth was effectively carried out in the second century B.C.E., and, in fact, (3) in dissident circles that used the battle cry of "truth" in their opposition to the ruling ("lying")

398. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 102–3; Dieter Böhler, "'Groß ist die Wahrheit und übermächtig!' (1 Esdr 4,41): Serubbabels Rede über die Wahrheit als philosophische Argumentation und zugleich genuin jüdisches Thema," *ThPh* 89.1 (2014): 39–41. For the general nature of the group Yaḥad, see Martin Goodman, *A History of Judaism* (Princeton, NJ; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 146–58.

> regime of the Hasmoneans. We can neither assert nor deny that the author of 1 Esdras was inspired by Qumran in composing the discourse. He himself was certainly not a member of the Yaḥad, for in 1 Esdras he does nothing to support the Zadokite high priesthood. He places his sole accent on the Davidic kingship, and it is in that context that he builds up the figure of Zerubbabel.[399]

I agree with Böhler that "He [the author] himself was certainly not a member of the Yaḥad." Although Zerubbabel's speech is reminiscent of 4QInstr and there are certain similarities in the description of truth found in Zerubbabel's second speech and the Qumran writings,[400] it does not mean that the author accepted the thought represented in the Qumran writings. As I argued in 4.4.1, although the author of the story alluded to Gen 2:24 and 3:16b, he had a very different viewpoint from 4Q416 (4QInstr^{b}).[401]

It is unwarranted to impose an anti-Hasmonean perspective on the ideology of the author of the story and 1 Esdras. For instance, Jacob L. Wright suggests that the designation of Ezra as the high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) and the emphasis on Torah study show "the overtly pro-priestly and pro-temple character of 1 Esdras."[402] As I suggested several times, the coexistence of the pro-priestly and anti-Hasmonean viewpoints implies that the author had an ambivalent perspective on the sociocultural issues. As I described in 3.8.5, the speech of the second bodyguard reveals positive and negative characteristics of kingship. So, the projection of his ambivalent perspective in the writing represents his scribal activity or eclecticism.

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399. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 103–4 (Eng. 106–7).

400. Kristin De Troyer, "The So-Called Esther Fragment of Cave 4," *RevQ* 19 (2000): 401–22. De Troyer describes several similar characteristics between 4Q550 and 1 Esdras. And, she suggests that "*4Q550* offers proof that *1 Esdras* was known or present at Qumran. This idea leads me, however, to accepting an Aramaic 1 Esdras text in Qumran, and I am not sure whether or not to go down that road" (De Troyer, 421). However, we cannot rule out the possibility that 4Q550 was known to the author of 1 Esdras.

401. Arie van der Kooij, "The Yaḥad—What is in a Name?" *DSD* 18.2 (2011): 109–128. Focusing on 1QS, Kooij demonstrates that "the noun *yaḥad* does not refer to the movement at large, but to the community of the fully initiated (male) members who lived at several localities" (109).

402. Jacob L. Wright, "Remember Nehemiah: 1 Esdras and the *Damnatio Memoriae* Nehemiah," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 158. Wright does not argue the pro-Hasmonean ideology of 1 Esdras.

To my mind, the lexical correspondence between 1 Macc 7:18 and the speeches in the story of the Three Bodyguards indicate that there is a certain intertextual link, though it would be difficult to know the direction of the literary dependence. So, we do not know whether Zerubbabel's second speech alludes to Alcimus, but both texts demonstrate that truth comes not only by speech, but also by action.

Table 4.12. Lexical Correspondence between 1 Macc 7:18 and 1 Esd 4

1 Macc 7:18	Story of the Three Bodyguards
καὶ ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῶν ὁ φόβος καὶ ὁ τρόμος εἰς πάντα τὸν λαόν, ὅτι εἶπον Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλήθεια καὶ κρίσις, παρέβησαν γὰρ τὴν στάσιν καὶ τὸν ὅρκον, ὃν ὤμοσαν. And fear and trembling of them fell upon all the people, for they said, "There is no truth and judgment in them, for they have violated the stipulation and the oath which they swore."	τρόμος – 1 Esd 4:36 (τρέμω) ἀλήθεια – 1 Esd 4:34–38 κρίσις – 1 Esd 4:39 παρέβησαν – 1 Esd 4:5 τὸν ὅρκον, ὃν ὤμοσαν ≈ τὴν εὐχήν, ἣν ηὔξω in 1 Esd 4:43

Although the style of Zerubbabel's second speech is refutative, it is hard to understand how the author could have written Zerubbabel's second speech in order to either defend his own side or attack the other side *in* the story. As I mentioned in 3.4.2, the refutation in the speech is towards all the topics *including* his own speech. The speech praises and proclaims eternal, strong, and mighty truth. In comparison with the first three speeches, the ambivalent attitude is not detected in Zerubbabel's second speech. Additionally, there is no entity that is comparable with truth. In this respect, the author may intend to suggest a transcendental aspect of truth *beyond* all the polemical issues. As the author emphasised the performative aspect of truth, Zerubbabel's second speech makes the readers/listeners focus on the performative nature and character of truth and God.

Now, let us consider how we understand the allusion in Zerubbabel's third speech.

4.7.2. Perspective on the Allusions in Zerubbabel's Third Speech

4.7.2.1. Ambivalent Perspective

As mentioned in 4.6.2, I would point out that two traditions about the destructive behaviour of the Chaldeans and the Idumeans are conflated in 1 Esd 4:45. Several scholars have linked the allusion in Zerubbabel's third speech with a historical situation regarding the political or social relationship between Jews and Idumeans in the second century BCE.

Michał Marciak argues that the reference to the Edomites in 1 Esd (4:45, 50; 5:29; 8:66) is significant on account of the ethnic group not being referred to in MT Ezra and Nehemiah.[403] He lays out the following three points:

First, 1 Esd 4:45, which explains that Edom was one of the enemies that destroyed the Temple, shows that "the references to the Idumeans in 1 Esdras are indebted to the negative biblical tradition about Edom ('the Damn Edom tradition'), and 1 Esd. 4.45 even represents a climax in this tradition."[404] However, by comparing this with Ezek 25:12–14; 36:5–7; Ps 137:7; Obad 1:10–14, can we say that the author of 1 Esdras had a negative view of the Idumeans? There is no judgment passed on the Idumeans, nor are they cursed in 1 Esdras. Rather, the author of 1 Esdras describes the Idumeans and their actions, neutrally. The conflation that attributes the destruction of the Temple to *both* the Chaldeans and the Idumeans in 1 Esd 4:45 may indicate the author's intention of showing his ambivalent perspective.[405]

Second, in 1 Esd 4:50, Darius commands the Idumeans to hand over their territories to the Jews. While this edict recalls the historical event (586 BCE) in which the Edomites

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403. Michał Marciak, "Idumea and Idumeans in the Light of the Pseudepigrapha," *JSP* 27.3 (2018): 163–203. Among those verses, the reading of "Edomites" in 1 Esd 8:66 may be translational, rather than interpretive, by paleographical confusion between אדמי and אמרי in Ezra 9:1. See Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 441.

404. Marciak, "Idumea and Idumeans," 191. Although B-text has Ἰουδαία, Talshir asserts that "there is little doubt that the original referred to the Edomites." See Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 226.

405. Although I do not agree that 1 Esd 4:45 may be considered implicitly damning by accusing Idumeans of such destruction, I do not mean that the author intended to forget what Edom had done.

burned the Temple and took Judean territory (cf. Ezek 35:6), it may represent the Maccabean-Idumean conflict in the second century BCE, as mentioned above. Bob Becking argues that

> In 2 Macc 10:15–17, mention is made of a reconquest by the Maccabean forces of some Idumean strongholds. I would like to suggest that the mention of the Idumeans in 1 Esdras refers to the situation in the second century B.C.E., when Idumeans still occupied large parts of the 'Judean' territory.[406]

Although I do not deny that 1 Esd 4:50 reflects an actual historical situation, it is plausible that it may refer to the past event in which the Idumeans were conquered by John Hyrcanus I (111–107 BCE).[407] Because κώμη, which the Idumeans are said to hold in 1 Esd 4:50, means a small town or unwalled city,[408] it might not represent the Idumeans' holding of a large portion of the Judean territory *before* the conquest.

Third, Marciak points out Esau (Ἡσαῦ) – the ancestor of the Edomites – is included in the list of the temple servants in 1 Esd 5:29, though its Hebrew and Greek equivalents in the MT and LXX Ezra 2:43 (Neh 7:46) are צִיחָא (צִחָא) and Σουια (Σηα). Marciak suggests that this inclusion indicates that "it may then be treated as a spiteful remark about the Edomites, some of whom would be placed in the lowest rank of the temple functionaries."[409] However, the Hebrew and Greek terms for a temple servant – נְתִינִים in Ezra 2:43 and ἱερόδουλος in 1 Esd 5:29 – do not have negative connotations. As Williamson points out, נְתִינִים "need mean no more than 'devoted'."[410] The Greek term ἱερόδουλος, which appears only in 1 Esdras, indicates that "these were common and free people working in agriculture, trade, and crafts,

406. Bob Becking, "The Story of the Three Youths and The Composition of 1 Esdras," 69. (cf. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 100; Marciak, "Idumea and Idumeans," 190).

407. Josephus, *Ant*. 13.257; Levin Yigal, "The Religion of Idumea and Its Relationship to Early Judaism," *Religions* 11.487 (2020): 1. (https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11100487)

408. BDAG, 581; LSJ, 1017–8.

409. Marciak, "Idumea and Idumeans," 191; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 116; Antonius H. J. Gunneweg, *Esra*, KAT (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1985), 62.

410. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 36. נְתִינִים "are included in these lists as part of the 'assembly' (v 64) from which servants are treated separately as property (vv. 65–67). They were exempted from paying taxes (7:24), had their own quarters in Jerusalem (Neh 3:26, 31), and were signatories to the new covenant for Neh 10" (Williamson, 35–6).

so despite their description as *hierodouloi*, their main duty cannot have been service in the temple."[411]

So, Marciak's conclusion that "All in all, there can be no doubt that, in general, the references to the Idumeans in 1 Esdras are indebted to the negative biblical tradition about Edom ('the Damn Edom tradition'), and 1 Esd. 4.45 even represents a climax in this tradition"[412] should be reconsidered.

Although I do not agree with his conclusion and find some flaws in his arguments, I think that Marciak's suggestion that 1 Esd 5:29 implies the participation of the Idumeans in the Temple service is helpful for understanding the historical background of 1 Esdras.[413] Although it is not impossible that the textual difference between 1 Esd 5:29 and Ezra 2:43 could be due to the confusion of (Paleo) Hebrew or Greek letters,[414] I am more inclined to think that it may be caused by the author's interpretive lexical choice in two ways. If Qos or Qous is the theophoric Edomite element,[415] then ברקוס (Βαρκους or Βαρχούς) in Ezra 2:53

411. Sandra Scheuble-Reiter and Silvia Bussi, "Social Identity and Upward Mobility: Elite Groups, Lower Classes, and Slaves," in *A Companion to Greco-Roman and late antique Egypt*, eds. Katelijn Vandorpe (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley Blackwell, 2019), 289. For a thorough and foundational study of the term ἱερόδουλος, see Cf. Reinhold Scholl, "ΙΕΡΟΔΟΥΛΟΣ Im Griechisch-römischen Ägypten," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 34.4 (1985): 466–92. "Die Ergebnisse aus den Textanalysen zusammenfassend ist festzuhalten: In den bisherigen Texten aus dem griechisch-römischen Ägypten bezeichnet das Wort ἱερόδουλος keinen Sklaven und ist somit auch kein Sklaventerminus. Auch läßt sich umgekehrt kein Sklave unter den ἱερόδουλοι finden. Es handelt sich bei den ἱερόδουλοι um freie, einheimische Ägypter oder freie, ägyptisierte Griechen oder Römer, die in einem nicht sicher zu bestimmenden Verhältnis zu einer ägyptischen Gottheit stehen" (p. 487). Scholl explains that, in the texts from Graeco-Roman Egypt, ἱερόδουλος does not designate a slave and is therefore not a slave term. The term ἱερόδουλοι designates is free, native Egyptians or free, Egyptising-Greeks or Romans who have a relationship to an Egyptian deity that cannot be determined with certainty.

412. Marciak, "Idumea and Idumeans," 191.

413. Although it is questionable whether or not the conversion of Idumeans was forced by John Hyrcanus, the Greek term ἡμιϊουδαῖος ("half-Jew") in *Ant*. 14.403 employed by Josephus implies that there may have existed an ambivalent perspective towards the converted Idumeans, even though the exact meaning of ἡμιϊουδαῖος is still debated; Michał Marciak, "Idumea and the Idumeans in Josephus' story of Hellenistic-Early Roman Palestine (Ant. XII-XX)," *Aev* 91 (2017): 183–4. Marciak argues that "a geographical or ethnic meaning for ἡμιουδαῖος appears to be more likely than religious one" (184). With respect to the conversion of Idumeans, he concludes that "although Josephus' accounts of the incorporation of Idumean speak of forcible conversion, the overall message of his references to Idumean leave room for speculation that what is usually labeled as conversion may have been a result of political agreement between the Hasmoneans and the Idumean elites."

414. Between עשו and צחא or between Ἠσαῦ and Σουια.

415. Levin, "The Religion of Idumea and Its Relationship to Early Judaism," 1–27; Juan Manuel Tebes, "The Edomite Involvement in the Destruction of the First Temple: A Case of Stab-in-the-Back Tradition?" *JSOT* 36.2 (2011): 243–5.

(cf. Neh 7:55; 1 Esd 5:32), may plausibly cause the author (or translator) of 1 Esdras to recall the name "Esau." So, this lexical choice may represent the historical situation of the late second century BCE (or the early first century BCE) – the conversion of Idumeans and their possible participation (or the author's wish) in the service of the Temple.

So, how do we best understand the author's description of the Idumeans? Within the narrative, it could be an example of Zerubbabel's verbal diplomacy. Sara Japhet asks, "Is it one more trick of the speaker, avoiding possible embarrassment on the part of Darius who, as 'the king of Babylon', might find it difficult to revoke an earlier 'Babylonian' deed?"[416] Beyond the narrative, the Jewish readers/listeners could recognise, without difficulty, that Zerubbabel's speech conflated two traditional understandings of the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldeans and by the Idumeans. Or, the description that the Temple was destroyed not just by one nation, but by two different opponents, implies the continuation of a threat to the Temple in the second century BCE (e.g., the violation of the Second Temple perpetrated by Antiochus IV). So, I suggest that 1 Esd 4:45 does not primarily advance the message or ideology of the story of the three bodyguards, but it shows the author's harmonising scribal style or ambivalent perspective on a certain social phenomenon; the contemporary issues of blame and suspicion regarding the security of the Temple.

4.7.2.2. Beyond Separation

Another interesting description in Zerubbabel's third speech is Cyrus's action in the term ἐκχωρίζω ("to separate out") in 1 Esd 4:44. The setting apart of the vessels implies that Cyrus dedicated the spoils to the deity after defeating Babylon, though Cyrus's action is not attested

416. Japhet, "1 Esdras," 759.

elsewhere in scripture. In other words, the author of the story placed the theme of separation in Zerubbabel's plea referring to the vessels separated out by Cyrus.[417]

Separation is one of the most important themes in the memoir(s) of Ezra, especially in 1 Esd 8:65–9:36 (Ezra 9–10). The significance of the theme 'separation' is conveyed by the Hebrew verb בדל ("to separate")[418] and its usual Greek equivalent of χωρίζω. In 1 Esdras, χωρίζω is used in the same context with the verb בדל.

- 1 Esd 7:13 (Ezra 6:21) – separation of the community from "the others"
- 1 Esd 5:39 (Ezra 2:62); 8:54 (Ezra 8:24) – setting apart of the priesthood
- 1 Esd 8:66 (Ezra 9:1); 9:9 (Ezra 10:11) – separation from the foreign wives

Although χωρίζω is the root of ἐκχωρίζω, the verb χωρίζω is not typically used to imply the separation of spoils in 1 Esdras and in the Septuagint. Because ἐκχωρίζω appears only in the story of the Three Bodyguards, it is not easy to discern its Semitic equivalent.[419] I suggest that the compound verb ἐκχωρίζω, when emphasising a separation of spoils, echoes the terms חרם and חֵרֶם, which denote the state of separation, a complete separation.[420]

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417. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 181. Bird points out that "the internal contradiction is that 1 Esd 2:7–11 assumes that the vessels were returned under Cyrus, though they are returned again under Darius in 4:57, and yet again under Artaxerxēs in 8:55–59." The verb ἐκχωρίζω implies that the vow that Cyrus made represents a prohibitive vow, which is "to receive no personal benefit or to prevent others from receiving benefit" (Bamberger, 346). The separation connotes that Cyrus himself prohibited taking benefits from the vessels. However, the separation does not mean that Cyrus sent back the vessels. In other words, unless Cyrus transferred the booty to the Temple treasury in Jerusalem, the separated vessels were potentially in the possession of Cyrus (or Cyrus's treasurer). Thus, it is possible that Zerubbabel specifically entreats Darius to facilitate the return of all of the separated vessels. See Avigail Manekin-Bamberger, "The Vow-Curse in Ancient Jewish Texts," *HTR* 112.3 (2019): 346; Benovitz, *Kol Nidre*, 9.

418. Otzen, "בדל," *TDOT* 2:1–3.

419. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 225. Talshir takes the hafel form of נפק as an equivalent of ἐκχωρίζω (or χωρίζω).

420. Moshe Greenberg, "Herem," *EncJua* 8 (1972): 344–350; Norbert Lohfink, "חָרַם," *TDOT* 5:188; Philip D. Stern, *The Biblical ḥerem: A Window on Israel's Religious Experience* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1991), 16; R. D. Nelson, "*ḥerem* and the Deuteronomic Social Conscience," in *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic Literature: Festschrift C.H.W. Brekelmans,* eds. C. Brekelmans, M. Vervenne, and J. Lust (Leuven: Leuven University Press; Uitgeverij Peeters, 1997), 44; Arie Versluis, "Devotion and/or Destruction? The Meaning and Function of in the Old Testament," *ZAW* 128.2 (2016): 244; Katell Berthelot, "The Notion of *Anathema* in Ancient Jewish Literature Written in Greek," in *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Jewish-Hellenistic and Christian Literature,* eds. Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker, and Jan Joosten (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 42.

In the narrative, Zerubbabel's reference to the vessels separated out (ἐκχωρίζω) by Cyrus could serve to awaken Darius's feeling of fear. In classical literature and the Hebrew Bible, we can find stories describing spoils being set aside to a deity after the war (e.g., Josh 6:17; Aristotle, *Oec.* 1346a–b).[421] חֵרֶם and ἀνάθεμα are used to refer to the separated spoils intended to be dedicated to a god(s).[422] R. D. Nelson defines חֵרֶם as "the state of inalienable Yahweh ownership" and "an entity in the state of inalienable Yahweh ownership." As חֵרֶם connotes untransferable spoils belonging to God, harsh punishment is expected for the one who violates the vow (e.g., Lev 27:28–29). In this regard, the fear leads Darius to fulfil the vows in order to avoid a future catastrophe caused by defaulting on Cyrus's vow.[423] *Beyond* the story, the Jewish readers of this literature would be able to unconsciously project their own sensibilities about broken vows and the fear of commensurate peril onto the character.

In other words, as the vow formula in εὔχομαι and εὐχή demands Darius's action, the term ἐκχωρίζω also evokes a performative obligation. In Zerubbabel's plea, separation *itself* does not have any rhetorical force. Because the entity to which the separated spoils were devoted is a deity, his speech evokes fear in Darius, so that the speech could compel Darius's action.

So, what is the rhetorical significance of the term ἐκχωρίζω in the story of the three bodyguards? First, the rhetorical force of the term was conveyed to Darius to the end that he

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421. Berthelot, "The Notion of *Anathema*," 38; Versluis, "Devotion and/or Destruction? The Meaning and Function of in the Old Testament," 236; Aristotle, *Metaphysics, Volume II: Books 10-14. Oeconomica. Magna Moralia,* trans. Hugh Tredennick, and G. Cyril Armstrong, LCL 287 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 350–1. "Cypselus of Corinth had made a vow that if he became master of the city, he would offer to Zeus the entire property of the Corinthians."

422. In the LXX, ἀνάθεμα is usually an equivalent of חֵרֶם. The verb חרם is attested in Ezra 10:8, and its Greek equivalent in LXX Ezra 10:8 is ἀναθεματίζω ("to curse"). In 1 Esd 9:4, the verb is rendered as ἀνιερόω ("to dedicate"), which is "used of persons invoking the wrath of the gods upon themselves or others in case of breach of faith" (LSJ, 194). The rhetorical force of חרם, which evokes feelings of fear, is also maintained in 1 Esd 9:4.

423. Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire*, 143. Behistun inscription, col.1.13. In real life, Darius would not know Jewish literature that guaranteed destruction to those who transgress YHWH. Even if Zerubbabel is referring to Israel's God specifically, Darius – who proclaimed that "I became king with the help of Ahuramazda" – might focus on the devotional vow itself rather than being doubtful of its legitimacy.

fulfilled his vow and issued the letter to return all the vessels from Babylon to Jerusalem in 1 Esd 4:57. Second, separation *itself* does not mean the fulfilment of the vow. To retain in separation is a violation of the vows. Third, it affirms that the purpose of true separation is to devote objects to God.

This rhetorical force in reference to Cyrus's action, defined by the term ἐκχωρίζω, quite possibly resonated among the Jewish readers/listeners in the second century BCE. Without the theme of separation (χωρίζω), it is hard to understand their way of life such as the separation of Jews from gentiles, separation of the Priesthood, or separation of time and space.

For instance, Martin Goodman explains,

> Many Jews in this period seem to have taken purity notions far beyond the biblical base. The rationale of food laws in Leviticus was that 'you shall not defile yourselves . . . you shall be holy, for I am holy.' They had been for many Jews a symbol also of separation from the gentile world. In Jubilees, composed in the second century BCE, eating with gentiles is itself seen as defiling.[424]

With these rhetorical considerations in view, on the one hand, the term ἐκχωρίζω could lead readers to think of the social or political issues in their everyday life. Furthermore, through the rhetorical force of the description of Cyrus's action, the author seems likely to have intended to persuade the readers/listeners to see *beyond* separation, to reconsider what devotion to God means – the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

In this section, I investigated the significance of allusion – the author's ambivalent perspective and the rhetorical force of the term ἐκχωρίζω – in Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. In the next section, I will outline in greater detail the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards by integrating the literary and rhetorical features discussed in chapters 3

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424. Goodman, *A History of Judaism*, 200. Goodman also explains that "the nazirite vow was evidently common both in the diaspora and in Judaea in the late Second Temple period. The Septuagint translation of the relevant chapter of Numbers denotes the nazirite vow as the 'great vow'" (*A History of Judaism*, 165.). The combination of Zerubbabel's first speech with his third speech recalls the Nazirite vow, abstaining from wine and strong drink.

and 4 with emphasis on the meaning of the *Temple*, *truth*, and *vow* and the conclusion of the contest described in 1 Esd 4:47– 5:6.

4.7.3. Message of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

The Jerusalem Temple is one of the most frequent topics and figures in the writings of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Each book has its own purpose and motif in its description of the Temple. Michael A. Knibb lays out four meanings of the Temple in this literature: "1) as a part of the nation's past; 2) as a contemporary reality; 3) as an object of future expectation; or 4) as an object of rivalry and contention."[425] Jill Middlemas discerns the meaning of the Temple in Judith, Tobit, and LXX Esther. She concludes that

> All three of the Jewish fictional hero tales utilize the temple to make a broader point about the presence and purposes of the deity in the midst of the lived experiences of Jews under pressure, if not also persecution. The temple drives home the point that, for the Jews, God alone is king, even when the ancestral land and a dispersed people live under earthly kings.[426]

With respect to these meanings of the Temple in the second century BCE, the narrative of the rebuilding of the Temple in 1 Esdras also has its own significance. Of course, after the story, because 1 Esd 5:7–7:15 corresponds to Ezra 2–6 (except 4:6–24), it could be the recital of a past event to describe how the Temple and the community were restored. However, the story of the Three Bodyguards has no parallel in Ezra, and it describes the turning point – that is, how the hindered rebuilding work was resumed. In other words, although the story does not directly elucidate the meaning and the function of the Temple, it is hardly surprising that we can find such motifs in the description of the occasion of the Temple rebuilding.

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425. Michael A. Knibb, "Temple and Cult in Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphal Writings from Before the Common Era," in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day (New York: T & T Clark, 2005), 401.

426. Jill Middlemas, "The Temple in the So-Called Jewish Romances in the Deuterocanonical Literature: Judith, Tobit, and Esther," in *The Early Reception of the Book of Isaiah*, eds. Friedrich V. Reiterer, Beate Ego, Tobias Nicklas, and Kristin De Troyer, DCLS 37 (Berlin; Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2018), 87.

I would like to suggest three crucial points for understanding the message. First, as I have indicated previously, the story leads the readers/listeners to recognise different perspectives, not to be polemical, but to realise what truth is, specifically through comedic elements. Second, the story persuades them to understand the transcendent truth of God and to remember His truthful action — namely, the performative nature of the truth of God realised in 1 Esd 4:47–63. Unlike the book of Ezra, in the book of 1 Esdras, the rebuilding work is signified in Zerubbabel's persuasive speeches and in the response of Darius. The author affirms that Zerubbabel's victory, the rebuilding work, and the return of exiles all came from God's action in 1 Esd 4:59–62. As Williamson explains, "Viewed with theological hindsight, the restoration is a single act of God in the life of his people, not a haphazard series of chance events."[427] Most strikingly, Bird argues,

> In sum, it is hard to avoid seeing New Exodus/Conquest imagery being deliberately utilized here. The theme of freedom, leaving a pagan kingdom to go up to Jerusalem, and taking the land from the Edomites (Chaldeans), are all reminiscent of motifs from the Exodus story.[428]

As Williamson points out, Darius's decree in 1 Esd 4:47–57, which bears comparison with 1 Esd 2:3–8 and Ezra 1:3–8, echoes "the motif of the despoiling of the Egyptians" (cf. Exod 3:21–2; 11:2; 12:35–6; Ps 105:37).[429] In other words, the author is recalling God's action of salvation.

Third, the "vow" description in Zerubbabel's third speech persuades the readers/listeners to remember acts of a truthful God (cf. 1 Esd 8:86) and their covenantal relationship with God and to ask themselves how to act appropriately as God's covenant people. Although the story does not specify how the people ultimately respond, we can imagine an appropriate response through the actions of Zerubbabel and his brothers in1 Esd

427. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 854.
428. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 184–5.
429. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 16.

4:58–5:3. These include acknowledging God's action (4:60), praising God (4:59, 62), sharing good news with his kindred (4:61), and rejoicing together (4:63; 5:3).[430] Importantly, God's guidance to peace and joy through Darius's action continues in 1 Esd 5:2–3.

The story, which describes the beginning point of the Temple rebuilding, conveys the fundamental meaning of the Temple: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character and action*.

4.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I enumerated lists of several rhetorical allusions evoking the speeches and texts in the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint and investigated their significance in *and* beyond the story of the Three Bodyguards. Although the *stasis* and genre are not identical, I argued that the author, who understood the rhetorical force of certain words, locutions, or themes in the evoked texts of the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint, employed them in the speeches of the three orators. I emphasised, especially, that the comedic elements of allusion in Zerubbabel's first speech were compatible with the purpose of the comedic aspect discussed in 3.5.2 and 3.9.2. It demonstrates that the literary aspect of Greek Comedy (Aristophanic slapstick) and the effective allusions to the Jewish writings coexist together.

Additionally, based on the literary and rhetorical features of the story discussed in Chapters 3–4 and on the historical critical view of the description of the Idumeans in the story and in 1 Esd 5:29, I suggested that the story of the Three Bodyguards was composed by

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430. Jonathan Trotter, *The Jerusalem Temple in Diaspora: Jewish Practice and Thought During the Second Temple Period*, SJSJ 192 (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2019), 73. Trotter explains that "there are some factors that plausibly connect the initiation of the half-shekel offering with the rule of the Hasmoneans in the late second century BCE." So, it is possible that the contribution to the Temple in Zerubbabel's third speech can remind the Jewish readers/listeners of a half-shekel contribution (cf. Exod 30:12–16; 2 Chr 24:4–14; Neh 10:33–34). Even if Zerubbabel's third speech is linked with the concept of a half-shekel contribution, the purpose of the speech may not be to press the Jews to devote the contribution but to remember the covenantal relationship with God. See Sebastian Selvén, "The Privilege of Taxation: Jewish Identity and the Half-Shekel Temple Tax in the Talmud Yerushalmi," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 81 (2016): 63–89. Selvén argues that a half-shekel contribution is "an important identity marker, in the same vein as circumcision and Sabbath observance" (Selvén, 85–6).

a single author who benefited from a Greek and a Jewish education in the late second century BCE. To conclude, I outlined the fundamental message of the story of the Three Bodyguards. In the next chapter, I will highlight how the literary and rhetorical features, and the message of the story that I have discussed throughout Chapters 2–4, influenced the composition of 1 Esdras. I will also elucidate the composition theory and purpose of the book of 1 Esdras.

Chapter 5. The Story of the Three Bodyguards and the Book of 1 Esdras

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, I laid out several rhetorical features that I argued were likely to have been transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint into the speeches of the story, and I highlighted their rhetorical force *in* and *beyond* the story. Through this approach, I discerned the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

In this chapter, I focus on the question that my thesis aims to answer: What is the story of the Three Bodyguards doing in 1 Esdras? First, I propose my composition theory of the story of the Three Bodyguards: the story (1 Esd 3:1–5:6) was written by a single author, who had acquired a Greek and Jewish education.[431] Then, I demonstrate how this story influenced the rest of 1 Esdras. I investigate to what extent, and in what ways, the literary aspect, theme, and motif of the story of the Three Bodyguards correspond to the structural features and the purpose of 1 Esdras. As I explained in 1.4.1, the structural difference between 1 Esdras and its parallel texts (2 Chr 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a) led to two opposing hypotheses –fragmentary vs. compositional hypotheses. Because both hypotheses assume that the story was the latest source material, we should understand how the story influenced the formation process of the Greek 1 Esdras (see 1.4.2).

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431. Because I argue the commonalities of the composition of both the story of the Three Bodyguards and 1 Esdras, I treat the composition theory of the story in this chapter, not in the previous chapter.

So, focusing on the beginning (Ezra 1:1–20 and 2 Chr 35:1–19) and ending (Ezra 9:37–55 and Neh 7:72–8:13a) scenes, the placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25 (Ezra 4:7–24) in 1 Esd 2–5 (Ezra 2–4), and the sequence of 1 Esd 9:18–36 (Ezra 10:18–44) and 9:37–55, I demonstrate that the significance of the arrangement of 1 Esdras is analogous to the literary features of a *court tale* and the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards. In this process, I argue that the author of the story is the same as the author of 1 Esdras. Lastly, based on my argument throughout Chapters 2–5, I present the purpose of 1 Esdras and my composition theory of 1 Esdras.

5.2. Composition Theory of the Story of the Three Bodyguards

Although there is no consensus view on the redactional process of the five speeches in the story, the common issue that scholars have raised concerns how to understand the relationship between the first three speeches and Zerubbabel's second speech *or* between the first four speeches and Zerubbabel's third speech.

As I already pointed out, the different genre and tone of the speeches and the existence of either Greek or Jewish aspects in the speeches are the key reasons for arguing for the literary growth of the story of the Three Bodyguards. In this regard, there have been two major hypotheses. First, Torrey considered 1 Esd 3:1–4:42 to be a complete and independent story. So, he argued that the interpolator (or author of 1 Esdras) adopted 1 Esd 3:1–4:42 in its entirety, which, according to him, "contains not a word to give it connection with Jewish history or interests," into the book of 1 Esdras – except the interjection in 1 Esd 4:13 ("he was Zerubbabel").[432] Second, if, as Pohlmann argued, Zerubbabel's second speech about truth is of Jewish origin the first three speeches may have been expanded by the addition of

432. Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, 25. For the issue in 1 Esd 4:13, see Chapter 2, note 89.

Zerubbabel's second speech.[433] Because both hypotheses assume that the narrative portions of 1 Esd 4:47–5:6 were the work of the final redactor or author, I focus on the relationship between the five speeches.

Although both hypotheses are plausible in their own terms, they do not address the significance of the relationship between Zerubbabel's second and third speeches. Of course, in line with my previous analysis, Zerubbabel's third speech differs from his second one in various aspects (e.g., genre). Nevertheless, as I argued in 3.2, the explicit and implicit *stases* and the topic of Zerubbabel's second speech are interwoven with the *stasis* of his third speech – the climactic speech that shows Zerubbabel's true reason for participating in the contest. Most importantly, the theme of forgetting (the first speech) and remembrance (the last speech) with the Greek term μιμνήσκομαι ("to remember") makes the five speeches exhibit one *inclusio* structure. This represents a macro-rhetorical feature that may vouch for their original literary unity.

It has been argued that the final redactor expanded the pre-existing speeches (the first three or four speeches) by the addition of Zerubbabel's third (or second and third) speech with redactional adjustment. However, as I demonstrated in chapter 3, the differences in genre, style, and topic are not adequate to decisively support the proposition of multiple authorship of the five speeches. For the redactional growth of the five speeches, as scholars have also argued (e.g., Torrey), the more crucial argument is based on the dichotomy between Greek and Jewish aspects in the speeches. This distinction is the basis for separating the speeches and showing the literary growth of the five speeches (e.g., Greek features in the first three speeches vs. Jewish features in the fourth and fifth speeches, or Greek in the first four speeches vs. Jewish in the last speech). However, if all five speeches contain *both* Greek

433. Pohlmann, *Studien zum Dritten Esra*, 37–52; Williamson, "1 Esdras," 854. As Williamson suggests, the 3 + 1 pattern is not an unfamiliar literary feature in biblical stories, and it typically results in highlighting the climactic last unit (cf. Amos 1–2 and Prov 30:15–33).

and Jewish markers, the dichotomy is much less stark and no longer stands as a reason for assuming they had different origins. As I demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, all the speeches contain *both* Greek *and* Jewish elements. Even the narrative portions exhibit a mixture of linguistic features from Greek showing Hebrew interference and idiomatic Greek. For these reasons, it is too uncertain an exercise to separate the speeches. Rather, as I have argued, the mixed character is likely a literary feature that indicates the composition by a single author rather than multiple authors. The mixed Greek and Jewish style, the integrated scriptural allusions, and other features are too interwoven to confidently argue for an incremental compositional history that substantially involved multiple editorial hands.

Although it does not seem to be possible to trace the origins of the topics of these speeches, I do not deny the possibility that the author adopted his own earlier sources and ideas from other cultures.[434] The author could quite possibly have acquired knowledge of the ideas or arguments about these topics in a Greek and/or a Jewish educational institution. However, this possibility does not necessitate or even favour the assumption that there were pre-existing speeches *before* the later redactor. I contend that we cannot ascertain the pre-existence of speeches or the extent of additional work by authors, but that the five speeches with the narrative portion of the story were quite arguably written in Greek and by a single author in the late second and/or early first century BCE. So, how do we discern the relationship between the story of the Three Bodyguards and the rest of 1 Esdras?

434. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 854. Williamson suggests that "the passage [1 Esd 4:33–41] gives us another good example of a sensitive adaptation of an originally pagan story to a new Jewish context."

5.3. Impact of the Story of the Three Bodyguards upon 1 Esdras

Table 5.1. Synoptic Parallels

2 Chr, Ezra, and Neh	1 Esdras	
2 Chr 35–36	1:1–55	The Reform under Josiah and the Destruction of Jerusalem
Ezra 1:1–11	2:1–14	The Decree of Cyrus and Opposition to the Rebuilding
Ezra 2:1–4:5	2:15–25	The Letter of Artaxerxes
None	3:1–5:6	The Story of the Three Bodyguards
Ezra 4:7–24[435]	5:7–70	Laying the Foundation
Ezra 5–10	6:1–9:36	Completion of the Rebuilding Ezra's Return to Jerusalem and Ezra's Mission Dissolving Mixed Marriage
Neh 7:72–8:13a	9:37–9:55	Reading the Law

As I explained in 1.4.2, the story is not a mere insertion, isolated from the rest of the book, but rather it influences the rest of 1 Esdras. Table 5.1 shows the major literary and structural difference between Ezra and 1 Esdras: the additional chapter in the beginning and ending of 1 Esdras (2 Chr 35–36 and Neh 7:72–8:13a) and the different arrangement in 1 Esd 2:15–5:70 (Ezra 2–4). So, in this section, I show that these distinct literary features of 1 Esdras from Ezra–Nehemiah are analogous to the literary aspect, theme, and motif of the story of the Three Bodyguards. Then, I argue that the parallel aspects between 1 Esdras and the story imply single authorship of 1 Esdras *including* the story.

5.3.1. The Beginning and Ending of 1 Esdras

As scholars have pointed out, the beginning and the ending of 1 Esdras may intentionally locate the narrative in a known historical period. The narrative of King Josiah in 2 Kgs 22–23 and 2 Chr 34–35 and Ezra's Torah reading in Neh 7:72[73]–8:18 appear to frame 1 Esdras in such a way as to keep the setting in the reader's mind. So, the book of 1 Esdras begins in the

435. First Esdras does not have a parallel verse for Ezra 4:6, so Xerxes does not appear in 1 Esdras.

middle of Josiah's reign in 2 Chr 35:1 (cf. 2 Kgs 23:21) and ends in mid-sentence in Neh 8:13. While those who hold to a fragmentary hypothesis argue that the seemingly disrupted beginning and ending are accidental, a compilation hypothesis understands them as intentional choices by the author (see 1.4.1).

Although I think that the latter position is more persuasive, I do not assume such a hypothesis in this section. Rather, by showing how the literary aspect and the motif of the beginning and ending scenes are analogous to the literary aspect and message of the story of the Three Bodyguards, I argue that the author of the story, who was also the author of 1 Esdras, deliberately chose the beginning and ending of 1 Esdras.

5.3.1.1. Beginning: Passover with All the People

While the description of Josiah's Passover celebration in 1 Esd 1:1–20 closely resembles the text of 2 Chr 35:1–19,[436] various textual variances appear and show the compatibility of the literary aspect and the underlying motif in 1 Esd 1:1–20 with the story of the Three Bodyguards.

First, the selection of the Passover celebration as a setting recalls the message – remembering God's salvific action – and the ideal setting for the story of the Three Bodyguards (1 Esd 3:1–3). Such narrative framing marks 1 Esdras as fitting the genre of a *court tale* or *Jewish novella* (see 2.4.2). Williamson explains, "The opening scene presents us with a portrait of Israel in its ideal state, with all the people gathered together in worship according to the prescriptions of the law at the Jerusalem temple."[437] We know that several momentous events happened in Josiah's period, such as religious reform (2 Chr 34:1–7), the discovery of the book of the Law of the LORD (2 Chr 34:14), and the reading of the book (2

436. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 27. "The dating in v. 1 (day and month) and v. 20 (year) forms a frame around the scene."

437. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 852.

Chr 34:18 and 30). However, due to the high regard in which the authors of Chronicles and 1 Esdras held the superbly kept Passover in Josiah's period – the greatest since the times of Samuel (2 Chr 35:18; 1 Esd 1:18–19) – the most joyous and ideal moment in the monarchic period of ancient Israel and up to Zerubbabel's time was the Passover celebration during Josiah's reign.[438] Through the contrast between the celebratory scene of all the people and Judah's darkest period (cf. the destruction of the Temple) in 1 Esd 1:23–55, the author accentuates the catastrophic situation of Judah in the narrative. In other words, the introduction of 1 Esdras designs the setting to recount dramatically the return of the exiles, the restoration of the Temple, and the renewal of the community and to amplify the significant role of Zerubbabel in 1 Esd 3:1–5:6.[439]

Second, the motif of the textual variances between 2 Chr 35:1–19 and 1 Esd 1:1–20 is consistent with the message of the story. As Böhler points out, by addition of the adjective πᾶς in 1 Esd 1:19, the author of 1 Esdras highlighted that the Passover was for *all* Israel who were living in Jerusalem. "The Judeans and all those from northern Israel who were present constitute the group of the participants, the same as were present at Hezekiah's Passover (2 Chr 30:10–12, 25), but more numerous."[440] As I mentioned in 4.7.2.1, I argued that 1 Esd 5:29 indicates the participation of the Idumeans in the Temple service. So, I also suggest that *all* Israel in 1 Esd 1:19 includes the converted people. Furthermore, in 2 Chr 35:14, there is no specific term indicating the direct relationship between the Levites and the priests. However, in its equivalent verses (1 Esd 1:12–13), the priests are designated as the brothers of the Levites (τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν) twice.[441] Sara Japhet explains, "Even more

438. In the reign of Hezekiah, the Passover was kept in the second month, not the first month, because of the lack of sanctified priests (2 Chr 30:2–3, 13).

439. Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 111. As Talshir notes, beginning with a running history is not unusual for an ancient compiler.

440. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 27 (Eng. 32).

441. The Hebrew equivalent of τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν in LXX 2 Chr 35:14 is לְכֹהֲנִים. In the context of 2 Chr 35:14, the translator of 2 Chr may understand the priests as the kindred of the Levites. However, in 1 Esd

than Chronicles, 1 Esdras emphasizes the brotherhood (NRSV: kindred) of the Levites, not only to the singers and gatekeepers (v. 16 || 2 Chr 35:15) but also to the priests (vv. 13, 14)."[442] Being together for the Passover, celebrating God's truthful and salvific action, corresponds with the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards (see 4.7.3).

Third, the concept of ideal kingship, represented by Darius's decree in 1 Esd 4:47–57, also appears in the characters of Josiah and Artaxerxes. Sebastian Grätz points out that the story emphasises Darius's benevolent character in 1 Esd 4:47–57:

> So, the story of the three youths serves also to highlight the role of Darius as a generous donor for the benefit of the temple in Jerusalem in a way that is not featured in the canonical book of Ezra. Indeed, the canonical version also offers an account of Darius as benefactor within the sequence of letters in Ezra 5–6 (6:6–12 // 1 Esd 6:26–33), but the story of the three youths enables the author of 1 Esdras to create a storyline from the permission to rebuild the temple up to its completion and the celebration of the Passover.[443]

Such benevolence of character also appears in 1 Esd 8:10 wherein Artaxerxes characterises *himself* as φιλάνθρωπος ("benevolent").[444] In addition, in 1 Esd 1:21–22, which is not parallel with 2 Chr 35, the author characterises Josiah as a truly pious (εὐσέβεια) person towards God.[445] The *ethos* of piety and benevolence can be understood by means of examining the philosophical literature in the Hellenistic period, which indicates that "the

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1:13, by using the appositional phrase "τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀδελφοῖς αὐτῶν" the author explicitly emphasises the brotherhood between the priests and the Levites.

442. Japhet, "1 Esdras," 755.

443. Sebastian Grätz, "The Image of the King(s) in 1 Esdras," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 172.

444. This term appears in the Septuagint, which were originally written in Greek (e.g., 2 Macc 4:11; 4 Macc 5:12; Wis. 1:6; 7:23; 12:19). Talshir explains that "Φιλανθρωπία is a good example of a key-word embodying the values of a society, and one that characterizes the orientation of our translator, no matter what source lay before him. It is integral to 1 Esd, whose *raison d'être* is the Story of the Three Youths, a story which serves as a paradigm of royal benevolence and good will" (*1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*, 264).

445. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles*, 20. Williamson explains its nature: "1 Esdras 1: 21f is integral to the text of 1 Esdras, but was never part of the MT. It points to a beginning of 1 Esdras later than the reign of Manasseh. Moreover, as against Chr., it introduces a distinct interpretation of the events of the end of the Judean kingdom. Inasmuch as it does not simply follow the Kings' *Vorlage* (as does Par.), it should be seen as a conscious reinterpretation by the author of 1 Esdras of his *Vorlage.*"

character of the king formed the basis for constraints on monarchy."[446] For instance, according to van der Kooij's explanation of the intertextual link between 1 Esd 1:21–22 and Sir 49:2–3,[447] the ideal figure of Josiah may have been influenced by the concept of the ideal Hellenistic king. In *Let. Aris.*, piety and benevolence are repeated themes discussed as proper kingly behaviours with the Greek terms φιλάνθρωπος, εὐσέβεια, μεγαλοψυχία ("generosity"), and εὐεργετεω ("to do go or to serve as benefactor").[448]

The compatibility of the literary aspect and motif – remembering God's salvific action, joy, togetherness, and the king's *ethos* – between the story and the opening scene of the Passover celebration during Josiah's reign is suggestive of how the story affected structural features of 1 Esdras. Similar analogies are also evident in the end scene.

5.3.1.2. Ending: Gathering Together

As the opening scene shows common literary features and messages with the story of the Three Bodyguards, there are several points that show the cohesion between the story and the end scene in 1 Esd 9:37–55. First, as with the ideal setting of the beginning, the happy and joyful ending scenes – the new moon festival of the seventh month (v. 37), the Torah reading for all the people (v. 40), and the feast (v. 54–55) after mourning (v. 50) – are appropriate to the marked ending of the story as corresponds to the genre conventions of a *court tale* (or a *Jewish novella*). Second, as Table 5.2 shows, the three consecutive verbs ἐσθίω ("to eat"), πίνω ("to drink"), and εὐφραίνω ("to rejoice") in 1 Esd 9:54 (Neh 8:12) amplifies the joyous

446. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 330.

447. Arie van der Kooij, "Zur Frage des Anfangs des 1. Esrabuches," *ZAW* 103.2 (1991): 239–52.

448. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 175, 353, 360. *Let. Aris.* 42 "connects Ptolemy's piety as being directed toward the Jewish God" (175). The question in *Let. Aris.* 208 indicates that benevolence is one of the characteristics and virtues that is typically associated with the Hellenistic kingship. *Let. Aris.* 210 demonstrates what the demeanor of piety means. "To grasp that God continually effects and knows all things, and no person who performs injustice or works evil escapes his notice. For as God gives benefactions to the whole world, so also, by imitating him, you should give no offence" (353).

aspect of the story.[449] The addition of the verb εὐφραίνω represents the author's intentional emphasis on the joyful celebration. Third, 1 Esd 9:55, which emphatically describes the joyful celebration together, is analogous to the message of 1 Esd 1:1–20 and the story of the Three Bodyguards. 1 Esd 9:55 is one of the most controversial verses because the verse ends in the middle of Neh 8:13. Although some scholars have argued that the abrupt ending indicates the loss of the original ending of 1 Esdras, the textual difference between Neh 8:13a and 1 Esd 9:55 cannot support the argument that 1 Esd 9:55 was corrupted (see 1.4.1.1).[450]

Table 5.2. Textual Variance between Neh 8:12–13a and 1 Esd 9:54–55

Neh 8:12–13a	1 Esd 9:54–55	LXX Neh 8:12–13a
12. וַיֵּלְכוּ כָל־הָעָם לֶאֱכָל וְלִשְׁתּוֹת וּלְשַׁלַּח מָנוֹת וְלַעֲשׂוֹת שִׂמְחָה גְּדוֹלָה כִּי הֵבִינוּ בַּדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר הוֹדִיעוּ לָהֶם: ס 13. וּבַיּוֹם הַשֵּׁנִי נֶאֶסְפוּ רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְכָל־הָעָם	54. καὶ ᾤχοντο πάντες φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν **καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι** καὶ δοῦναι ἀποστολὰς τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσιν καὶ εὐφρανθῆναι μεγάλως, 55. ὅτι καὶ ἐνεφυσιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς ἐδιδάχθησαν. _ καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν.	12. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀποστέλλειν μερίδας καὶ ποιῆσαι εὐφροσύνην μεγάλην, ὅτι συνῆκαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, οἷς ἐγνώρισεν αὐτοῖς. 13. Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ συνήχθησαν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν πατριῶν τῷ παντὶ λαῷ,
12. And all the people went their way to eat and drink and to send portions and to make great rejoicing, because they had understood the words that were declared to them. 13. On the second day they came together …	54. And they all departed to eat and drink **and enjoy** themselves and to give portions to those who had none and to be greatly joyful, 55. "both because they were inspired by the words which they had been taught and because they had been gathered together."[451]	12. And all the people went away to eat and to drink and to send portions and to make great rejoicing, because they had understood by the words that were made known to them. 13. And on the second day they came together …

Fourth, the author might have chosen Neh 8:1–12 (the day of the trumpet blast; *Yom Teru'ah*) as the final scene rather than 8:13–18 (the Feast of Tabernacles; Sukkot) for several reasons:

449. The three consecutive verbs also appear in LXX 1 Kgs 8:65; Eccl 8:15; Isa 65:13.

450. Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 112. 1 Esd 9:55 omits the temporal phrase – *on the second day* – in Neh 8:13a. Because of the author's tendency towards free translation, there are numerous additions and omissions in 1 Esdras.

451. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 858. Williamson translates the verse following Kooij's suggestion.

to avoid the redundant Torah reading episode,[452] to emphasise that the joyful celebration is not just for those who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (cf. Zech 14:19), or to draw a dramatic ending by describing the mixed feelings of mourning and joy. Fifth, by omitting אַל־תִּתְאַבְּלוּ וְאַל־תִּבְכּוּ ("do not mourn or weep") in 1 Esd 9:50 (Neh 8:9), the author might emphasise the joyous aspect of the gathering rather than mourning.[453]

Lester L. Grabbe points out the parallels in the literary features and motifs between the beginning and ending scenes: "Apart from the clear textual corruption, this would give an even better *inclusio*, with chapter 1 beginning with the celebration of the Passover, the first festival of the year, and this final (presumed) chapter ending with the last festival of the year, the festival of Tabernacles."[454] The ideal settings in the opening and final scenes of 1 Esdras share literary features with the story of the Three Bodyguards. Additionally, some textual variants imply that the motive underlying the author's emendation of source material in 1 Esdras is congruent with the message of the story. Thus, I suggest that this consistency indicates that the author of 1 Esdras, just as the author of the story, chose the sources for 1 Esdras and embellished them with scribal activity and eclecticism, as evident in the story of the Three Bodyguards.

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452. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 279–81; Yoo, *Ezra and the Second Wilderness*, 126–7. Some scholars, who hold that Neh 8 underwent a significant redactional process, argue that Neh 8:13–18 is a supplement to 8:1–12. However, I agree with Yoo's position that "Neh. 7:72b–8:18 is a coherent unity attributed to EM with the exception of minimal additions."

453. Juha Pakkala, "Why 1 Esdras Is Probably Not an Early Version of the Ezra–Nehemiah Tradition," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 102. While the words of condolence are repeated in Neh 8:9 and 8:11, the latter one remains in 1 Esd 9:53. Pakkala argues that "This overlap was partly removed in 1 Esdras by omitting Ezra's words of condolence to the people in Neh 8:9.… The older text contained a repetition, caused by earlier editing, which an editor in the tradition of 1 Esdras later tried to correct. That 1 Esdras omits the more original reference and includes the later addition confirms that 1 Esdras is younger."

454. Grabbe, "1 Esdras (Greek Ezra)," 112–3.

5.3.2. The Significance of the Placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25

As Table 5.1 shows, the major difference between Ezra and 1 Esdras is the location of 1 Esd 2:15–25 (Ezra 4:7–24).[455] While some scholars (e.g., Böhler) have argued that the sequence in 1 Esd 2:15–5:70 (except the story of the Three Bodyguards) is original, the others (e.g., Talshir) have considered 1 Esd 2:15–5:70 to be a rearranged version of Ezra 2–4 *with* and *by* the insertion of the story of the Three Bodyguards. Talshir criticises several weak points of the first position,[456] and David M. Carr, though he does not agree with all the arguments of Talshir, also concludes,

> Nevertheless, numerous factors, including the proximity of the potentially rearranged correspondence in 1 Esd 2:12–25 (ET 2:16–30) to the clear interpolation of the three guards story (3:1–5:6), support the alternative theory that the Artaxerxes correspondence was revised and transposed as part of the same redaction that interpolated the three guards story, along with adding extra mentions of Zerubbabel later in 1 Esdras (Esd 6:26 [ET 6:27; cf. Ezra 6:7] and 6:28 [ET 6:29; cf. Ezra 6:9]).[457]

In this section, I present additional evidence to argue that the placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25 is not original by examining the significance of a small textual variant between Ezra 4:21 and 1 Esd 2:24a. Then, I argue that the significance of the placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25 is compatible with the literary features and message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

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455. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 66. "The Göttingen Edition (Hanhart) = 2:12–26 in Rahlfs; 1 Esdr 2:15–25 // Ezra 4:7–24. 1 Esdras 2:15–18b (Gr.) = 2:16–19 NRSV; vv. 18c–19 (Gr.) = vv. 20–23 NRSV; vv. 20–24b (Gr.) = vv. 24–29 NRSV; vv. 24c–25 (Gr.) = v. 30 NRSV."

456. Zipora Talshir, "Ezra–Nehemiah and First Esdras: Diagnosis of a Relationship between Two Recensions," *Bib* 81 (2000): 566–73.

457. David M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction* (New York, NY; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 79–80. Carr notes that "Böhler (personal correspondence) has confirmed that there is not a necessary connection between his theories regarding the correspondence and his theories regarding the conflation and expansion of separate compositions about Rebuilding-Ezra (//1 Esdras minus the three guards story) and Nehemiah" (Carr, 80, note 76). Carr's position is that "It is much easier to explain the presence/absence of mention of parts of Jerusalem in 1 Esdras and Ezra as the result of the addition of the Nehemiah Memoir to Ezra than it is to argue that all of these changes were caused by the addition of the story of the three guards to Esdras" (Carr, 81).

Unlike Ezra 4:21, 1 Esd 2:24a excludes mention of the possibility of the future decree of Artaxerxes (see Table 5.3). Böhler argues that the addition in the MT version implies the priority of the *Vorlage* of 1 Esdras rather than MT Ezra.

Table 5.3. Textual Variants between Ezra 4:21 and 1 Esd 2:24a

MT Ezra 4:21	LXX Ezra 4:21	1 Esd 2:24a
כְּעַן֙ שִׂ֣ימוּ טְעֵ֔ם לְבַטָּלָ֕א גֻּבְרַיָּ֖א אִלֵּ֑ךְ וְקִרְיְתָ֣א דְ֠ךְ לָ֣א תִתְבְּנֵ֔א עַד־מִנִּ֖י טַעְמָ֥א יִתְּשָֽׂם׃	καὶ νῦν θέτε γνώμην καταργῆσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη οὐκ οἰκοδομηθήσεται ἔτι, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς γνώμης	νῦν οὖν ἐπέταξα ἀποκωλῦσαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πόλιν
Therefore issue an order that these people be made to cease, and that this city not be rebuilt, until I make a decree.	And now, make a decision that those men stop. And that city will no longer be built due to the decision.	Now, therefore, I have ordered that you prevent those people from building the city.

> Das Plus in MT rechnet mit einer neuen Anweisung des Perserkönigs, die den Wiederaufbau Jerusalems ermöglichen wird. Sie wird in Neh 2 erfolgen. Der Vorbehalt, der dem Verbot nach Esr 4:21 beigefügt wird, ist für Esr-Neh notwendig, um trotz dieses Verbots nach »dem unwandelbaren Gesetz der Meder und Perser« dem späteren Wirken Nehemias (Neh 1-6) Raum zu schaffen. ... In Esdr a* bleibt die Stadt nicht in Trümmern, Nehemia muß ihren Bau nicht wiederaufnehmen. Ein Vorbehalt des Artaxerxes ist hier nicht nötig und erfolgt nicht.[458]

I do not deny the possibility that the phrase ("until I make a decree") in MT Ezra 4:21 could be the marker of a later redactional process whereby the compiler of Ezra–Nehemiah interwove Ezra 1–6 and the Nehemiah memoir together.[459] However, the absence of this phrase in 1 Esdras cannot be adequate evidence to argue that the structure of the *Vorlage* of 1 Esd 2:15–5:70 (except 3:1–5:6) is older. In agreement with Talshir and Carr, even if we assume that the structure of 1 Esdras was prior, this assumption cannot convincingly explain

458. Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia*, 121. English translation: "The inclusion in the MT anticipates a new instruction from the Persian king that will enable the rebuilding of Jerusalem. It will take place in Neh 2. The exception added to the prohibition according to Ezra 4:21 is necessary for Ezra–Neh in order to make room for the later work of Nehemiah (Neh 1–6) despite this prohibition according to 'the immutable law of the Medes and Persians.' In 1 Esd, the city does not remain in ruins; Nehemiah does not have to start building again. An exception from Artaxerxes is not necessary here and does not take place."

459. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 64. "It has been suggested that 'except by my express command' may be a later addition to explain how the same king could later authorize Nehemiah to rebuild the wall."

why 1 Esd 2:15–25 was placed between 1 Esd 2:1–14 and 5:7–70 *before* the story of the Three Bodyguards was added. Except for 1 Esd 2:17, in the correspondence with Artaxerxes, there is no mention of the interruption of Temple reconstruction. Talshir insists, rightly, that "The variant should be judged in context. If the complaint originally followed Cyrus's edict it should have highlighted the Temple; but in fact, this entire document does not speak of the Temple but rather of the city."[460]

I suggest two possible scenarios to explain the absence of the phrase in 1 Esd 2:24a. First, when the story of the Three Bodyguards was inserted *with* and *after* 1 Esd 2:15–2:25, the author of the story (or the redactor of 1 Esdras) intentionally omitted the phrase due to the fact that Darius's decree includes the description for rebuilding the city (1 Esd 4:48). Alternatively, the *Vorlage* (or Proto-Ezra) of 1 Esd 2:24a did not have the phrase, עַד־מִנִּי טַעְמָא יִתְּשָׂם ("until I make a decree"). In this context, because there is no contradiction between 1 Esd 2:24a and Darius's decree, the story of the Three Bodyguards could be added smoothly within the description of the construction of the city. While the first approach implies the dependence of 1 Esdras on MT Ezra, the second scenario does not require a specific direction of dependence between MT Ezra and 1 Esdras, but it implies two different recensions from Proto-Ezra. I prefer the latter position, which will be discussed in 5.4.1.

So, let us consider how do we understand the transposition of 1 Esd 2:15–25 (Ezra 4:7–24) within the narrative sequence in relation to the story of the Three Bodyguards? Talshir proposes why the redactor reordered the sequence of this section:

> The reason behind this reordering of the material is the simple fact that the hero of the transferred unit (again: Ezra 2:1–4:5) is Zerubbabel; hence, it cannot take place before Zerubbabel is introduced to the stage of history through the wisdom contest in the story of the youths. On the other hand, there was no need whatsoever to move the Artaxerxes correspondence (Ezra 4:6–24 // 1 Esd 2:15–25), since Zerubbabel is not part of it and since, as it turns out, the order of the

460. Talshir, "Ezra–Nehemiah and First Esdras," 568; Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia*, 122–5.

> Persian kings was of no concern to the compiler. On the contrary, the Artaxerxes section ends by mentioning the second year of Darius and thus forms a perfect setting for the story of the youths.[461]

As I discussed in 2.4.2, a hero(ine)'s character and actions are among the most crucial literary features in a *court tale*. For the one who understands this literary device, where is the best place to amplify Zerubbabel's significant action, which persuades Darius to resume the rebuilding work? The best place is *before* other significant characters and *after* a crisis scene. This is the most appropriate position. So, it makes perfect sense that Zerubbabel's story should be mentioned before Haggai and Zechariah (1 Esd 6:1; Ezra 5:1), who encouraged Zerubbabel and Jeshua to continue the rebuilding work, and even before Jeshua.

Before Ezra 5 (1 Esd 6), the crisis is the interference of Judah's enemies in Ezra 4. This interference is divided into two subsections – opposition during the reign of Cyrus (Ezra 4:1–5; 1 Esd 5:63–70) and opposition during the reign of Xerxes, Artaxerxes, and Darius (Ezra 4:7–24; 1 Esd 2:15–25).[462] If the story of the Three Bodyguards were connected with and followed by Ezra 4:1–5, the pivotal role of Zerubbabel would be diminished because of Cyrus, who commanded the rebuilding of the Temple and allowed the returning of the Israelites. The displacement of the list of the returnees (Ezra 2:1–70; 1 Esd 5:7–45) to a context after the story of the Three Bodyguards is a very effective way to focus on the consequence of Zerubbabel's significant actions, not on Cyrus. I do not mean that the author denied Cyrus's decree and his benevolent character. Rather, by means of this transposition, the author emphatically highlights the character, speech, and action of Zerubbabel. Williamson explains, "Unlike the account in Ezra, the return under Cyrus was referred to almost in passing (2:15) and was immediately confronted by opposition (2:16–30), so that effectively nothing of major significance happened before the reign of Darius."[463]

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461. Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 117.
462. Xerxes does not appear in 1 Esdras.
463. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 854.

If the above explanation holds true, then when 1 Esdras was composited, a most appropriate way to incorporate the story would seem to place the story *with* and *followed by* the section (Ezra 4:7–24).[464]

So, how do we understand the abrupt description of the building of the city in the Temple-oriented narrative *with* the absence of Nehemiah? While some scholars (e.g., Talshir and Pakkala) do not take the discrepancy between 1 Esdras and Ezra–Neh seriously from the literary-critical perspective, others (e.g., Schenker and Böhler) consider it a decisive historical clue for understanding the *Vorlage* (or Proto-Ezra) of 1 Esdras and the relationship between 1 Esdras and Ezra–Neh. Talshir explains,

> The position of the Artaxerxes section is further misused by Schenker and Böhler, who argue that this is the original setting of events. It entails a sort of confusion between "historical," so to speak, considerations and literary critical issues: the Artaxerxes section indeed presupposes the building of Jerusalem, but the literary-critical observation remains that there was no mention whatsoever of an actual building of the city beforehand.[465]

However, I would like to propose three different views, each of which addresses a distinct critical concern. First, through a literary critical lens, we can understand that less distinction between the building of the Temple and the city in 1 Esd 2:24 and in the story of the Three Bodyguards (1 Esd 4:43–45) functions to display Zerubbabel's significant actions. Importantly, its ultimate purpose appears in Zerubbabel's prayer, which emphasises that all the restoration is the result of God's salvific action. Second, from a historical viewpoint, we cannot confirm that the description represents a real situation in Zerubbabel's contemporary period in the sixth century BCE. Rather, it could reflect a description of the city during the time of the author of 1 Esdras or of the story of the Three Bodyguards in the second century BCE. Third, in a text critical perspective, we cannot rule out the possibility that the author of

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464. Even if the later redactor (not the author of the story), who possessed all the sources or documents of 1 Esdras, compiled it in this way, the result of this transposition would be identical.

465. Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 118.

1 Esdras developed and expanded his own work from the Ezra-memoir rather than from the Nehemiah-memoir (see 5.4.1).

The placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25 was a literary device chosen by the author, probably in order to highlight God's salvific action through the significant actions of Zerubbabel.

5.3.3. Sequence of 1 Esd 9:18–36 (Ezra10:18–44) and 9:37–55 (Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a)

One of the controversial issues in the book of 1 Esdras is the placement of the Torah reading scene (1 Esd 9:37–55) *without* any explicit mention of the governor "Nehemiah" (cf. Neh 8:9).[466] It seems peculiar that Ezra's story in Nehemiah 8 is followed by the Nehemiah memoir (Neh 1–7) and not by Ezra 7–10. Unfortunately, the debates between two main approaches still go on without reaching a scholarly consensus. While some scholars argue that the position of 1 Esd 9:37–55 in 1 Esdras (cf. Ezra 10 and Neh 8) is original, the other main approach maintains a transposition hypothesis – namely, that Nehemiah 8 was originally placed between Ezra 7–8 and Ezra 9–10. In this thesis, I neither repeat their contributions nor suggest a new solution for the issue, though I prefer the transposition

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466. The name "Nehemiah" appears in 1 Esd 5:8 and 5:40. In 1 Esd 5:8, it is obvious that it does not denote the governor "Nehemiah" (cf. Ezra 2:2). Comparing the MT, while 1 Esd 9:49 (cf. Neh 8:9) omits "Nehemiah," 1 Esd 5:40 (cf. Ezra 2:63) adds it. The names Νεεμίας and Ἀτθαρίας appear in 1 Esd 5:40, and they are not same person. The Hebrew term תִּרְשָׁתָא, which is always accompanied by ה, appears 5 times in the MT. It is transliterated in LXX Ezra 2:63 and Neh 7:65. Neh 7:69[LXX 7:70] reads it as Nehemiah. And, while the term תִּרְשָׁתָא indicates "Nehemiah" in MT Neh 8:9 and 10:2, it disappears in LXX Neh 8:9 and 10:2 (only "Nehemiah" remains). Given these observations, the relationship between Νεεμίας and Ἀτθαρίας (נְחֶמְיָה and תִּרְשָׁתָא) is questionable.

Böhler argues that "the singular εἶπεν reveals that the subject was originally התרשׁתא/Ατθαριας" and that התרשׁתא/Ατθαριας is not a Persian title but a byname of Nehemiah (*Die heilige Stadt*, 191–5). So, in 1 Esd 5:40, Böhler suggests that נחמיה התרשׁתא is original and that καί may have been inserted by the translator who mistakenly understood the phrase as referring to two different names. However, the singular verb can accompany two subjects or a compound subject. In which case, it would function to highlight the first-named subject or to view both subjects equally (Wallace, *Greek Grammar Beyond the Basics*, 401). In other words, as Νεεμίας in 1 Esd 5:8 indicates one of the leaders among the returnees, the author of 1 Esdras may also designate Ἀτθαρίας as one of the leaders (not Nehemiah). Although it is debatable whether "the author knows about Nehemiah as governor of the province" (Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase*, 168), it is obvious that "Nehemiah" in 1 Esdras is not the Nehemiah in the book of Nehemiah. See Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase: The Place of Ezra and Nehemiah in the Origins of Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans, 2009), 168. Talshir suggests that "the addition [Nehemiah in 1 Esd 5:40] is best explained as a gloss that found its way into the text." See Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 279. For several suggestions for understanding the term התרשׁתא, see Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 279.

hypothesis.[467] Instead, I present a fresh approach for understanding the significance of the placement of 1 Esd 9:37–55 in relation to the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

Table 5.4. Textual Variance between Ezra 10:44 and 1 Esd 9:36

MT Ezra 10:44	LXX Ezra 10:44	1 Esd 9:36
כָּל־אֵלֶּה נָשְׂאוּ נָשִׁים נָכְרִיּוֹת וְיֵשׁ מֵהֶם נָשִׁים וַיָּשִׂימוּ בָּנִים	πάντες οὗτοι ἐλάβοσαν γυναῖκας ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ἐγέννησαν ἐξ αὐτῶν υἱούς.	πάντες οὗτοι συνῴκισαν γυναῖκας ἀλλογενεῖς· καὶ ἀπέλυσαν αὐτὰς σὺν τέκνοις.
All these had married foreign women, "and some of the women had even borne children."[468]	All these had married foreign women, and they fathered sons by them.	All these had married alien women, and they dismissed them together with their children.

Although there is clear textual variance between Ezra 10:44 and 1 Esd 9:36, it is obvious that 1 Esd 9:36 explicitly describes the separation by which the Jewish men sent away their foreign wives and children.[469] By emphasising the theme of separation in the book of 1

467. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 283–6; Juha Pakkala, *Ezra the Scribe: The Development of Ezra 7–10 and Nehemia 8*, BZAW 347 (Berlin; New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 167–179 (especially 175–7); Jacob L. Wright, *Rebuilding Identity: The Nehemiah-Memoir and its Earliest Readers*, BZAW 348 (Berlin; New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, 2004), 322–30; Yoo, *Ezra and the Second Wilderness*, 121–4. For my position, I adopt three convincing reasons that Pakkala lays out: 1) The sequence – Ezra 8 (fifth month) → Neh 8 (seventh month) → Ezra 9–10 (nine to tenth months) – is appropriate. 2) Thematically, Ezra's reading of the law happened before the execution of the law. 3) The third person style in Ezra 8:35–36 marks the original position of Nehemiah 8, placed between Ezra 8 and 9. For contra, see Wright, 322–30.

468. Ezra 10:44b is a *lectio difficilior*. Williamson says that "the text of this verse is so uncertain that it would be unwise to build much on it." Blenkinsopp also points out that Ezra 10:44b "is corrupt beyond repair." I adopt Williamson's translation because his contextual translation seems to be supported by LXX and Vg (and probably by Syr). For other possibilities, Blenkinsopp lays out three possibilities: 1) "there were some of them who expelled wives and children" (Bertheau, 1882, 126); 2) "they put their wives [from them] even if there were children" (Schneider, 1959, 160); and 3) "and some of them [i.e., the men] had children, and they restored the children [to their mothers]" (Batten, 1913, 350–1). See Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 143, 145, 159; Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Ezra–Nehemiah: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM Press, 1988), 197.

Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt*, 116–8, 195–7; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 213–4. Böhler argues that 1 Esd 9:36 is older than Ezra 10:44. He suggests that the redactor (or author) of Ezra 10:44 edited 1 Esd 9:36 to introduce Nehemiah. However, it is hard to prove Böhler's suggestion. "Most attempts at reconstructive surgery involve arbitrary emendation and shuffling the order of the five words in the Hebrew text. 1 Esd 9:36, 'they sent them away with their children,' makes good sense and can, with a little goodwill, be derived from a reconstructed Hebrew text (*vyšlḥvm* instead of *vyšlh[v]m; nšym vbnym* with *vyśym* inserted by dittography). The adoption of this text must, however, be regarded as a *faute de mieux* [lacking any better explanation], since it is also possible that the Greek translator of 1 Esdras imposed his own meaning on a text which was as unintelligible to him as it is to us" (Blenkinsopp, *Ezra–Nehemiah*, 200).

469. Sandoval, "The strength of women and truth," 225; Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 213.

Esdras and Zerubbabel's significant actions in the story of the Three Bodyguards, Böhler sums up the purpose of 1 Esdras:

> With the separation of the Jews who have returned from foreign lands, Ezra has laid the foundation for a successful new beginning. It remains the hearers' enduring task to bring about the still-incomplete *amixia*. 1 Esdras, with its new accent on Zerubbabel's Davidide character, gives this message, already formulated by ProtEz, an additional aspect: that the goal of the book cannot be attained with a non-Davidic dynasty like that of the Hasmoneans.[470]

So then, what is the significance of the theme of separation in Ezra 9–10? Although the verb ἀπολύω ("to dismiss") is employed to denote "a formal dismissal of a wife from marriage" in 1 Esd 9:36,[471] the significance of the verb בדל and its Greek equivalent χωρίζω is appropriate to understand 1 Esd 9:36 in the context of Ezra 9–10 (cf.1 Esd 9:9). Katherine Southwood explains, "the verb בדל allows us to discern the techniques used by Ezra's authors to configure and to coercively enforce the ethnic boundary on its readers;"[472] so, "The text therefore brings the ethnic boundary to the forefront of the narrative by presenting a binaristic world of those internal to the *ethnos* and all 'Others' outside this boundary who are ascribed titles which resemble the nation's traditional rivals."[473] In this understanding, I suggest that, as in Ezra 9–10, the concept of separation in 1 Esd 8:66–9:36 also highlights the ethnic boundary rather than a polemical separation among the same ethnic people, the Jews. So, it implies that one of the requirements for the Jews to be the covenantal people of God is to observe God's law.

I do not deny the possibility that the idea of separation could be applied to interpret the phenomenon that the Jews were separated by different perspectives and contentious issues. Furthermore, I do not disagree with Böhler's explanation that, "In the context of the

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470. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 232–33 (Eng. 238).

471. Michael Tilly, "ἀπολύω," *HTLS* 1:1011–1016. This usage is also attested in Murabbaʾat 115:4 and Matt 1:19. See Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 483.

472. Katherine E. Southwood, *Ethnicity and the Mixed Marriage Crisis in Ezra 9–10: An Anthropological Approach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 135.

473. Ibid., 141.

whole book, only Ezra's prayer clarifies the relationship between the building of the temple and the question of mixed marriages."[474]

Nevertheless, we should bear in mind the significance of the placement of 1 Esd 9:37–55. The author of 1 Esdras, by placing 1 Esd 9:37–55 *after* 1 Esd 8:88–9:36, elucidates that the motif of Ezra's prayer and the consequence of the mixed marriage are not to be separated. The people, who are separated by observing God's law, should, instead, rejoice together and read the Torah as a covenantal people in relationship with God (i.e., holy seed). So, the paradoxical relationship of separation and togetherness in the arrangement of 1 Esd 9:37–55 and 1 Esd 8:88–9:36 can be understood by the word play of χωρίζω and ἐκχωρίζω.[475] As I explained in 4.7.2.2, the term ἐκχωρίζω implies that the authentic meaning of separation is to see *beyond* separation and to recognise what devotion to God means. In other words, the separated people (χωρίζω) in covenantal relationship with God are to live in true devotion to God (ἐκχωρίζω).

In this section, I argued that the significance, theme, and motif connoted in the structure of 1 Esdras cohere with the literary aspects and purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards. The idealised opening scene and happy ending of 1 Esdras are analogous to 1 Esd 3:1–3 and 4:58–63. The position of 1 Esd 2:15–25 in 1 Esd 2–5 emphasises the significant actions of Zerubbabel.[476] 1 Esdras and the story share the literary features of a *court tale*. In addition, the sequence of 1 Esd 9:18–36 and 9:37–55 demonstrates the author's own contextually nuanced meaning of separation, which is also inculcated in the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards. These consistencies suggest that the materials of 1 Esdras were chosen by the author, who recognised the literary aspect and purpose of the story. So, I

474. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 205 (Eng. 209).

475. While the verb χωρίζω does not mean the separation of spoils, ἐκχωρίζω indicates the separated Temple vessels (e.g., 1 Esd 4:44, 57).

476. Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase*, 167. "The tale of the three bodyguards at the court of Darius (1 Esdras 3–4) may have had the purpose of elevating the status of Zerubbabel at the expense of Nehemiah."

propose that the author of the story was the compiler of 1 Esdras. Let us now address the question: What is the purpose of 1 Esdras? How and when was 1 Esdras, *with* the story, composed?

5.4. Purpose and Composition Theory of 1 Esdras

5.4.1. Purpose of 1 Esdras

Table 5.5. Purpose of 1 Esdras

Wette & Schrader	"Ein Zweck dieser charakterlosen Compilation last sich nicht entdecken."[477] "A purpose for this characterless compilation cannot be discovered"
Howorth	He regarded "the Greek Esdras as the first attempt to present the account of the Return in Hellenistic dress."[478]
Cook	"To influence Gentiles in favour of the Jews" "To prepare the way for the building of the temple of Onias at Alexandria" "To bring together narratives relating to the Temple" "To give greater prominence to the priestly Ezra than to the secular governor Nehemiah"[479]
Rudolph	"so kann man nicht leugnen, daß die Absicht des Erzählers in der von Bertholdt angegebenen Richtung geht; 3 Esr behandelt in der Tat die drei Herstellungen des jüdischen Gottesdienstes und der religiösen Organisation unter Josia, Serubbabel und Esra."[480] "So, one cannot deny that the narrator's intention is in the direction indicated by Bertholdt; 3 Ezr [1 Esd] actually deals with the three establishments of Jewish worship and religious organisation under Josiah, Zerubbabel, and Ezra."
Myers	"Its purpose may have had something to do with the support and promotion or both of a Jewish institution" "It may have been extracted for some liturgical observance as was doubtless the case with other biblical compositions or excerpts."[481]
Attridge	"To play some role in the polemics of the second century between the Jerusalem temple and it rivals, the Oniad temple at Leontopolis in Egypt, and the Tobiad temple at 'Araq-el-Amir in the Transjordan"

477. W. M. L. de Wette, *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die Bibel,* ed. E. Schrader (Berlin: druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1869), 565.

478. B. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint in Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 291.

479. S. A. Cook, "1 Esdras," in The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes: Volume I—Apocrypha, ed. R. H. Charles (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 1–58 (2).

480. Rudolph, *Esra und Nehemia samt 3. Esra*, xiv.

481. Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 14–15.

	"A conscious attempt by pious circles who felt themselves to be the successors of Ezra to suppress any memory of Nehemiah's work" "To convey a Greek reading audience, in a succinct and entertaining form, the theological lesson of Ezra-Nehemiah, that God watches over those who piously serve him, as well as the moralistic message that truth is most powerful."[482]
Gardner	"To comfort people living through the Maccabean Crisis"[483]
Talshir	"1 Esdras was created on the basis of a canonical composition type, with the main purpose of the return; in other words, there is no '1 Esdras' without the story of the youths."[484]
Hengel	"The author was concerned with creating, through selection, expansion and style, a historical account easily read by Greek readers and more interesting for Greek-speaking Diaspora Jewry than the original book of Ezra. His account agreeably bridges the historical gap between Josiah, the last pious king before the Exile and the reform efforts of Ezra and Nehemiah."[485]
De Troyer	"The book of 1 Esdras is written to emphasize the connection between Ezra and Josiah. The Second Temple community not only continues the community of the First Temple, but its leaders also continue the emphasis on the Law as started by King Josiah. Stronger, Ezra succeeds in his mission—maybe he was even better than King Josiah? Ezra revives and revises Josiah. Second, the Story of the Three Youths is added to explain how the building of the temple was continued after some years. In this story, Zerubbabel takes the lead. Zerubbabel revives King Solomon. Zerubbabel resembles King Solomon."[486]
Williamson	"A retelling of a key period in the history of the people of God, told at a later time for their encouragement and strengthening in faith"[487] "That our author should have presented his favorites in a particular light is no guarantee that he had polemical intent."[488]
Vriezen and van der Woude	"To write *a history of the temple in Jerusalem* in which Josiah, Zerubbabel and Ezra were given a prominent role"[489]

482. Harold W. Attridge, "Historiography," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Pressl; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 157–184 (160).

483. Anne E. Gardner, "The Purpose and Date of 1 Esdras," *JJS* 37 (1986): 18–27 (25).

484. Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 109.

485. Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*, intro. Robert Hanhart, trans. Mark E. Biddle (Edinburgh; New York, NY: T&T Clark, 2002), 87.

486. De Troyer, "Zerubbabel and Ezra," 55.

487. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 858.

488. Ibid., 852.

489. T. C. Vriezen and A. S. van der Woude, *Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 516–520 (519).

Blenkinsopp	"To demonstrate what the temple and its personnel ought to represent and how they ought to be serviced and provided for. Since the way the story is told makes it clear that the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple was inspired and mandated by God (1 Esd 2:3–4) and the actual work providentially guided and protected, there could also be an implicit polemic against temples other than the one in Jerusalem, in particular the temple built by Onias IV in Heliopolis around 170 B.C."[490]
Japhet	"The historical continuum in the history of Israel leads to the author's own time, to the period of Hellenistic rule in the land of Judah. This historical continuum serves as the means of legitimization for the exclusive rule of the high priests. The course of the history of Israel under God's providence leads from the period of the kingdom—which turned out to be a failure—through the restoration of Judah and the return of exiles in the time of Zerubbabel, to the ultimate leader, the high priest Ezra."[491]
Wright	"If the authors of 1 Esdras cut Nehemiah's account out of the history of the restoration, what might have been their motivation? A full response to this question must take account of the overtly pro-priestly and pro-temple character of 1 Esdras."[492]
Böhler	"With the separation of the Jews who have returned from foreign lands, Ezra has laid the foundation for a successful new beginning. It remains the hearers' enduring task to bring about the still-incomplete *amixia*. 1 Esdras, with its new accent on Zerubbabel's Davidide character, gives this message, already formulated by ProtEz, an additional aspect: that the goal of the book cannot be attained with a non-Davidic dynasty like that of the Hasmoneans."[493]

In Table 5.5, I lay out the several purposes of 1 Esdras suggested by scholars. Because of the sophistication and complicated nature of 1 Esdras, the purpose of 1 Esdras is not easily discerned. The numerous suggestions can be categorised into four main themes. 1) representing polemical issues in the second century BCE; 2) emphasising a historical continuum in the history of Israel and the figure of Zerubbabel; 3) comforting the Jews, who were living in crisis; and 4) introducing the story of the Three Bodyguards.

490. Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase*, 167–8.

491. Sara Japhet, "1 Esdras: Its Genre, Literary Form, and Goals," in *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation Into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*, ed. Lisbeth S. Fried (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 223.

492. Wright, "Remember Nehemiah," 158.

493. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 232–33 (Eng. 238).

From the perspective of the story of the Three bodyguards that I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, these four main themes could not sufficiently explain the purpose of 1 Esdras. First, as I argued in 4.7.1, the author of the story may not intend the reader/listeners to be polemical, but to lead them to understand a transcendental aspect of truth. Second, since the story of the Three Bodyguards as a Jewish novella includes several literary features (e.g., rhetoric and comedy; see 2.4.2 and 3.9), a historical perspective could not be the only way to understand the purpose of 1 Esdras. Third, although consolation in crisis (e.g., persecution by Antiochus IV) would be the purpose of 1 Esdras, resolving social tensions may be a more appropriate motive in the book of 1 Esdras, which might be composed in the Hasmonean period. Fourth, although most scholars appreciate the significance of the story of the Three Bodyguards, they did not highlight the significance of the rhetorical features and figures in the speeches of the story and the characters of the three bodyguards. Even Talshir, who argued that "the Story of the Youths is the *raison d'être* of I Esd,"[494] does not fully explain how the message of the story coheres with the purpose of 1 Esdras.[495]

Having seen the compatibility of the structural and literary features of 1 Esdras with the literary aspects of the story of the Three Bodyguards in 5.3, we can now also examine the relationship between the message of the story, on the one hand, and of the book of 1 Esdras, on the other. In 4.7.3, I summarised the message of the story by examining the significance of the Temple: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character and action*. While the selection of the Passover celebration in the beginning of 1 Esdras echoes the remembrance of God's action of salvation, the climactic scene of 1 Esdras – *the reading of Torah together* – correlates with the message of how the

494. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 125.

495. Talshir, "Ancient Composition Patterns Mirrored in 1 Esdras," 128. "The compiler of 1 Esdras is striving seriously with only one problem: how to integrate the story of the youths into the narrative of the return and set the stage for a deserving appearance of Zerubbabel in the history of his people. He may have had other ideas regarding the history of his people but his contribution to a different ideological image of the return is rather minor."

covenantal people of God live. So, in this section, by investigating the meaning of *the reading of Torah together*, I propose to explain the purpose of 1 Esdras, which corresponds to the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards.

To understand the contextual significance of *the reading of Torah*, I would like to highlight the meaning of two Greek terms – ἐμφυσιόω ("to infuse life into;" 1 Esd 9:48, 55) and ἀναγνώστης ("reader;" 1 Esd 8:8, 9, 19; 9:39, 42, 49), which appears only in 1 Esdras. To understand ἀναγνώστης, I also examine the word ἀνάγνωσις ("public reading;" 1 Esd 9:48; Neh 8:8; Sir. 0:10, 15), which is a cognate term of ἀναγνώστης.

First, the author of 1 Esdras designates Ezra as an ἀναγνώστης rather than a γραμματεύς ("secretary" or "scribe"), which is the usual equivalent of סֹפֵר ("scribe").[496] The duty of ἀναγνώστης could be understood by ἀνάγνωσις. While this term reflects Ezra's public reading of the Law (cf. 1 Esd 9:41; Neh 8:3), it is not confined to the concept of *reading*. For instance, Neh 8:8 connotes that reading is associated with understanding. The word play – the verb קרא ("to read") and the participle מְפֹרָשׁ ("to be explained") in 8:8a and the verb בין ("to understand") and the noun מִקְרָא ("reading") in 8:8b – clearly shows that the reader or translator of Nehemiah 8 may recognise the inextricable relationship between reading and understanding.

Anna Kharanauli explains the meaning of ἀνάγνωσις:

> Here Dionysius means mainly reading according to the rules of prosody which apart from the intonational-tonic modulation of the voice also meant other things such as the division of words, considering diacritical signs and reading various poetic meters. Thus, ἀνάγνωσις is related to the understanding of the text, which is also embodied in the stem (γνῶσις) of this term.[497]

496. Ezra 7:11, 12, 21; Neh 8:1, 4, 9. For the meaning of γραμματεύς, see Dietrich-Alex Koch, "γραμματεύς," *HTLS* 1:1947–58.

497. Anna Kharanauli, "Origen and Lucian in the Light of Ancient Editorial Techniques," in *From Scribal Error to Rewriting: How Ancient Texts Could and Could Not Be Changed*, eds. Anneli Aejmelaeus, Drew Longacre, and Natʿia Mirotaże (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 15–52 (16).

The meanings of ἀναγνώστης and ἀνάγνωσις are also clarified by understanding of the usage of the verb קרא in the second temple period.[498] George J. Brooke appropriately describes the meaning of קרא:

> My conclusion from a preliminary consideration of those few passages in the sectarian compositions that use the verb קרא, together with an overall conception of study in the sectarian communities, is that there is nothing to exclude the possibility (as in the modern world) that reading, perhaps distinctively in the sect, was in some way understood as a preliminary counterpart to writing. We can put it like this: reading involved not just the repetition or rehearsal of the text, but some active participation in the realisation of the text, its oral performance.[499]

Based on the explanations of Kharanauli and Brooke, Ezra's *ethos* as a reader is not just to read the Law on behalf of the people, but to understand what the Law means. This implies that the purpose of the public reading of the Law is not just to speak out the words, but to lead the listeners to understand the Law. It is not a passive role but an active performance. Importantly, the author's choice to use ἀναγνώστης rather than γραμματεύς seems likely to emphasise the active role of the teacher of the Law. So, what is the next step for understanding the Law?

Second, the author of 1 Esdras, in 1 Esd 9:48 chose the rare Greek term ἐμφυσιόω rather than συνίημι ("to understand") as the equivalent of the Hebrew term בין ("to understand") in Neh 8:8 (cf. 1 Esd 9:45 // Neh 8:12).[500] This choice implies that ἐμφυσιόω is associated with the purpose of the reading.[501] The translation of 1 Esd 9:45a – ὅτι καὶ

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498. The Hebrew equivalent of ἀνάγνωσις is מִקְרָא in Neh 8:8. The term ἀνάγνωσις also appears two times in Sir. 0:10 and 0:15 in relation to the reading of scripture.

499. George J. Brooke, "Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to Scriptural Interpretation in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Temple in Text and Tradition: A Festschrift in Honour of Robert Hayward*, ed. R. Timothy McLay (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 146.

500. In the LXX, συνίημι is the usual equivalent of בין.

501. Nicholas J. S. Hardy, "Revising the King James Apocrypha: John Bois, Isaac Casaubon, and the Case of 1 Esdras," in *Labourers in the Vineyard of the Lord*, ed. Mordechai Feingold (Leidon; Boston, MA: Brill, 2018), 266–327. Hardy undertakes the research on how one of the committee members of the King James version – John Bois – dealt with 1 Esdras. Hardy points out that the medieval translators also had difficulties understanding the meaning of ἐμφυσιόω. Bois already emphasised the performative nuance of ἐμφυσιόω. "He [John Bois] treated the reading of the Law as a rhetorical performance: it was read, and then explained, 'in a

ἐνεφυσιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασιν, οἷς ἐδιδάχθησαν "because they were inspired by the words which they had been taught" – is not difficult, and its meaning is clear. However, the participle phrase in 1 Esd 9:48 – ἐμφυσιοῦντες ἅμα τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν – is *lectio difficilior*. There are several suggestions for its translation: "putting meaning into the reading,"[502] "cause to understand more profoundly,"[503] "instructing about what was read,"[504] "en inspirant en même temps la lecture ("while inspiring reading at the same time"),"[505] and "wobei sie die lesung zugleich mit Begeisterung erfüllten ("their reading conveyed inspiration")."[506]

As Böhler points out, LSJ distinguishes two usages of ἐμφυσιόω: 1) ἐμφυσιόω ("inspire, infuse life into") with accusative and 2) ἐμφυσιόω ("implant, instil into") with dative and accusative.[507] Most lexicons (e.g., LSJ, GELS, DGE, and LEH) designates the meaning of ἐμφυσιόω in 1 Esd 9:48 as the first usage. Another suggestion by Böhler is that ἐμφυσιόω may take an implicit dative – e.g., an unspoken αὐτοῖς or πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος.[508] In this case, the phrase means that the Levites were instilling the reading into them (the listeners). So, it represents *the inspired listeners*, which corresponds to 1 Esd 9:55.

I am, however, more inclined towards the first usage of ἐμφυσιόω in 1 Esd 9:48. The performers of teaching and reading in 1 Esd 9:48 are the Levites. The nominative participle form of ἐμφυσιόω and the adverbial marker of simultaneous occurrence ἅμα indicate that the performers of ἐμφυσιόω are also the Levites, the readers. So, the phrase means that the Levites were infusing life into the reading. In other words, by employing the term ἐμφυσιόω,

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strained voice' as though the readers were modern-day preachers aiming to inflame their audiences' hearts, and the verb ἐμφύσιοῦντες implicitly described the gestures and expressions that accompanied such efforts" (302).

502. Myers, *I and II Esdras*, 91.

503. Talshir, *1 Esdras: A Text Critical Commentary*, 495.

504. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 103.

505. Canessa, "Études sur la Bible grecque des Septante: 1 Esdras," 113.

506. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 217 (Eng. 222). English translation from the English version of Böhler's book.

507. DGE explains that two different usages of ἐμφυσιόω derive from different etymologies (cf. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 218).

508. Böhler, *1 Esdras*, 218.

1 Esd 9:48 emphasises that the role of the Levites is not only to teach and read the Law, but also to perform the Law that the Levites read in their life. Likewise, 1 Esd 9:55 suggests that all the listeners also infuse life into the reading.[509]

In the final scene of 1 Esdras, the author, by using the words ἀνάγνωσις (and ἀναγνώστης) and ἐμφυσιόω, represents the contextual significance of the public reading of the Torah as acting *together* – the leaders and the ordinary people – according to the Law in the covenantal relationship with God. Williamson elaborates the theme of Neh 7:72–8:18: "There is thus set out in schematic form what has already been noted of the chapter's fundamental thought: reading with explanation leads to understanding, and this is a source of joy; understanding, however, should issue in obedience, and this in turn will end in joy."[510] Although there are textual variances between 1 Esd 9:37–55 and Neh 7:72–8:13, Williamson's interpretation is applicable for understanding the theme and motif of the final scene of 1 Esdras. The author of 1 Esdras conveys the message that the public reading of the Torah, which requires the understanding of the Law, leads the readers and listeners to act in accordance with the Law, and consequently, it guides all the people to live together in joy.

In sections 5.3–5.4, I enumerated several pieces of evidence that represent how the structural and literary features and the message of 1 Esdras correspond to the literary features and the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards: the literary aspect of a *court tale* (e.g., the significant figure of Zerubbabel and the ideal settings in the beginning and ending scenes) and themes such as joy, togetherness, and pursuing life beyond separation. In addition, I showed that the message of 1 Esdras, in the opening and closing scenes, is compatible with the message of the story. So, I propose that the author of 1 Esdras conveyed the purpose of

509. Cicero, *Brut*. 192; Cicero, *Brutus. Orator,* trans by G. L. Hendrickson andH. M. Hubbell, LCL 342 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), 162–165. "eae si inflatum non recipiunt aut si auditor omnino tamquam equus non facit, agitandi finis faciendus est." ("if it refuses to accept the breath blown into it, or if, as a horse to the rein, the listener does not respond, there is no use of urging him").

510. Williamson, *Ezra, Nehemiah*, 281.

the work as a whole through the significance of the *Temple* and *Torah*, which were the most discussed topics in Second Temple period literature: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character, Law, and action*.

5.4.2. Composition Theory of 1 Esdras

In 1.5.1, I explained two hypotheses for the nature of 1 Esdras. Because the fragmentary hypothesis argues that the Greek of 1 Esdras is a fragment of an old Greek translation containing Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah, the composition date of 1 Esdras in this hypothesis corresponds with the dating of the Greek Chronicles. Taking the presupposition that the Greek of 2 Chr 35–36 is not a Theodotionic recension, most scholars agree that the books of Chronicles were translated in Alexandria in the second century BCE.[511] So, 1 Esdras with the Three Bodyguards might have been composed in Alexandria in the second century BCE. Although we cannot rule out this possibility, it would mean that 1 Esd 1 and 2

511. Hugo Grotius, *Hugonis Grotii annotata ad Vetus Testamentum* (1644), 367; Charles Cutler Torrey, "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles–Ezra–Nehemiah," in *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper*, ed. Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, and George Foot Moore (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1908), 2:60–3; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, rev. and exp. 3rd ed. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 20–24, 27; Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London; New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), 123; Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, VTSup 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 248.

Hugo Grotius first maintained the claim that the LXX Chr was the work of Theodotion, and many scholars have taken up and developed this suggestion (cf. Whiston, Howorth and Curtis). the most convincing evidence was laid out by C. C. Torrey. The evidence is summed up into two categories, which are the major features of Theodotion; a wealth of transliterations and a very literal translation (Tov). However, these features are not necessarily confined to the realm of the 'Theodotion' recension. More literal translation would be considered a phenomenon or a popular style in the Alexandria of the second–first centuries BCE (Honigman). Furthermore, as Roger Good points out, "the translation of the book of Chronicles is part of a trend in the process of the translation of the Bible from the freer (but still literal) translation of the Pentateuch and Samuel–Kings to the slavishly literal translation of Aquila" (Good). Another of Good's important conclusions is that "the way the translator of Chronicles handled the Hebrew verbs is part of the continuum in the development of the Hebrew verbal system from classical biblical Hebrew to rabbinic or Mishnaic Hebrew."

After Gillis Gerleman most scholars have adopted the idea of a non-Theodotionic recension of the Greek Chronicles for two reasons: the citations of LXX Chr in Eupolemus (ca. 150 BCE) and Josephus and the Egyptian and Ptolemaic colouring in the LXX Chr. See Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint, II, Chronicles* (LUÅ I, 43, 3; Lund, 1946), 45; Leslie C. Allen, *The Translator's Craft*, vol. 1 of *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 123; Roger Good, "1–2 Chronicles (Paraleipomena)," in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London; New York, NY: Bloomsbury, 2015), 169.

Chr 35–36 were produced simultaneously. However, as H. G. M. Williamson explains, "A double translation of a book already paralleled for considerable sections in other canonical books produced in the same place and at about the same time does not fit into such a background."[512] I also explained several weaknesses of the fragmentary hypothesis in 1.4.1. So, I propose my composition theory within the general scheme of the compilation hypothesis.

For the compilation hypothesis, as I elaborated in 1.4.1.2, several theories have been offered. Before I propose my composition theory for 1 Esdras, we must review three critical details. First, as Robert Hanhart explains, it is hard to determine the direction of literary dependence between Ezra–Neh and 1 Esdras.

> Der Vergleich der beiden Übersetzungstexte ergib somit, daß unmittelbare literarische Abhängigkeit nicht mit Sicherheit nachzuwiesen ist. Doch ist Unabhängigkeit der beiden griechischen Texte voneinander nur dann möglich, wenn zuweilen eine gemeinsame von M abweichende hebräisch-aramäische Vorlage angenommen wird. Darüber hinaus muß unter Voraussetzung der Unabhängigkeit zuweilen mit beiden Übersetzern vorgegebenen Übersetzungstraditionen gerechnet werden.[513]

This implies that Ezra–Neh and 1 Esdras were independently developed and expanded from Proto-Ezra. Second, as I argued in 5.2, the story of the Three Bodyguards, which was the youngest section of 1 Esdras, was originally written in Greek in the late second (or the early first) century BCE. Third, throughout chapters 2–5, I proposed that the selectivity of the

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512. Williamson, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles*, 16.

513. Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches*, MSU, XII, AAWG.PH 91 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 17. See also Blenkinsopp, *Judaism: The First Phase*, 167. "The author may have had before him an earlier version of the Ezra story to which the Nehemiah narrative had not yet been attached; and it may be that it was subsequently attached in such a way as to drive a wedge between the two parts of the Ezra narrative (Ezra 7–10 and Neh 7:72b–8:12). In view of the fact that the traditions about Ezra and Nehemiah developed separately and independently of each other throughout the Second Temple period, this would not be surprising."

For translation, see De Troyer, "Zerubbabel and Ezra," 38. "The comparison of the two translations makes it clear that one cannot prove any direct literary dependence. The dependence of the two texts, however, is only then possible if one accepts a common Hebrew–Aramaic *Vorlage*, at times different from the Masoretic text. Moreover, presuming independence, one has to take into account the [characteristics of the] pre-existing traditions of translating texts, in which the translators were rooted."

author of 1 Esdras and the story should be considered as an aspect of scribal activity. Here follows the compositional process of 1 Esdras that I propose:

1. The author of the story of the Three Bodyguards was bilingual in Hebrew and Greek and acquired a Greek education of classical rhetoric and comedic literature during the Hellenistic era. The author also recognised the literary features of a *court tale* or Jewish novella.
2. The author was able to access Hebrew/Aramaic sources, especially Chronicles and the Ezra memoir(s).
3. For the story of the Three Bodyguards, the author integrated several literary features in the story – e.g., rhetoric, comedy, and a *court tale*. The author also employed both idiomatic Greek and Greek showing Hebrew interference.
4. When the author was writing the story of the Three Bodyguards, he selected the Hebrew/Aramaic materials that were appropriate to the purpose he intended and compatible with the literary aspect of the story.
5. After he had chosen the sources (2 Chr 35–36 and Ezra memoir(s) including Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a), he translated them into Greek and arranged the materials with the story to represent his own purpose in Alexandria and/or Palestine in the late second (or early first) century BCE.

5.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I began with the composition theory of the story to discuss to what extent the literary aspects and message between 1 Esdras and the story show coherence and consistency. I emphasised the intervention of the author of 1 Esdras for choosing the opening scene (Passover celebration) and the closing scene (joyous reading of Torah together), placing Artaxerxes's letter before the story, and arranging the sequence of Ezra's mission and the

scene of the public reading of the Torah. I also argued that this intervening perspective in the structural and literary features of 1 Esdras is congruent with the literary aspects and the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards. In this process, I presented the purpose of 1 Esdras and proposed a composition process of 1 Esdras *including* the story.

The rhetorical contest was composed to deliver the author's rhetorical message to the Jewish community. The addition of the story of the Three Bodyguards was also to persuade the readers/listeners to adopt a particular communal way of life: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character, Law, and action*.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I summarise the contents and arguments of my thesis and lay out the thesis's contribution in the following areas: an informed methodology for rhetorical studies of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint, and the apocryphal books; identification of various rhetorical features and devices both that have been influenced in Greek culture and that have been transmitted from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint; a composition theory of 1 Esdras and the story of the Three Bodyguards; and a fresh assessment of the purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards and its significance within the book of 1 Esdras. In addition, I conclude the thesis by demonstrating the ways that this study can contribute to further studies in the Jewish literature of the Graeco-Roman period and the wider writings of the period of early Christianity.

I began with the question: What is the purpose and function of the story of the Three Bodyguards – placed within 1 Esdras, a Greek work that is based on the texts (2 Chr 35–36, Ezra 1–10, and Neh 7:72[73]–8:13a) that are also found in the Hebrew canon? How do we understand 1 Esdras as illuminated by an analysis of this Story? To answer this question, I adopted a form of rhetorical criticism as the methodology of this thesis and emphasised that the identification of the rhetorical features in the speeches of the story, and the understanding of their significance *in* and *beyond* the story, should be associated in order to recognise the purpose of the story.

With this aim in mind, in the first chapter, I suggested that we need to analyse the rhetorical features of the five speeches in accordance with *both* theories of classical rhetoric *and* the rhetoric in terms of allusion, derived from the Hebrew Bible and/or the Septuagint (1.2.1). Although several approaches already existed for the rhetorical study of the story, I claimed that *rhetoric* and its force, which are formed in accordance with specific languages and cultures, should be understood through the sociocultural aspects of both Greek and Jewish culture. I detailed a procedure for applying classical rhetoric to the analysis of the speeches and demonstrated the presence and importance of allusion for understanding the transmission of rhetoric from the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint (1.2.2 and 1.3). However, my purpose was not to make a dichotomy between Greek and Jewish rhetoric, but to thoroughly analyse the rhetorical features of the speeches and to examine how the two kinds of rhetoric, which were formed in different cultures and languages, were integrated in the story of the Three Bodyguards to convey the purpose and message of the story.

In the second chapter, I undertook the textual and literary analysis of the story of the Three Bodyguards. This chapter was foundational for discerning the rhetorical features of the speeches and for understanding their significance. While I laid out examples of idiomatic Greek that suggested that the story was originally written in Greek, I also pointed out unique locutions that were likely influenced by the Hebrew Bible and transmitted from previously translated books (2.4.1). Also, I pointed out the mixed nature of the story: the integration of idiomatic and Semitic languages and the combination of the Greek (with a comedic element) and Jewish (as a court tale) generic nature and features (2.4.2). This linguistic and literary hybridity is associated with the overall purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards. In this understanding, in the third and fourth chapters, I thoroughly elaborated several rhetorical features and devices representing Greek and Jewish aspects of the story and its author. I

emphasised that they were not detached from each other but were amalgamated by sharing a similar purpose and function with the rhetorical features.

In the third chapter, according to the constituent parts of classical rhetoric, I outlined the rhetorical features that represent the literary aspect of the story as a Greek comedy (3.5 and 3.9), signify the single authorship of the speeches, and convey the main *stases* of the speeches (3.2 and 3.3) and the significance of the interrelationship of the speeches (3.4.2). I emphasised, especially, the function of Zerubbabel's second speech as a transitional speech, which reveals Zerubbabel's multifaceted *ethos* (3.6). I highlighted that the second speech is the key point for recognising the rhetorical force of his three consecutive speeches. In addition, by underscoring the association of comedic elements (humour and irony) in regard to the entertaining epideictic speeches, I reinforced my argument that the author of the story acquired a Greek education and chose Greek literary devices at two levels. While, in the narrative, the comedic features make Zerubbabel's speech more persuasive, beyond the narrative, they unveil problematic issues, not in order to increase social tension but to resolve it.

In the fourth chapter, I laid out several rhetorical allusions that lexically and thematically correspond to texts in the Hebrew Bible and/or Septuagint (Table 4.1 and Table 4.11). The exemplification of these rhetorical features in the form of allusion in the speeches strongly suggest the derivation of rhetoric from the Hebrew Bible and/or Septuagint to the story through the author, who had learned it from the Hebrew Bible and/or Septuagint. I also explained how each allusion functions to strengthen the persuasiveness of each speech. Especially, by emphasising that the humorous and ironic aspect of allusion in Zerubbabel's first speech is compatible with the comedic elements, I argued that the Greek and Jewish aspects of the speeches are complementary to each other. Furthermore, I argued that the allusion in Zerubbabel's second speech conveyed the performative nature and character of

truth to the readers/listeners rather than simply posing a polemical proposition. The allusion in his third speech represents the author's eclectic scribal style and ambivalent perspective on certain social phenomenon. By elaborating the conceptual meaning of the *Temple*, *truth*, and *vow*, I summarised the message of the story of the Three Bodyguards: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character and action*.

In the fifth chapter, building on chapters 2–4, I presented my composition theory of the story of the Three Bodyguards and argued how the later source (the story of the Three Bodyguards) influenced the rest of 1 Esdras. I showed, especially, how the structural features (the beginning and ending scenes, the placement of 1 Esd 2:15–25, and the sequence of 1 Esd 9:18–36 [Ezra10:18–44] and 9:37–55 [Neh 7:72–8:13a]) and the purpose of 1 Esdras correspond to the literary aspect and purpose of the story of the Three Bodyguards (5.3 and 5.4.1). In this process, I suggested that the author of the story is the same as the author of 1 Esdras and thereby elucidated my compositional theory of 1 Esdras (5.4.2). The book of 1 Esdras was written in Greek and composed by the *single author* who acquired a Greek and Jewish education during the Hellenistic period. It means that the author in his own purpose translated the Hebrew/Aramaic sources (not *Vorlage*) and wrote the story of the Three Bodyguards. Then, he arranged them to appropriately convey his message in Alexandria and/or Palestine in the late second (or early first) century BCE. The purpose of 1 Esdras is to persuade the readers/listeners to adopt a particular way of life in their community: *Remember God's truthful and salvific action and live together in accordance with God's character, Law, and action*.

I conclude this thesis by describing how it can contribute to further studies that correlate the literature of the Graeco-Roman period and the writings of the period of early Christianity.

First, as Bird sums up the reception history of 1 Esdras in the Graeco-Roman world, it is notable that Josephus included the story of the Three Bodyguards and that Augustine understood Zerubbabel's second speech about truth in a messianic sense.[514] As Williamson points out, it is hardly the case that the emphasis of Zerubbabel's heroic actions and his *ethos* in the story of the Three Bodyguards is intended to represent a messianic figure.[515] In other words, there is latitude for later readers to imagine a messianic figure in the speech *itself* in the doxology in 1 Esd 4:40 rather than in Zerubbabel's *ethos*.[516] Crenshaw also explains that

> This [doxology in 1 Esd 4:40] combination of subject matter and piety made the dialogue a favorite of Jews and Christians. The rhetoric and traditional material incorporated into the dialogue with consummate artistry set Judaism in the best light possible for Greek and Roman readers, and hence was a favorite of men like Josephus. And the religious fervor clothing the praise of truth especially appealed to Christians, many of whom, like Augustine, found therein prophecy of the Christ.[517]

As Augustine compared the Gospel of John with the story of the Three Bodyguards, the rhetorical aspects of the story can be compared to the rhetorical speeches in other books of the New Testament. For instance, the truth-telling persona of Zerubbabel in terms of *parrēsia* (3.6) may also be found in the *ethos* that the believers in the New Testament pursued (e.g., Acts 4:29; 28:31).[518] In addition, Paul's rhetorical speech in 1 Cor 2:4–6, which alludes to

514. Bird, *1 Esdras*, 26–34; Augustine, *City of God, Volume VI: Books 18.36-20,* trans. William Chase Greene, LCL 416 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), 2–5; Crenshaw "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," 229. "… unless perchance Esdras is to be understood as having prophesied of Christ in that passage in which, when an enquiry had arisen among three young men as to what thing it is that has the most influence on events and one had said 'kings,' another 'wine,' the third 'women,' who, he said, for the most part rule over kings; yet the same third man proved that truth is the conqueror over all things. Now on the evidence of the gospel we know that Christ is the truth."

515. Williamson, "1 Esdras," 852.

516. This would be similar to the Christian understanding of Bar 3:36–38, which is the most cited in Baruch. Sean Adams points out that "this verse's[3:38] association with the monotheistic claim of 3.36 resonated with early Christian readers, and it was easily adapted to support a reading of Jesus' incarnation (Chrysostom, *C. Mar*. 3)." See Sean A. Adams, *Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on the Texts in Codex Vaticanus*, SCS (Leiden; Boston, MA: Brill, 2014), 113–4.

517. Crenshaw "The Contest of Darius' Guards in 1 Esdras 3:1–5:3," 229.

518. S. C. Winter, "ΠΑΡΡΕΣΙΑ IN ACTS," in *Friendship, Flattery, and Frankness of Speech: Studies on Friendship in the New Testament World*, ed. John T. Fitzgerald, NovTSup 82 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 192.

Zech 4:6 demonstrating the power of the Holy Spirit,[519] echoes Zerubbabel's confessional praise to God in 1 Esd 4:59. So, my thesis provides a methodological grounding for investigating how rhetoric in the Hebrew Bible was transmitted through other literature in the Graeco-Roman period.

Second, this thesis contributes to the recognition of the purpose and function of comedic elements in the story. Occasionally, scholars have demonstrated comedic aspects and their significance in the biblical, Deuterocanonical, and Apocryphal books such as Job,[520] Esther (or Greek Esther),[521] Tobit,[522] Judith,[523] and even the books of New Testament.[524] Humour is occasionally overlooked in religious or biblical studies because of a preconceived idea that the nature of religion and the Bible is serious or solemn. However, as I argued in this thesis, humour can be an appropriate way to deliver a religious or theological message (e.g., many of the parables of Jesus). The purpose of comedy may be "not merely glib entertainment but serious tools to foster exploration and knowledge in their audience."[525] The function of comedy may not be just to entertain or to deride, but to lead the reader/listener to the message that the author intends. In this regard, further study aimed at integrating the significance of comedy in each book, especially in the literature of the Second Temple Period

519. H. H. Drake Williams, III., *The Wisdom of the Wise: The Presence and Function of Scripture within 1 Cor. 1:18-3:23* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 135–141.

520. Katherine E. Southwood, *Job's Body and the Dramatised Comedy of Moralising*, Routledge Studies in the Biblical World (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021),164. Southwood demonstrates that "Comedy in Job is a powerful weapon used to expose and ridicule the idea of retribution."

521. Berlin, *Esther*, xvi–xxii; Taylor "Esther's Great Adventure: Reading the LXX Version of the Book of Esther in Light of Its Assimilation to the Conventions of the Greek Romantic Novel," *BIOSCS* 30 (1997).

522. Robert J. Littman, *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*, SCS (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2008), xxxiv. "While the heyday of Greek Romance was in the first and second century CE, the roots of the genre extend back to the Odyssey, Greek tragedy and especially New Comedy of the 4th century BCE. Thus, in many ways, Tobit is a typical Greek Romance."

523. Wills, *Judith*, 78–106.

524. Michael Benjamin Cover, "The Divine Comedy at Corinth: Paul, Menander and the Rhetoric of Resurrection," *NTS* 64.4 (2018): 532–50.

525. Honigman, "Novellas for Diverting Jewish Urban Businessmen or Channels of Priestly Knowledge," 176.

(or wisdom literature), is needed.[526] Such further study may contribute to fresh perspectives on the life or the identity of Jews who lived from the second century BCE to the first century CE.

The hybridity of the *Greekness* and *Jewishness* in 1 Esdras implies that the author's identity was shaped by the multi-[or inter-] cultural society.[527] I have already argued that the author of 1 Esdras acquired a Greek and Jewish education and that the literary and rhetorical features of 1 Esdras represented his mixed educational background.[528] It is not surprising that the Jewish author may have composed his work with the aim of resisting assimilation towards Greek culture or to propagandise for the superiority of Jewish culture. Nevertheless, I do not think that the author of 1 Esdras employed his educational level or background in his artful work merely to argue for the superiority of Jewish (or Greek) culture, or to show the incompatibility of both types of education.

So, how should we understand the identity to which the author of 1 Esdras aspired? We can infer an answer to this question through the message of the story and of 1 Esdras. The author influences readers to pursue an identity invested in neither *Greekness* nor *Jewishness* (nor both), but through becoming the true chosen people of God. More importantly, being God's covenant people does not simply mean becoming those who preserve *Jewishness*, but those who see the possibilities of faithfulness irrespective of the constraints and obstacles

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526. Gruen, *Diaspora*, 135–212. Gruen's work could be foundational to undertake this further study. Gruen outlines humorous aspects in the following books: Esther, Tobit, Judith, Susanna, II Maccabees, the Testament of Abraham, the Testament of Job, and Artaranus.

527. Jason M. Zurawski, "Jewish Education and Identity: Towards an Understanding of Second Temple *Paideia*," in *Second Temple Jewish Paideia in Context*, eds. Jason M. Zurawski and Gabriele Boccaccini, BZNW 228 (Berlin; Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 2017), 268–9. Zurawski describes the correlated relationship between education and identity: "At least as early as Isocrates and his bold argument that 'Greekness' was no longer a matter of shared blood or kinship but rather a matter of shared paideia (*Panegyr*. 50), there has existed the profound realization that education is closely bound together with notions of self-understanding, self-representation, and identity constructs."

528. Tim Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16. "Paideia, then, was not simply a form of social practice (though, of course, it was that too): at a more abstract level, it was also a means of constructing and reifying idealized identities for Greek and Roman, a privileged space of complex cultural interaction (or 'contact zone') between Roman ideology and Greek identity, a foundation upon which both peoples constructed their own sense of their place in the world."

they encounter — remembering God's faithful action and promoting a communal Jewish identity, especially around a correct and vitalising understanding of the Law. The author displays the very behaviour he recommends; he practices his rhetorical message through his scribal activity.

Appendix I: Vocabulary of 1 Esdras

This appendix giving the list of *hapax legomena* in 1 Esdras demonstrates the linguistic level of the author, who might be a learned individual who had been educated in higher educational institutions during the Hellenistic period. This list also reveals the difficulty in discerning the putative Hebrew version of the Greek Esdras by means of retroversion (see 1.4.1).

1. Hapax Legomena

1) ἀναμφισβητήτως: 1 Esd 6:29 / without further question, indisputably
2) ἀντιπαρατάσσω: 1 Esd 2:22 / to stand in array against
3) ἀπαγωγή: 1 Esd 8:24 / leading into captivity, imprisonment
4) ἀποσημαίνω: 1 Esd 6:6 / to be indicated concerning, to send word about
   A. Rahlfs - ὑποσημαίνω
5) ἀργυρικός: 1 Esd 8:24 / of or in money
6) γενικός: 1 Esd 5:39 / belonging to the family, race or nation
7) δευτέριος: 1 Esd 1:29 / second, secondary, second best
8) δημαγωγία: 1 Esd 5:70 / control or leadership of the people
9) δωδεκαετής: 1 Esd 5:41 / twelve years old
10) ἐγχάσκω: 1 Esd 4:19 / to gape
11) ἐκπαίζω: 1 Esd 1:49 / to laugh, to scorn
12) ἔξυπνος: 1 Esd 3:3 / awakened out of sleep
13) ἐπακουστός: 1 Esd 4:12 / obeyed
14) ἐπιδόξως: 1 Esd 9:45 / gloriously, honourably
15) ἐπικινέω: 1 Esd 8:69 / to be moved at
   A. Rahlfs - ἐπικινέομαι
16) ἐπιστατέω: 1 Esd 7:2 / to be in charge of
17) ἐπισυνέχω: 1 Esd 9:17 / to take to oneself (a wife)
18) ἱεροστάτης: 1 Esd 7:2 / governor of the temple
19) κατατίλλω: 1 Esd 8:68 / to pull off
20) ληστεύω: 1 Esd 4:23 / to rob, to make raids
21) λωποδυτέω: 1 Esd 4:24 / to rob, to plunder
22) μεγαλωστί: 1 Esd 5:62 / very much, exceedingly
23) μεταγενής: 1 Esd 8:1 / born after
24) πραγματικός: 1 Esd 8:22 / official
25) προπομπή: 1 Esd 8:51 / escort
26) προσγράφω: 1 Esd 6:31 / to specify in writing
27) συμβουλευτής: 1 Esd 8:11 / adviser, counsellor
28) συμβραβεύω: 1 Esd 9:14 / to be assessor with

29) συμποιέω: 1 Esd 6:27 / to help, to assist, to cooperate with
30) συνεξορμάω: 1 Esd 8:11 / to depart together
31) σύννους: 1 Esd 8:68 / deep in thought, gloomy
32) συνοικοδομέω: 1 Esd 5:65 / to build together with
33) ὑποβάλλω: 1 Esd 2:17 / to lay a foundation for
34) ὑπαγορεύω: 1 Esd 6:29 / to define, to designate
35) ὑπομνηματίζομαι: 1 Esd 6:22 / to be recorded
36) χαμαιπετής: 1 Esd 8:88 / lying (flat) on the ground
37) χρηματιστήριον: 1 Esd 3:14 / seat of judgement
38) χρυσοειδής: 1 Esd 8:56 / gold-like
39) ψάλτης: 1 Esd 5:41 / harpist or psalm singer

2. Words 1 Esdras Only

1) ἀναγνώστης: 1 Esd 8:8,9,19; 9:39, 42, 49 / (public) reader, one who reads and expounds
2) βιβλιοφυλάκιον: 1 Esd 6:20, 22 / place to keep books in
3) ἐμφυσιόω: 1 Esd 9:48, 55 / to inspire, to put meaning into
4) ἱερόδουλος: 1 Esd 1:3; 5:29, 35; 8:5, 22 / servant of the temple attending the Levites
5) ἱεροψάλτης: 1 Esd 1:14; 5:27, 45; 8:5, 22; 9:24 / singer in the temple, holy singer
6) ἱστορέω: 1 Esd 1:31, 40 / to be recorded
7) μεριδαρχία: 1 Esd 1:5, 10; 5:4; 8:28 / office of the governor of a province
8) ὀνοματογραφία: 1 Esd 6:11; 8:48 / list of names
9) προκάθημαι: 1 Esd 1:30; 5:60; 9:4, 45 / to sit in the place of honour

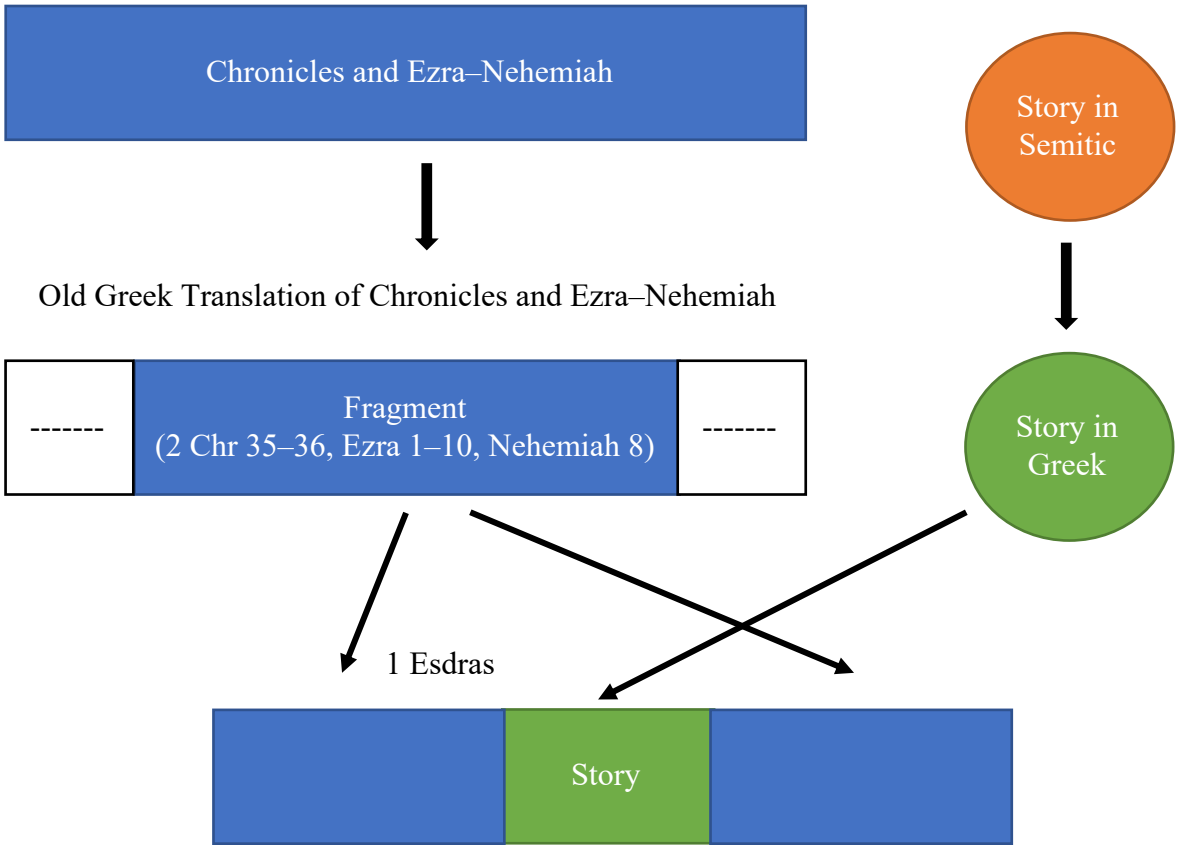
3. Words Shared only with 2 and 3 Macc.

1) ἀκόλουθος: 1 Esd 8:14; 2 Macc 4:17 / following, appropriate to
2) ἀκολούθως: 1 Esd 5:48, 68; 7:6, 9; 8:12; 2 Macc 6:23 / according to
3) ἀνιερόω: 1 Esd 9:4; 3 Macc 7:20 / to dedicate
4) δαπάνημα: 1 Esd 6:24; 2 Macc 3:3; 11, 31 / cost, expense
5) δυσσέβεια: 1 Esd 1:40; 2 Macc 8:33 / impiety, ungodliness
6) δυσσέβημα: 1 Esd 1:49; 2 Macc 12:3 / impious act
7) εἴργω: 1 Esd 5:69, 70; 3 Macc 3:18 / to hinder, to prevent from
8) ἐπιβολή: 1 Esd 8:22; 2 Macc 8:7 / assault, penalty
9) ἐπινίκιος: 1 Esd 3:5; 2 Macc 8:33 / feast for a victory
10) ἐπιφωνέω: 1 Esd 9:47; 2 Macc 1:23; 3 Macc 7:13 / to answer, to respond
11) ἐσθής: 1 Esd 8:68-70; 2 Macc 8:35; 11:8 / clothing, garment
12) εὐθαρσής: 1 Esd 8:27; 2 Macc 8:21; 3 Macc 1:7 / of good courage, bold
13) ἱερατικός: 1 Esd 4:54; 5:44; 2 Macc 3:15 / priestly
14) προπράσσω: 1 Esd 1:31; 3 Macc 6:27 / to do ahead of time
15) προσφωνέω: 1 Esd 2:18; 6:6, 21; 2 Macc 15:15 / to speak to, to be signified
16) χρυσοχάλινος: 1 Esd 3:6; 2 Macc 10:29 / with golden bridles

Appendix II: Diagrams of Hypotheses

This appendix includes diagrams of several possible composition theories of 1 Esdras that I discussed in 1.4.1.1 and 1.4.1.2.

Fragment Hypothesis: A) the author of *S* ≠ the translator of *S*



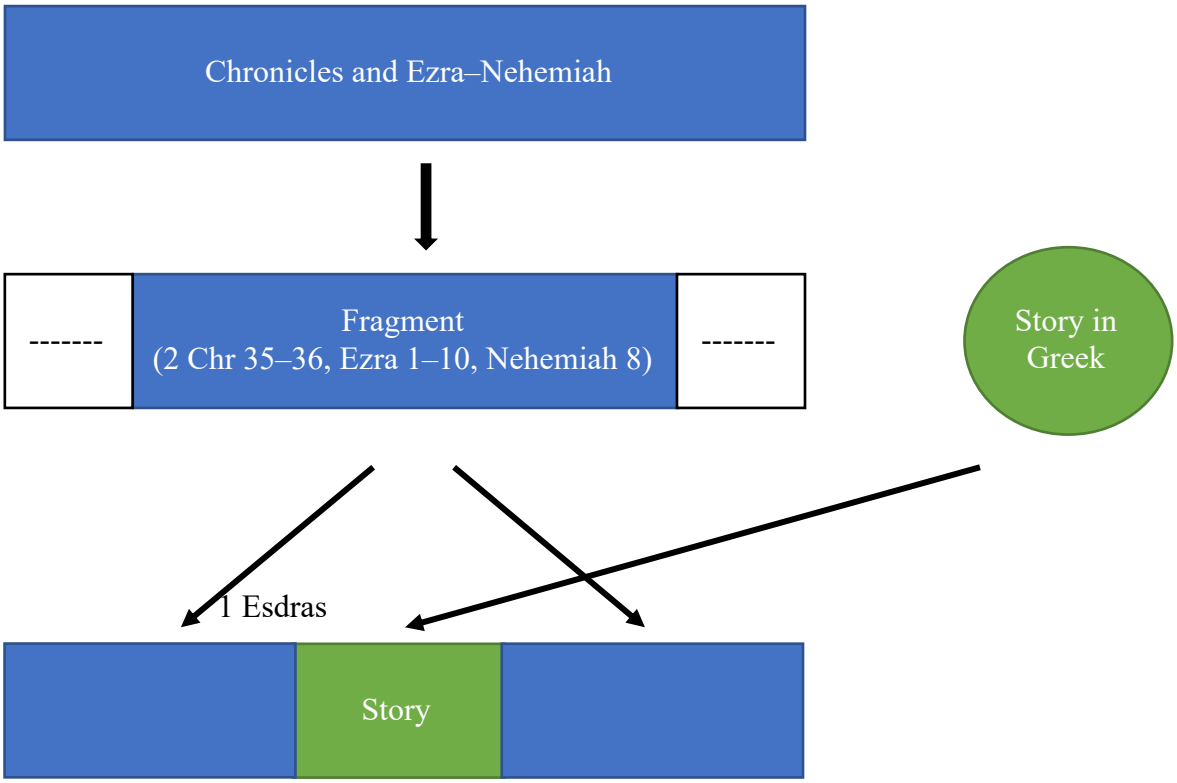
1) First Esdras of *W/OS* is the fragment of an old Greek translation of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah.

2) The interpolator or redactor translates the story of the Three Bodyguards in Hebrew or Aramaic to the story in Greek, and then interpolates the story in Greek into the fragment.

3) Or, the interpolator or redactor inserts the story of the Three Bodyguards in Greek (translated by someone) into the fragment.

Fragment Hypothesis: B) Not the translator of *S*, but only the author of *S*

Old Greek Translation of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah

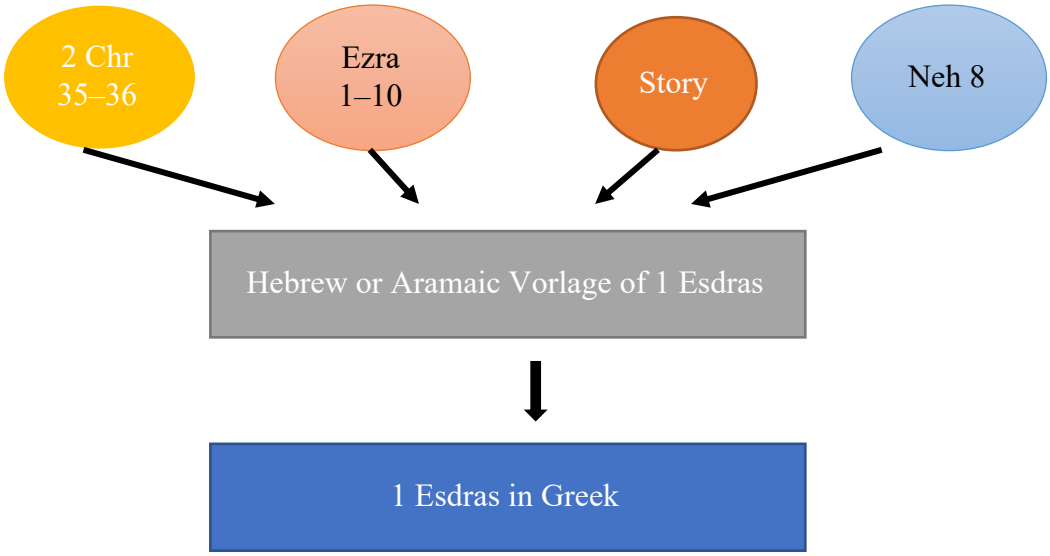


1) First Esdras of *W/OS* is the fragment of an old Greek translation of Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah.

2) The interpolator or redactor interpolates the story of the Three Bodyguards in Greek into the fragment.

Compilation Hypothesis: A). I) the translator of *Without the Story* = the translator of *the Story*

Sources (Hebrew or Aramaic)

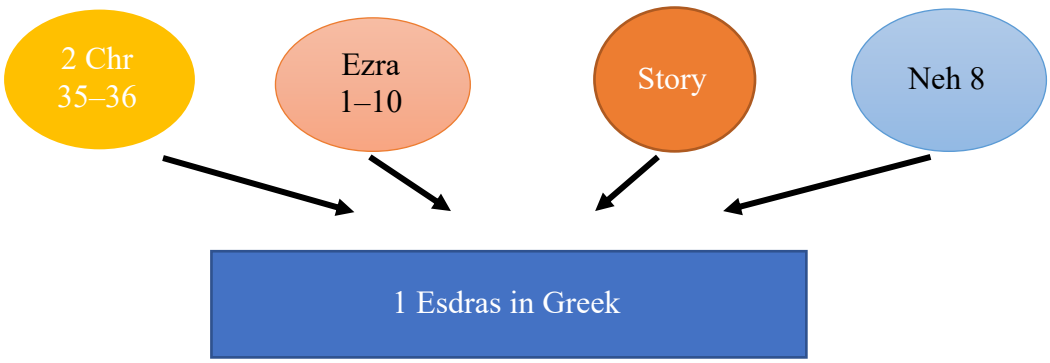


1) The redactor or rewriter composes 1 Esdras in Hebrew or Aramaic from the Semitic sources including the story of the Three Bodyguards.

2) The translator translates 1 Esdras to the Greek 1 Esdras.

Compilation Hypothesis: A). II) the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *Without the Story* = the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *the Story*

Sources (Hebrew or Aramaic)



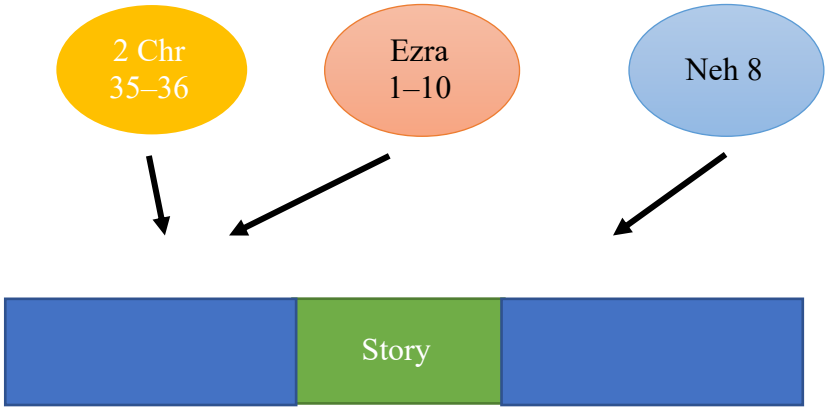
1) The redactor or rewriter composes the Greek 1 Esdras from the Semitic sources including the story of the Three Bodyguards.

2) There is no 1 Esdras in Hebrew or Aramaic.

3) It means that 1 Esdras was originally written in Greek.

Compilation Hypothesis: B) the translator (or rewriter or redactor) of *Without the Story* = the author of *the Story*

Sources (Hebrew or Aramaic)



1) The redactor or rewriter composes the Greek 1 Esdras from the Semitic sources including the story of the Three Bodyguards.

2) There is no 1 Esdras in Hebrew or Aramaic.

3) There is no the Semitic document for the story of the Three Bodyguards.

4) It means that 1 Esdras was originally written in Greek.

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