

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER

## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. CHARACTER OF THE ADDITIONS.

THE Additions to Esther consist of six passages (containing 107 verses not in the Hebrew text), inserted in the LXX text by way of amplification of subjects referred to in the canonical chapters.

It cannot be said that these Additions, which are imaginative reconstructions of a forgotten past, are of great interest or importance. Perhaps as much as two centuries separate their date from that of the canonical portions of Esther, and they emanate from a different centre of Jewish life and thought, which possessed no independent sources of historical information.

Any interest, therefore, that these fragments possess lies not in their power to enlarge our knowledge of the story of Esther, but in the reflection they offer of the religious development of the circle in which they originated.

If we are to attach any weight to the postscript found in the LXX (Esther xi. 1)—and Ryssel's reason for rejecting its witness is not sufficient—the translation of canonical Esther dates from not later than 114 B. C.; but it seems unlikely that the Additions were incorporated with the translated portions until after this postscript was appended. The Additions may not all be the work of one author, but they are not translations, and Greek was their original language.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the Additions, with their slightly Egyptian flavour (cf. the use of ἀδελφός in D 9, φίλοι in E 5, the application of the word 'Macedonian' to Haman in E 10, and ἐκτιθέσθαι in E 14), were composed in Egypt, where the veneration for the canonical book was naturally not so high as in Palestine, rather than in Palestine by Egyptian Jews temporarily residing there.<sup>2</sup>

But were the Additions made immediately upon the reception of the translation of Esther in Egypt, or only after some time had passed, and interest in the book had been awakened, and a desire aroused in the minds of patriotic Jews to hear the story of Esther in greater detail?

The latter hypothesis seems the more probable. Not only is time required for the creative activity of the imagination to get to work; but the postscript, which with its explicit reference to the translation of Esther must have been appended immediately on the introduction of the translation into Egypt, would surely have been worded differently, if the Additions had been already incorporated.

The date of the Additions, therefore, may be placed in the earlier part of the first century, and they may be regarded as contemporaneous with the Book of Wisdom. They can be referred to Maccabean times (as e.g. by Jacob and V. Ryssel) only by a complete rejection of the witness of the postscript.

Wisdom is the work of an Alexandrian Jew keenly distressed by Egyptian idolatry and by the growing laxity and indifference to the national religion on the part of a large number of the Jews resident in Egypt. The writer of Wisdom represents that more conservative section of the Egyptian Jews in whom the forces of reaction were at work, and who became the more ardently patriotic in proportion as they saw the traditions of their religion neglected.

The Additions to Esther may be accounted for in a similar way. The relations between the domiciled Jews of the Diaspora and the natives of the country were at times far from cordial, and in periods of trial and oppression, when the Jews were driven in upon themselves, it was natural for them to take refuge in the study of their sacred books, and of those especially, such as Esther, which told of the subjection of the heathen to the chosen people. It was only natural that elaborations of these favourite narratives should spring up, and in course of time take their place as authentic parts of the original works.

The Additions are free from all trace of Alexandrine doctrine, but there is no reason to suppose

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ryssel, in *Kautsch*, i. p. 196; André, *Les Apocryphes de l'A. T.* pp. 203, 204.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jacob, *ZATW*, x, 1890, pp. 274-70; and Jellinek, *Beth-ha-Midrash*, v. p. xiii. The 'Additions' to Esther sprang out of the imagination of an Alexandrian Jew, and hence their original language was Greek.

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that every Jew residing in Egypt surrendered to the influence of the philosophic atmosphere of Alexandria. The practical purpose with which the Additions were composed would cause their author to eschew the introduction of all foreign elements. His hearers would be of the simpler type, not versed in speculation, but familiar only with the religious ideas of the O. T.; his object would be rather to confirm them in the old than to provide a meeting-place for the old with the new. Accordingly, the Additions might be expected to be strictly orthodox and conservative in tone; and this is exactly what we find. The spirit of simple prayer breathes in them, and trust in God and remembrance of God's mercies to Israel are especially emphasized.

The object of the author is purely practical, and speculative questions are altogether beyond his range. It has been thought that the object of the Additions was 'to remove the uneasiness arising from the secular tone of the original story'.<sup>1</sup> This is a proposition very difficult to accept, suggesting as it does a deliberate effort to correct the canonical book, and thereby an implied censure on its character. The difference between the tone of the canonical book and the additions can be less invidiously accounted for, on the supposition that the latter came into existence to meet an historical need, and that floating legendary material was drawn upon for the purpose of consoling and strengthening a simple-minded people in adversity. If it is true that the Additions have introduced the religious note, it cannot be said that they have a materially higher tone. Hatred of the heathen and thirst for revenge appear in undiminished vehemence.

It has been assumed so far that we are justified in speaking of these six passages as additions, which first took shape in Greek. It is true that they are not all homogeneous, and that some of them are more Hebraic in character than others. But of two (Adds. B and E) it may be said<sup>2</sup> that any re-translation of these rhetorical and florid pieces into Hebrew would be impossible, while of the rest it is enough to say that the Hebraisms they contain are fully accounted for by the fact that the Jew who composed them could not divest himself altogether of the idioms of his people.<sup>3</sup> A somewhat paradoxical contention has been put forward by Langen, Kaulen, and Scholz, who are concerned to prove the authenticity of the Additions, the effect of which would be to show that the LXX form of Esther is the original, and the Hebrew only an abbreviated edition of the book. This hypothesis rests on the existence of various Midrashic compilations,<sup>4</sup> and especially of an Aramaic piece known as 'Mordecai's Dream', containing the Dream and the Prayer of Mordecai and the Prayer of Esther, of which the so-called Additions to Esther are *ex hypothesi* the Greek form.

But there is much more reason to regard these diffuse Aramaic fragments as being indirectly based on the LXX Additions than vice versa;<sup>5</sup> and, further, inasmuch as not more than one of these pieces can be proved to have existed as early as even the middle of the fourth century, they are quite valueless as proofs of a Hebrew original earlier than that known to St. Jerome.

Almost equally baseless is the argument that the older and fuller Hebrew text was deliberately expurgated of the name of God, in order that it might not suffer dishonour when the Esther-roll was read during the course of the rather secular festival of Purim. Such editing of the book is far more difficult to credit than the hypothesis of subsequent additions.

One of the surest arguments against the original integrity of the book in its LXX form lies in the many discrepancies between the canonical Esther and the so-called Additions.<sup>6</sup> Some of these may be noted here:—

(1) A 2. Mordecai is represented as holding a high position at court in the second year of Artaxerxes; but Esther ii. 16 speaks of the seventh year.

(2) A 13. Mordecai himself informs the king of the conspiracy of the eunuchs; but Esther ii. 21-23 says that Esther told the king in Mordecai's name.

(3) A 16. Mordecai is rewarded for his services, but Esther vi. 3, 4 shows that Mordecai had been forgotten.

(4) A 17. The reason for Haman's grudge against Mordecai is that Mordecai had caused the death of the eunuchs, but in Esther iii. 5 it is that Mordecai will not bow before Haman.

(5) C 26, 27. Esther protests her hatred of the position of queen to an uncircumcised alien. But the Hebrew makes no such suggestion.

(6) E 10. Haman is called a Macedonian, but in Esther iii. 1 his father's name is Persian.

<sup>1</sup> Streane, *Esther*, p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fuller, p. 365, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. S. I. Fränkel, *Hagiographa posteriora . . . e textu Graeco in linguam Hebraicam convertit*, &c., 1830; André, op. cit. pp. 203, 204; Jelinek, *Eth-ha-Midrash*, v, p. viii.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. a treatise on Esther in the *Babylonian Talmud*, Megillah 10<sup>b</sup> ff.; in the *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, ch. 49 f.; in Josippon, cent. x; *Midrash Esther Rabba*, cent. xi or xii. For an exhaustive list see Ryssel, p. 195; cf. André, p. 198; Fuller, *Apocr. of O. T.*, p. 363.

<sup>5</sup> Bissell, p. 202.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. André, pp. 202, 203.



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(7) E 22. The Persians as well as the Jews are required to keep the feast of Purim; but in Esther ix. 20-28 the Jews alone are charged to observe it.

The Additions are six in number, distinguished by Dr. Swete in his edition of the O. T. in Greek by the letters A to F in accordance with a suggestion made by the late Prof. Hort. As they stand in A.V. and R.V., they are practically unintelligible.<sup>1</sup> Jerome's relegation of the Additions to an appendix, in which their relation to the canonical chapters was altogether obscured, is responsible for this.

Not finding them in the Hebrew, he desired in his translation to mark the distinction between them and the authentic portions; and this arrangement was carried over into A.V. and R.V.<sup>2</sup>

Their contents are as follows:—

A. Mordecai's Dream, and the conspiracy of the two eunuchs. (a double of Esther ii. 21-23). Precedes Esther i. 1.

B. The king's Edict commanding the destruction of the Jews. Follows Esther iii. 13, and expands iii. 8-13.

C. Prayer of Mordecai, and Prayer of Esther. Follows Esther iv. 17.

D. Esther's appearance before the king. Follows D, and is an amplification of Esther v. 1, 2.

E. The king's second Edict in favour of the Jews. Follows Esther viii. 12.

F. Interpretation of Mordecai's Dream. Follows Esther x. 3.

### § 2. MANUSCRIPTS.

The current and unrevised text of the third century is more or less closely represented by the uncials:

B. Vaticanus, cent. iv.

A. Alexandrinus, cent. v.

Σ. Sinaiticus, cent. iv.

N. Basilio-Vaticanus, cent. viii-ix; and by many cursives, of which the most important are (as numbered by Holmes and Parsons. *Vet. Test. Graecum cum var. lect.*, Oxford, 1798-1827)—

55. Rome (Vat. Reg. Gr. I).

108. Rome (Vat. Gr. 330), containing two recensions, the first of which, known as 108 *a*, represents the unrevised text.

249. Rome (Vat. Pius I).

Other nearly allied cursives are—

52. Florence (Laur. Acq. 44).

64. Paris (Nat. Reg. Gr. 2).

243. Venice (St. Mark's, cod. 16), with which the Aldine edition is connected.

248. Rome (Vat. Gr. 346), of which the Polyglot of Alcalá (Complutensian, 1514) is a reproduction.

The recension made by Origen in the third century is represented by the cursive numbered 93, which contains two recensions of Esther, that known as 93 *b* having the critical signs employed by Origen.

The readings of 93 *b* correspond very closely with the corrections inserted in Cod. Sinaiticus by the first of three seventh-century hands, known as Σ<sup>3</sup>, who acknowledges his indebtedness to the work of Origen.<sup>3</sup>

The Hesychian, or Egyptian, recension, of the fourth century, is represented by 44, 68, 71, 74, 76, 106, 107, 120, 236.

The Lucianic, or Antiochian, recension, of about A.D. 300, is represented by 19, 93 *a*, 108 *b*. P. de Lagarde,<sup>4</sup> who designates these MSS. respectively by the letters *h*, *m*, *d*, has reconstructed the Lucianic text, and placed it in parallel columns with that of the uncials. There is a very wide difference between the two types of text, but the Lucianic (known by Lagarde as *α*) contains all the six longer additions.

Certain resemblances between the details in Josephus' account and those in the Lucianic text led Langen<sup>5</sup> to argue that Josephus had in his hands the so-called Lucianic recension, and that therefore this text is not a recension of the third or fourth century, but an independent translation

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Swete, *Intr. to O. T. in Greek*, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jer., *Prol. in Esth.* ch. x, ed. Vallarsi, ix, p. 1581.

<sup>3</sup> Swete, *Intr. to O. T. in Greek*, p. 131, and *O. T. in Greek*, ii, p. 780.

<sup>4</sup> *Lib. V. T. Can. Gr.* i, 1883.

<sup>5</sup> *Tüb. Theol. Quart.* 1860, pp. 244 ff.

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from the Hebrew. But there are too many correspondences between the two types of text, especially in the Additions, for this theory to be possible.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

No Syriac version of Esther is known; the book is altogether absent from the Nestorian MSS.<sup>2</sup> Paton<sup>3</sup> writes that the Coptic versions, which would presumably give a Hesychian type of text, have never been published, while the Ethiopic version, fourteen MSS. of which are known to contain the Book of Esther, is equally inaccessible. An Armenian version of Esther also exists, but in too corrupt a form to be of any service.

The only ancient versions extant and available are the Old Latin and the Vulgate.

(1) The Old Latin belongs to the middle of the second century, and is a useful witness to the LXX text as it existed before the time of the three recensions. It is the work of one who, though not a good Greek scholar, made a faithful effort to translate the Greek original, and where he failed to understand the Greek, as in the case of the two edicts, reproduced it word for word in Latin. This makes it possible in many cases to reconstruct with comparative certainty the Greek text which lay in front of him.<sup>4</sup> The Old Latin version contained all the six Additions (except A 12-17), together with certain others peculiar to it, e.g. after B 7, in C 14, a very long addition in C 16, after C 30, in D 7. On the other hand it omits A 12-17, and (in Cod. Pechianus) C 17-23.

(2) The Vulgate was undertaken by St. Jerome at the request of Pope Damasus, and was produced between A.D. 390 and 405. He devoted himself particularly to the books which belonged to the Hebrew Canon, and paid less attention to those which were only known through the LXX.

In the case of Esther, he gathered all the non-Hebraic additions together, and placed them somewhat contemptuously at the end of his translation of the canonical book. In the *Prolog. in Esth.* he writes: 'Quae habentur in Hebraeo, plena fide expressi. Haec autem quae sequuntur scripta repperi in editione vulgata quae Graecorum lingua et litteris continetur, et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur, quod iuxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, id est veru, praenotavimus.'

Jerome's translation differs very largely from the Old Latin, the former being as free as the latter is slavishly literal. Very often he is content to give only the general sense of the Greek, and his work is more like an original Latin composition than a translation.<sup>5</sup>

### § 4. DATE OF THE ADDITIONS.

The Additions belong to that mass of floating legendary material which in the course of years gathered around the name of Esther.

It is impossible to assign a single date to them, as they are written in different styles, and may be the work of different authors, some of the additions (e.g. A C D F) having probably grown up gradually and assumed their present shape after an existence of some years in an oral tradition.

The two edicts (B and E), on the other hand, are of a quite different character from the four already mentioned which have strong Hebraic affinities: B and E belong undoubtedly to Egypt, and their periodic style shows that they could have originated in no other way than as formal written compositions. They show considerable resemblance to 2 Macc., which clearly emanated from Egypt (cf. B 5 *πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθίας τηχεῖν* with 2 Macc. xiv. 6 *ὅς ἐστιν τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθίας τηχεῖν*); but although the place of origin is clear, the date (in so far as internal evidence is concerned) is in both cases equally indeterminate.

No conclusion, again, as to the lateness of A and F is to be drawn from the failure of Josephus to employ them. It is quite as likely that they did not suit his purpose as that they were absent from the MS. he employed or from all the MSS. of that period.

The present writer is not satisfied with the arguments of Jacob against the validity of the post-script in Esther xi. 1: 'In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and a Levite, and Ptolemaeus his son, brought the Epistle of Phurrai here set forth, which they said was true, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemaeus, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.' Jacob's objection is based on the assumed impossibility of a translation with so many clearly marked examples of Egyptian vocabulary<sup>6</sup> having been made in Palestine; but he

<sup>1</sup> See Paton, *Esther*, pp. 37, 38; Fuller, p. 365; André, p. 207. A very full statement concerning the MSS. may be found in Paton, *Esther*, pp. 29-38.

<sup>2</sup> André, *Les Apocryphes*, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Esther*, pp. 36, 37.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Das Buch Esther*, Giessen, 1890, pp. 13-22.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. André, *Les Apocryphes*, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Jacob, *Das Buch Esther*, p. 51, (ἐν)θρονίζεσθαι, ἐκθέναι, καταχωρίζειν, ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, διαγράφει.



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ignores the assertion of Dositheus and Ptolemy who brought it to Egypt, that it was made by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, whose very name proclaims him to have been connected with Egypt, even if a temporary resident at Jerusalem. The postscript may be regarded as reasonably trustworthy, and various inferences may be drawn from it.

(1) It was appended to the translation of the canonical Esther immediately on its introduction into Egypt.

(2) That date was 114 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The postscript refers so definitely to the *translation* of Esther, that it cannot be held to cover the Additions, which were not translations.

(4) Some time must have passed between 114 B.C., the date of the introduction of the translation into Egypt, and the incorporation therewith of unauthentic matter. Its sacredness would have protected it from formal alterations for at least a quarter of a century.

(5) The most probable date then for the incorporation of the Additions would be from about 80 B.C. onwards, the *terminus ad quem* being about A.D. 90, the date of their employment by Josephus.

If the postscript is rejected (as by Jacob followed by Ryssel), the dating of the Additions is rendered even more indefinite. Jacob can only name one certainty with regard to date derivable from the Greek form of canonical Esther, i.e. that it must have been made at some time long or short before the destruction of the Ptolemaic régime in 30 B.C.<sup>2</sup> He also argues that Esther must have been one of the earliest of the Old Testament books to have been translated into Greek after Kings, Chronicles, and Job, which Freudenthal has shown were translated about 150 B.C.;<sup>3</sup> but Jacob's argument is mere hypothesis, however reasonable. Apart from the postscript, we are left without any means of dating the Additions more closely than between about 125 B.C. and A.D. 90.

### § 5. AUTHORSHIP.

The Additions are not a homogeneous whole, and are bound together by no community of style. This does not prevent them from being the work of one hand; for an even greater dissimilarity exists between the earlier and later chapters of the Book of Wisdom.

But there is no evidence of any kind to show whether the Additions were all composed at the same time, or were all intercalated at the same time. All that can be said is that the Additions originated among the Egyptian Hellenistic Jews, and that they are based on familiar legendary materials.

In view of the more Hebraic tone of A C D F and their simple narrative style, as contrasted with the Greek tone and self-conscious rhetoric of B and E, it is not unnatural to view the former as the written form of a tradition long known and finally reduced into its present shape by dint of frequent repetition, and to regard the latter as having originated with a single individual. It is hardly likely that the agent in the two cases was one and the same.

### § 6. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.

(a) *Hebrew*. The direct influence of the Additions is to be seen in Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 6. He draws upon Adds. B C D E, following them closely and yet employing them with by no means a slavish dependence. He introduces a few details not found in the Additions, which were either his own invention or copied from embellishments in the MS. he used. He makes no reference to the Dream of Mordecai (Add. A) or its interpretation (Add. F); he alters the time of the conspiracy of the eunuchs, and relates that the services rendered by Mordecai were forgotten, whereas the Additions say that he was rewarded. Josephus gives the reason adduced in Esther iii. 5 for Haman's hatred of Mordecai, and not that given in the Additions. He introduces new features into the Prayers of Esther and Mordecai, and into the account of Esther's appearance before the king. Similarly, he deviates from the exact language of the Greek in the Royal Edicts.

But the dependence of Josephus on the Additions is in the main beyond doubt.

The so-called second Targum gives a very free reproduction of the Edict in Addition E. This Targum dates from about A.D. 800.<sup>4</sup>

The Prayers of Mordecai and Esther were used by Josephus ben-Gorion in his history composed about the beginning of the tenth century.<sup>5</sup>

From this work has been borrowed the abbreviated form of the same prayers in *Midrash Esther*

<sup>1</sup> Jacob, *Das Buch Esther*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Jacob, *op. cit.* p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Targum Sheni on Esther, viii. 13, quoted by Fuller, p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Breithaupt, Gotha, 1707, ii, pp. 72-84.

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*Rabba* (cent. xi, xii), and also the Prayer of Esther in *Midrash Lekach Tob* (c. 1100). It is also the source of the Prayers of Esther and Mordecai which are found in an Aramaic fragment of cent. xi or xii.<sup>1</sup> This fragment, which was claimed by Langen<sup>2</sup> as a witness to a Hebrew original of the Additions, is now clearly recognized by Bissell<sup>3</sup> and Fuller (p. 364) as being derived, through Josephus ben-G., from the Greek Additions. Fuller quotes the Prayer of Mordecai in this version, p. 385, and that of Esther, p. 391.

(b) *Christian*. The Additions are occasionally mentioned in the Fathers, but they can hardly be said to have exercised any influence. Clement of Rome (ch. lv) makes a reference to the Prayer of Esther, *ἡξίωσεν τὸν παντεπύπτην δεσπότην*, cp. Add. D 2 *ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην Θεόν*; while Origen writes (*ad Africanum* 3): 'From the Book of Esther neither the Prayer of Mordecai nor that of Esther is accepted among the Hebrews; and similarly neither the Edict of Haman for the destruction of the Jews nor that of Mordecai.'

Nevertheless, he held these Additions 'to be fitted to edify the reader', and he regarded their absence from the Hebrew Canon as no reason for 'rejecting as spurious the copies in use in the Christian Churches', or for 'enjoining the Brotherhood to put away the sacred copies in use among them'. References to the Additions are found in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 19; Rufin. *Apol.* ii. 33; Aug. (cf. Sab. *Bibl. Sac. lat. vers. ant.*) *Contr. Epist.* ii. *Pelag.*, col. 428; *L. de grat. et lib. arb.*, col. 741.

### § 7. THEOLOGY OF THE ADDITIONS.

The theology of the Additions is strictly conservative and Palestinian in type. It stands in the same category with that of Ecclesiasticus, ch. xxxiii (xxxvi), xlii, xliii, the Prayer of Daniel (Dan. ix), and the Prayer of Judith (Judith ix).

The absence of all trace of Alexandrine doctrine can only be accounted for on the assumption that the Additions took their rise in a pious and simple-minded stratum of orthodox Egyptian Judaism, or else were based on legendary material belonging to Palestine which had nearly crystallized into the shape we know when it was carried in an oral form to Egypt. The truth probably lies somewhere between these alternatives.

The points which find illustration in the Additions are:—

God as Creator, C 3; as omniscient, C 5, 26, 27, D 2; as supreme, C 2, 4, 23, 30, E 16, 18; as the only true God, C 14; as the God of Abraham, C 8, 29, and of Israel, C 14; as having chosen Israel, C 9, 16, E 21; as the Redeemer from Egypt, C 9; His disposing Providence, D 8, E 16, F 1, 7; His readiness to hear prayer, F 6, 9; and to help the needy in trouble, C 14, 24, 30; His holiness, C 17; His righteousness, C 18; His jealousy of His honour, C 7, 8, 20, 22, 28, 29; His punishment of sin, C 17, 22, E 18; His mercy and pity, C 10.

There is no mention of the Law or of a future life; the temple and the altar are only mentioned metaphorically (D 20). There is one reference to angels (D 13).

### § 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

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<sup>3</sup> *Apoc. O. T.* 1880, p. 202.

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## THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER

### ADDITION A.

#### *The Dream of Mordecai.*

- 1 (xi) (2) In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great king, on the first day of Nisa, Mardocheus the son of Jairus, the son of Semeias, the son of Kiseus, of the tribe of Benjamin, saw a dream.
- (3) 3(4) *He was a Jew*, dwelling in the city of Susa, a great man, serving in the king's court; and he was of the captivity, which Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon carried from Jerusalem with Jechonias, the king of Judaea.
- 4 (5) And this *was* his dream; and behold noise and tumult, thunders and earthquake, confusion upon the earth.
- 5 (6) And, behold, two great dragons came forth, both of them ready to fight, and their cry was great.
- 6 (7) And at their cry every nation made itself ready for war, to make war upon a nation of righteous men.
- 7 (8) And behold a day of darkness and of gloom; tribulation and anguish; affliction and great confusion upon the earth.
- 8 (9) And the whole righteous nation was troubled, fearing the evils that threatened them, and they made ready to perish.

ADDITION A, *vv.* 1-11. *The Dream of Mordecai.* Addition A consists of 17 *vv.*, and in the LXX is placed at the beginning of the canonical Book. These *vv.* are numbered in Vulg. xi. 2-xii. 6. By an easily explained process of inversion, it follows Add. F in Vulg., which thus places the interpretation of the dream before the dream itself.

In Vulg. this Add. is separated from Esther xi. 1 by the following note: 'Hoc quoque principium erat in editione Vulgata, quod nec in Hebraeo, nec apud ullum fertur interpretum.' Josephus shows no acquaintance with any part of this Addition.

1. **In the second year.** There is a discrepancy between the dates as given in canon. Esther and in the Additions. In Esther i. 3 the king's feast occurs in the third year of his reign, and in Esther ii. 16, 19 Esther entered the palace and Mordecai sat at the gate in the seventh. But here the dream is seen in the second year. Ryssel (Kautzsch, p. 193) makes an elaborate attempt to reconcile the discordant dates, but it is better to acknowledge the difficulty than to try to explain it away.

**Artaxerxes.** For the identity of this king with Xerxes I (486-465 B.C.) see Paton, *Esther*, Intr., § 22. In canon. Esther LXX renders Ahasuerus by Artaxerxes, but Persian monuments make it plain that Ahasuerus represents *Khsayarsha*, the Persian form of the name Xerxes. Uncial texts of the Adds. give *Artaxerxes*, though some of the later Lucianic recensions correct to *Assuerus*.

**the great king,** the customary title of the Persian king. Cf. Isa. xxxvi. 4, 13. So Add. B 1, E 1, though > βασιλεύς N A.

**first day of Nisa.** Vulg. *Nisan*, the Heb. form of the Bab. *Nisannu*, which after the exile replaced the old Isr. name Abib. This month corresponds to March-April. Lucianic texts give the name according to Macedonian reckoning, 'Adar-Nisan, which is Dystrus Xanthicus.'

**Mardocheus,** the Gr. form of Mordecai. His genealogy is borrowed from canon. Esther ii. 5. Shimei and Kish are doubtless not his grandfather and great-grandfather, but remote ancestors belonging to the tribe of Benjamin. For Shimei cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 5 ff., and for Kish, father of Saul, cf. 1 Sam. ix. 1, xiv. 51. See Paton, *Est.* p. 167.

**of the tribe of Benjamin.** Mordecai was thus, as a member of the family of Saul, the hereditary enemy of Haman, who was of the house of Agag, whom Saul destroyed (1 Sam. xv).

2. **a Jew.** Mordecai, though a Benjamite, may be classed as a Jew, because during the exile men of all tribes came to be known as Judaeans. After the fall of Israel, Judah had given its name to the nation.

**city of Susa.** One of the three capitals of the Persian empire, on the river Choaspes, which separated the city of Susa from the fortress of Susa.

**serving,** see Esther ii. 19, vi. 10. Vulg. 'inter primos aulae regiae'.

3. **of the captivity,** cf. Esther ii. 6; 2 Kings xxiv. 15. He was not himself a captive, but was sprung from an exiled family.

Jechonias (Jehoiachin) was carried away in B.C. 596, and therefore it is a chronological impossibility for Mordecai to have been himself one of those deported from Judaea.

4. **his dream.** For the interpretation see Add. F.

**noise and tumult.** φωναι θορύβου A.

**confusion.** και ταραχος N<sup>o</sup> A.

5. **came forth.** προσελθον A.

**their cry.** ἐγένοντο αὐτῶν φωναι μεγάλαι A.

6. **made itself ready.** For a similar concurrence cf. Joel iii. 2, Zech. xiv. 2.

**righteous men.** A conventional epithet for the people of God, cf. Wisd. x. 15, 'A holy people and a blameless seed,' and xvii. 2. The enemies of Israel were similarly ἀσεβεις, ἄνομοι.

7. **gloom.** Vulg. *discriminis*. For the idea cf. Joel ii. 2; Matt. xxiv. 29.

8. **that threatened them.** Gr. τὰ ἐναντῶν κακά.



# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. A 9-17

- 9 (10) And they cried unto God; and from their cry, as it were from a small spring, there came up a great river, *even* much water.
- 10 (11) A light and the sun rose, and the humble were exalted and consumed the glorious.
- 11 (12) And Mardocheus, having seen this dream and *observed* what God had determined to do, awoke and kept it in his heart, and sought by all means to understand it until the night.

## Mordecai discovers the plot of the two eunuchs.

- 12(xii)(1) And Mardocheus took his rest, as was his custom, in the court with Gabatha and Tharra, the two eunuchs of the king who kept the court.
- 13 (2) And he heard their communings, and searched out their counsels, and learned that they were preparing to lay hands upon Artaxerxes the king; and he informed the king concerning them.
- 14 (3) And the king examined the two eunuchs and they confessed *their intention* and were led forth and executed.
- 15 (4) And the king wrote these things for a memorial, and Mardocheus wrote concerning these things.
- 16 (5) And the king charged Mardocheus to serve in the court, and gave him gifts in respect of these things.
- 17 (6) And Haman, the son of Hamadathus, a †Bugeacat, was in honour in the king's sight, and sought to bring evil upon Mardocheus and his people because of the two eunuchs of the king.

9. **cried unto God.** The name of God is not present in canon. Esther. The Additions offer a strong contrast in this respect. 'God' and 'Lord' appearing forty-two times.

from their cry. Mingled, i.e., with their tears.

10. **light and the sun.** For these as pictures of happiness cf. Wisd. v. 6.

the humble. The Old Lat. has *humiles*, but Lucianic MSS. have *oi poranoi* by a copyist's error.

the glorious. The adj. is plural, but Haman is specially thought of. Cf. A 17: 'Haman ... was in honour in the king's sight.'

11. **having seen.** *ὁ ἰδωνός* N A.

had determined. *βουλευόμενος* A.

kept it. Cf. Luke ii. 19.

until the night. > Vulg. There is nothing in the Adds. to suggest that the conspiracy of the eunuchs did not follow immediately upon the dream of Mordecai. But canon. Esther places the former in the seventh year of the king's reign. The Luc. texts endeavour to harmonize the accounts by reading: 'And M. being raised from his sleep pondered what the dream might be, and his dream was hidden in his heart, and at every opportunity he was searching it out, until the day in which M. slept in the king's court.'

ADDITION A, 9-17. *Mordecai discovers the plot of the two eunuchs.* This piece (cf. Esther ii. 21-23) which forms part of Add. A is omitted by Old Lat. Josephus depends on LXX for his account of the plot.

12. **as was his custom.** *ἡνικαύετο* N<sup>ms</sup>. Mordecai's circumstances were still humble. Cf. Esther ii. 19-21.

Gabatha. The names of the eunuchs are borrowed from Esther ii. 21, vi. 2, though the names are given by LXX only in N<sup>ms</sup>. For *Gabatha* (Bighthan, Bighthana, Heb.) Vulg. has 'Hagatha', and Jos. *ἡγαθῶν*.

Tharra (Teresh, Hebr.). *Θάρρα* N<sup>ms</sup>, *Θάρρα* N<sup>ms</sup>, *Θάρρα* Jos., 'Thara' Vulg.

13. **counsels.** lit. *οὐκίαι*, concerning the success of the plot.

informed the king. In Esther ii. 22 he informed Esther.

concerning them. *Super eo* Vulg.

14. **led forth.** Complut. has the curious *ἀνιχθῆναι* (*were strangled*). 'Iussit duci ad mortem' Vulg.

15. **for a memorial.** In the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia (Esther x. 2).

16. **charged Mardocheus to serve.** In canon. Esther no recompense is made to Mordecai. His deed is embalmed and forgotten in the royal chronicles. Cf. Esther ii. 23, vi. 2, 3. In the Adds. his reward is service in the king's court, an advancement from a merely tolerated presence there.

in respect of these things. *πρὸς ταῦτα*, i.e. not on account of the eunuchs, but in return for services rendered (*pro delatione*, Vulg.).

17. **And Haman.** It is not easy to see how much is implied by *and*. The mention of Haman follows in the Adds. immediately on the discovery of the plot, and suggests that the grudge borne by Haman (who was already in high favour) against Mordecai was in some way due to the action which M. had taken and which had led to their death. Canon. Esther iii. 1, on the other hand, states that 'after these things' the king exalted Haman, as though H. received credit for the discovery of the plot. Haupt (*Purim*, p. 37) suggests that instead of telling the queen (Esther ii. 22) M. had revealed the plot to Haman, who had taken to himself the credit of saving the king. This would explain the advancement of Haman, and M.'s refusal to bow before him. But Haupt's suggestion is too subtle: the reason is probably to be found in H.'s jealousy of a successful underling, whose vigilance might one day be directed against himself.

a †Bugeacat. Undoubtedly a corrupt reading, though found also in Esther iii. 1 and ix. 10 LXX.

Whatever the epithet may mean, it is derived from the LXX rendering of Esther iii. 1 (Heb. *בִּגְמָתוֹ*, Vulg. 'qui erat de stirpe Agag'), which prompted its gratuitous introduction into ix. 10 LXX. It is obvious that the LXX version of Esther iii. 1 was earlier than the composition of any of the Additions, and therefore that *Bugeacat* did not originate with their author. It should be noted that in Esther ix. 24 the Heb. text is as in Esther iii. 1, but is there rendered by LXX & *Μακεδών* (Vulg. 'stirpis Agag'); this rendering is borrowed by the author of Addition E (v. 10).

What then does *Bugeacat* mean? Is it a false transliteration for what should have been *Βυζαντινός* (cp. *Βυζαντινός* 93a), or has it a meaning of its own?

There is no reasonable ground for identifying the word with the Homeric *bully*, or *braggart* (H. xiii. 524, *bully* can

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. B 1-5

## ADDITION B.

### *The Letter of Artaxerxes.*

- 1 (xiii) (1) Now the copy of the letter is as follows. The great king Artaxerxes writeth these things to the princes of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces from India to Ethiopia, and to the subordinate governors.
- 2 (2) Having become lord of many nations and attained dominion over the whole world, not as though I am elated with the presumption of power, but as one who ever rule my life with moderation and mildness, I desire to establish the lives of my subjects in a lasting tranquillity, and, making my kingdom peaceable and safe for passage to its furthest bounds, to restore that peace which is desired of all men.
- 3 (3) But having made inquiry of my advisers how this might be brought to pass, Haman, who excels in prudence among us, and is approved for his unswerving goodwill and firm faithfulness and is
- 4 (4) exalted to the second place in the kingdom, has shown us that among all the nations in the world there is scattered a certain evilly-disposed people, which sets itself in opposition to every nation by its laws, and which habitually neglects the ordinances of the kings, so that the consolidation of the kingdom honourably intended by us cannot be brought about.
- 5 (5) Having understood therefore that this nation stands alone in opposition to all men continually,

it be regarded as a Grecized form of Bagoas (Judith xii. 11). Its presence here is due to a mistake which first occurred in Esther iii. 1, either in the original transliteration from the Hebrew, or in subsequent MS. transcription. What was originally a piece of inadvertence was confirmed into an error by a copyist who did not see in the expression a reference to the predestined antipathy between Mordecai of the family of Saul, and Haman of the family of Agag (cf. 1 Sam. xv). Amalek was Israel's most ancient enemy. *Ῥωγαῖος* of 93*a* and *Μακεδών* (Esther ix. 24 LXX) bring out the idea better than *Βοργαῖος*, even if incorrectly.

For Haman, the son of Hamadathus, see Paton, *Est.* p. 69.

because of the two eunuchs. Luc. texts have *ὑπὲρ τοῦ λελαληκέναι αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῶν εὐνούχων διότι ἀνερρέθησαν*.

ADDITION B. *The Letter of Artaxerxes.* Addition B (xiii. 1-7) is preceded in Vulg. by Add. A, being separated from it by the following note: 'Hucusque proemium. Quae sequuntur, in eo loco posita erant ubi scriptum est in volumine *Et diripuerunt bona, uel substantias eorum*, quae in sola Vulgata editione reperimus, *Epistolae autem hoc* . . .'

The place of Add. B in LXX is between Esther iii. 13 and Esther iii. 14. Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 6. 6) has made copious use of this Add.

Its Greek provenance is betrayed by its turgid style, which is altogether foreign to other Persian decrees to be found in the Bible (Ezra i. 2-4, iv. 18-22, vi. 3-12, vii. 11-26). The same trait appears in Add. F, both these rescripts being of Graeco-Egyptian composition.

1. **The great king**, cf. A. 1. Cf. the inscription on the rock of Behistun, 'the great king, the king of kings.' **one hundred and twenty-seven provinces.** This number is drawn from Esther i. 1, viii. 9, and may reasonably be regarded as symbolic and indicating ( $12 \times 10 + 7$ ) the universal dominion of Xerxes.

If, on the other hand, it is treated as historical, we are reminded of Dan. vi. 1, which tells how Darius appointed satraps over 120 provinces, and the suggestion is that the kingdom of Xerxes was greater even than that of Darius. According to Herodotus (iii. 89) there were only twenty satrapies in the kingdom of Darius, or, according to his own inscriptions, twenty-nine; hence, *provinces* (Hebr. *medinah*) would refer to subdivisions of satrapies corresponding to racial groupings. Paton, *Est.* p. 124, mentions that in Ezra ii. 1 the 'province' means no more than Judaea, which was only a part of the great satrapy of Trans-Euphrates (Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus).

**India.** Not modern India, but its north-west portion which is watered by the Indus. For the conquest of India by Darius see Hdt. iii. 94-106.

**Ethiopia.** The modern Nubia. Hdt. iii. 97 relates the subjection of Ethiopia by Cambyses.

**India to Ethiopia** is borrowed from Esther i. 1, viii. 9 LXX (cf. Dan. iii. 1 LXX), the former representing Hebr. *Hōddū* and the latter rightly *Kush*.

2. **I desire**, lit. *I desired*, in the epistolary manner. **and, making . . . furthest bounds.** > Vulg. There is a slight anacoluthon here, which is removed if for *παρεξόμενος* we read *παροσχέιν*.

**peaceable.** For *ἡμερον*, lit. *same*, i. e. through building cities and roads, A and many cursives read *ἡμερον*.

3. **my advisers.** Cf. Esther i. 13-15. **among us**, i. e. at our court. **unswerving.** Reading with Complut. *ἀπαρράλκτω* for *-ως* B N A.

**second place in the kingdom**, i. e. next after the king. Cf. Dan. v. 7. But Haman is not named among the counsellors of the king in Esther i. 14. There is something to be said for Fritzsche's *βασιλειῶν* N B instead of Swete's *βασιλειῶν*. The latter is what we should expect, but in Esther i. 10 LXX Haman is called one of the seven eunuchs that ministered to the king. However, 'the second place in the palace' is a comparatively inferior position.

4. **evilly-disposed people.** Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6. 5; Esther iii. 8. **in opposition.** *ἀντίθετον* B, *ἀντίστον* N A. **ordinances.** *προστάγματα* B, *διατάγματα* B<sup>ab</sup> (dia- over an erasure) N A. **be brought about.** *καταβιβασθαι*. Fritzsche's *καθίστασθαι* is hardly necessary.

5. **in opposition.** *ἐν ἀντιπαράγωγῃ*, a military metaphor, lit. *lies in hostile formation against*. Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 20.



# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. B 5—C 5

- observing perversely an alien manner of life in respect of its laws and being ill-affected towards our  
 6 (6) government, working all the damage it can that our kingdom may not attain to security, we have  
 decreed accordingly that they that are indicated to you in the letters of Haman, who is set over our  
 affairs and *is* our second father, be all with wives and children destroyed root and branch by the  
 sword of their enemies without pity or mercy, on the *fourteenth day* of the twelfth month Adar in  
 7 (7) the present year; that they who in days past and *even* now are malicious may in one day go down  
 violently into Hades, and may henceforth leave our state secure and unthreatened.

## ADDITION C.

### *The Prayer of Mordecai.*

- 1 (xiii) (8) And *Mordochens* besought the Lord, calling to remembrance all the works of the Lord, and said,  
 2 (9) 'Lord, Lord, King that rulest over all, for in Thy power is the whole world, and there is none that  
 3 (10) gainsayeth Thee when Thou wiltest to save Israel: for Thou didst make heaven and earth, and  
 4 (11) every wondrous thing beneath the heaven; and Thou art Lord of all, and there is not *one* that shall  
 resist Thee, the Lord.  
 5 (12) 'Thou knowest all things; Thou knowest, Lord, that it was not in insolence or in pride or in  
 vainglory that I did this, *to wit*, that I did not bow before proud Haman.

observing perversely. παραλλόισαν, by a solecistic use. This seems to make ξενίζουσιν superfluous; accordingly  
 Fritzsche suggests παραφυλάισαν, but Jos. supports the text. παραλλόισαν N<sup>20</sup> A.

manner . . . laws, i.e. the Mosaic law. νόμων is very loosely joined to διαγωγῆν.  
 that our kingdom. συντελοῖν καὶ καὶ πρὸς. I omit καὶ which has crept in through dittography. N<sup>2</sup> points in  
 this direction.

6. accordingly. > οὖν N<sup>20</sup> A.  
 set over our affairs. Vulg. renders 'qui omnibus prouinciis praepositus est, et secundus a rege'. Cf. Dan.  
 v. 7.

our second father. Vulg. has 'quem patris loco colimus'. Cf. Add. E 11. The expression reflects the king's  
 regard for Haman (cf. Esther vi. 11) rather than Haman's solicitude for the welfare of the king. Cf. 1 Macc. xi. 32,  
 'Demetrius the king to Lathenes his father, greeting.'

be . . . destroyed. ἀπολέσαι B N A, delentur Vulg. In some ways ἀπολέσθαι would be smoother, as the subject  
 of ἀπολέσαι is not named.

sword of their enemies. ἐθνῶν μάχαις A can hardly be intentional.  
 on the *fourteenth day*. This should no doubt be *thirteenth*; cf. Esther iii. 13, viii. 12, ix. 1, E 20. The  
 error is due to a confusion between the day fixed for the massacre and the day fixed for the commemorative festival;  
 cf. Esther ix. 16-19. No very careful attempt was originally made to remove discrepancies between the canonical  
 book and the Additions.

Adar. Luc. texts have the Macedonian 'Dystri'.  
 7. our state. πράγματα B N rightly, but A, recalling v. 4, has προστειγμένα. After πρ. Old Lat. has (cf. E 24)  
 'qui autem celebrauerit gentes Iudaeorum inhabitabilis non solum inter homines sed nec inter aves; et igni sancto  
 comburetur et substantia eius in regnum conferetur. Vale.'

ADDITION C. *The Prayer of Mordecai*, *est.* 1-11. Add. C follows Esther iv. 17 in LXX, and imme-  
 diately precedes Add. D. In Vulg. it is numbered xiii. 8-xiv. 19. It is separated from xiii. 7, which forms the  
 conclusion of Add. B, by the following words: 'Hucusque exemplar epistolae. Quae sequuntur, post eum locum  
 scripta reperi, ubi legitur: *Pergensque Mordochaeus fecit omnia quae ei monderat Esther*. Nec tamen habentur in  
 Hebraico, et apud nullum penitus feruntur interpretum.'

Josephus makes free use of Add. C in *Ant.* xi. 6. 8.

1. N<sup>20</sup> A read Μαρδοχάιος ἐδεῖξθη.  
 2. Lord, Lord. κύριε θε κύριε A.

for in Thy power. This clause introduced by ὅτι establishes the assertion of the Divine Sovereignty.  
 the whole world. For τὸ πᾶν, the universe, cf. Sir. xiii. 17, xliii. 27, and Plat. *Tim.* 28 C, *Crat.* 436 E. Heaven  
 and earth are specified in next v. as the chief constituents of τὸ πᾶν. Cf. Isa. xlv. 18.

that gainsayeth Thee. For ἀντιλογεῖν, a late Gr. word, cf. ἀποφθάλμις, Wisd. xii. 14. 'Neither king nor tyrant  
 shall be able to gainsay Thee in Thy punishments.'

when Thou wiltest. ἐν τῷ θέλει, si decreueris Vulg.

4. And Thou. > καὶ A.

shall resist. Cf. Wisd. xii. 12, 'Who shall say "What hast Thou done?" or who shall resist Thy judgement?'

5. that it was . . . Haman. > Old Lat.

not in insolence. Mordecai disclaims any personal prejudice against Haman as the reason for his refusal, and  
 in v. 7 puts forward a reason savouring strongly of the morbid scrupulosity of later Judaism. Any reason which would  
 have been valid in the case of Haman, the king's representative, would have been valid also when M. appeared before  
 the king, and yet not only did M. have to bow to the king, when he became vizier, but he must have himself received  
 the homage of the people (Esther viii. 15). Ezra and Nehemiah appear to have observed the court regulations without  
 protest.

Various conjectures as to the ground for M.'s refusal are noted by Paton, *Est.* pp. 196, 197. The reason is not  
 given in canon. Esther, and that given here is purely imaginary.

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. C 6-16

- 6 (13) 'For I had been content to kiss the soles of his feet for the salvation of Israel.  
 7 (14) 'But I did this that I might not set the glory of a man above the glory of God: and I will bow before none save before Thee, my Lord, and I will not do it in pride.  
 8 (15) 'And now, Lord, God and King, the God of Abraham, spare Thy people; for the eyes of our enemies are against us to consume us, and they seek to destroy the heritage that is Thine from the beginning.  
 9 (16) 'Despise not Thy portion which Thou didst redeem unto Thyself out of the land of Egypt.  
 10 (17) Harken to my prayer, and be gracious unto Thine heritage; and turn our mourning into feasting, that we may live and sing Thy Name, O Lord; and destroy not the mouth of them that praise Thee.'  
 11 (18) 'And all Israel cried out with their might, for their death was before their eyes.'

## The Prayer of Esther.

- 12(xiv)(1) And Esther, the queen, fled in prayer unto the Lord, being seized with an agony of death. And taking off her glorious raiment, she put on garments of anguish and mourning; and instead of the choice ointments, she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she humbled her body with much fasting, and every place of the ornament of her joy she filled with her tangled hair. And she besought the Lord God of Israel and said, 'My Lord, our King, Thou art God alone; help me who stand alone, and have no helper save Thee: for my danger is in my hand.  
 16 (5) 'I have heard ever since I was born in the tribe of my family that Thou, Lord, didst take Israel out of all the nations, and our fathers from their progenitors, for an everlasting inheritance, and that Thou didst for them all that Thou didst promise.'

6. Mordecai acknowledges that his attitude towards Haman has brought this calamity on his people. to kiss the soles. Cf. Xen. Cyr. vii. 5. 32, a token of homage apparently reserved for kings. Cf. Isa. xlix. 23, 'lick the dust of thy feet.'

7. the glory of a man. Ryssel quotes Dan. iii. 18; 2 Macc. vii. 2. will not do it, i.e. will refuse to give homage to Haman.

8. God and. > ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς. Cf. Vulg. eyes... are against us. ἐπιβλέπουσιν. Cf. Lat. in-videre.

heritage. For κληρονομία in the sense of God's special possession of Israel cf. Ps. xxviii. 9, xciv. 5.

9. Thy portion. For μερίς cf. Sir. xvii. 18. These words seem to be a reminiscence of Deut. ix. 26 LXX καὶ ἐξολοθρευσε... τὴν μερίδα σου ἣν ἐλυσσάσω... ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.

10. heritage. For κληρος cf. Deut. ix. 29; 'sorti et funiculo tuo' Vulg.

mourning into feasting. Cf. Isa. lxi. 3, and for εὐωχία 3 Macc. vi. 30.

destroy not. μὴ ἀφανίσῃς, lit. 'blot not out'; Vulg. suggests the idea of the cessation of spoken praise and renders freely, 'ne claudas ora te canentium.' It is the living who praise God, cf. Isa. xxxviii. 19. For στόμα B, τὸ στ. A, καὶ has τὸ στόμα, which is impossible, but καὶ corrects to στόμα.

11. all Israel. With this cf. Esther iv. 16.

with their might. ἐξ ἰσχύος πάντων. Cf. Dan. iii. 4, iv. 11, ἐν ἰσχύει, and Isa. xlii. 13. Vulg. has 'pari mente et obsecratione'.

12. 12-30. The Prayer of Esther.

12. fled. Cf. Ps. cxx. 1.

an agony. For ἐν ἀγῶνι some cursives have ἀγωνία. Cf. Luke xxii. 44. Esther's condition was one of great perplexity: she was beset on one side by the stringent rules of the court etiquette, and on the other by her patriotism and the outspoken insistency of Mordecai (Esther iv. 13, 14).

13. taking off. Cf. Jonah iii. 6.

glorious raiment, including the δαδηναι (Esther i. 11, ii. 17). Cf. Ps. xlv. 14; Isa. iii. 18 ff.

garments of anguish. Cf. Judith viii. 5. Sackcloth is no doubt intended.

ointments. As symbols of joy. Cf. Ps. xlv. 8, cxxxiii. 2; Isa. lxi. 3.

covered her head. κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἄσπετον. Cf. Judith ix. 1.

humbled her body. σώμα αὐτῆς καὶ ἄσπετον. Cf. 'to afflict the soul with fasting', Lev. xvi. 29; Ps. xxxv. 13.

every place. It would be most natural to interpret this of her apartments, but as the entire passage refers to the disfigurement of Esther's person, it must mean that her torn hair fell over the sackcloth she was clothed in.

14. And... Israel. Old Lat. substitutes 'and she fell upon the earth with her maidens from morning until evening'.

My Lord. κύριε ὁ θεὸς μου A. Cf. v. 2.

My Lord... alone. Old Lat. substitutes 'Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Jacob, benedictus es'.

Thou art God alone, following Swete's punctuation, lit. 'Thou alone hast being'. Cf. Ps. lxxvi. 10. R.V. has 'Thou only art our King'. But this does not bring out the idea of God's absolute sovereignty so well. Note the Gr. σὺ εἶ μόνος βοηθῆσάν μοι τῇ μῶνῃ.

15. ἐν τῇ χειρὶ μου A.

16. I have heard. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 7; Ps. xlv. 1.

didst take Israel. Cf. Deut. iv. 20, 34, xxvi. 5; Joshua xxiv. 3.

progenitors. So R.V. for προγόνων, better than A.V. predecessors.

inheritance. Deut. xxxii. 9.

didst promise. A inserts αἰδοίς.

For v. 16-23 (ὅτι σὺ... ἐλίσφεις ἡμῶν) Old Lat. has 'quoniam Noe in aqua diluvii conservasti. Ego audiui in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Abraham in trecentis et decem octo vris novem reges tradidisti. Ego audiui



# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. C 17-25

- 17 (6) 'And now we have sinned before Thee, and Thou hast delivered us into the hands of our enemies,  
 18 (7) because we have given glory to their gods. Righteous art Thou, O Lord.  
 19 (8) 'And now they have not been satisfied with the bitterness of our captivity, but they have laid  
 20 (9) their hands (in the hands of their idols), to remove the ordinance of Thy mouth, and to destroy  
 Thine inheritance, and to stop the mouth of them that praise Thee, and to quench the glory of Thy  
 21 (10) house, and Thy altar, and to open the mouth of the nations to give praise to vain idols, and that  
 a king of flesh should be magnified for ever.'  
 22 (11) 'Surrender not, O Lord, Thy sceptre unto them that be not gods; and let not them that are our  
 enemies mock at our fall: but turn their counsel against themselves, and make an example of him  
 that began to do this against us.  
 23 (12) 'Remember (us), O Lord; make Thyself known to us in the time of our tribulation, and give me  
 courage, O King of the gods and Lord over all dominion.  
 24 (13) 'Put eloquent speech into my mouth before the lion; and turn his heart to hatred of him that  
 fighteth against us, that there may be an end of him and of them that are likeminded with him.  
 25 (14) 'But save us by Thy hand, and help me who stand alone, and have none save Thee, O Lord.

in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Iamam de ventre ceti liberasti. Ego audiui in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Ananiam Azariam Misahel de camino ignis liberasti. Ego audiui in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Daniel de laeu leonum erasti. Ego audiui in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Eas hinc regi Iudaeorum morte damnato et oranti pro vita misertus es et donasti ei vitae annos quindecim. Ego audiui in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu Annae petenti in desiderio animae, filii generationem dedisti. Ego audiui in libris paternis meis Domine quoniam tu complacentes tibi liberas Domine usque in finem.

17. And now. *ὅτι* A.

we have sinned. Cf. Dan. ix. 16. The Prayer of Esther recalls the tone of the Prayer of Daniel.

delivered us. Cf. Deut. iv. 27.

18. given glory. Ryssel thinks this refers to a declension into idolatry on the part of Israel while in exile. But it cannot be so: the exile is viewed as the punishment of pre-exilic idolatry. Cf. 2 Kings xvii. 10-16, 29-41, xxi. 7, 21.

Righteous. Cf. Dan. ix. 7.

19. satisfied. A late use of *ἰκανόσθαι*.

laid their hands. Vulg., failing to understand the meaning, renders 'robur manuum suarum idolorum potentiae deputantes'.

We must either render literally, 'they have applied their hands,' &c., or, following the hint supplied by *Ν\** *τὰς χεῖρας τῶν εἰδωλῶν αἰτῶν*, read with *Ν<sup>2</sup> 206* *ἵθιεν τὰς χεῖρας αἰτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν εἰδωλῶν*, and render as in text.

The mistake, as Lagarde saw, was caused by the double *χεῖρας*.

For the custom of striking hands as the outward expression of a contract or bargain cf. 2 Kings x. 15; Prov. xi. 21 LXX; Ezra x. 19; Lam. v. 6; 1 Macc. vi. 58; xi. 50, 66.

20. ordinance. *ἁγιασμός*. Cf. Dan. vi. 7, 8, 12, 15. If the *ἁγιασμοί* of the Medes and Persians were unchangeable, what an impiety to seek to overthrow those of the living God! The destruction of Israel would invalidate the determination of God to make Israel His inheritance.

mouth . . . praise. *στόματα ὑμνούντων* A. For *ὑμνῶνται* cf. Job v. 16; Ps. lxxiii. 11, cvii. 42.

house, i.e. the Temple. Cf. Isa. vi. 1. That the reference must be to the Temple of Jerusalem, still the ideal centre of the people's religion even though destroyed and its worship suspended, is plain from the mention of the altar. With the destruction of the people the altar-fire would be finally quenched. Cf. Judith ix. 8.

21. vain idols. *μύθια*, a conventional word for false gods. Cf. Lev. xvii. 7 LXX.

should be magnified. The passive *θυνασθῆναι* follows very loosely upon the active infinitives which depend on *ἵθιεν τὰς χεῖρας*. The Persian king is referred to, who will win glory for all time, as a king of flesh who has defeated the King of heaven. Vulg. loosely renders 'et laudent idolorum fortitudinem'.

22. Surrender not. For God to permit the destruction of His people is tantamount to an abdication of His throne and the power symbolized (in the case of an earthly king) by the sceptre.

them that be not gods. *τοῖς μὴ οὖσι*, i.e. those who have no being, in contrast to Jehovah, in whom being resides. Cf. *τ. 14* *σὺ εἶ μόνος*, and *Wisd. xiii. 10-19*, xiv. 13 *ὅτι γὰρ ἦν [εἰδωλὸν] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἶῶνα ἵσταται*, and 1 Cor. viii. 4.

mock. Either the subject of the verb is changed, and 'our enemies' is now the subj.; or the gods are thought of as mocking. Cf. Wisdom's mocking, Prov. i. 26, and Jehovah's, Ps. ii. 4. The former seems to suit the context better.

their counsel. *αἰτοῦ Ν\**, i.e. Haman.

make an example. *παράδειγμα* *ποιῶν*. Cf. Num. xxv. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 17; Heb. vi. 6.

him that began. Haman. 'qui in nos coepit saevire' Vulg.

23. make Thyself known. Cf. Ps. xlv. 23-26.

give me courage. In this verse Esther passes from prayer for national deliverance to prayer for personal safety (*τ. 24-25*). In support of her entreaty she urges (*τ. 26-28*) that for religious reasons, none of which is even hinted at in canon. Esther, she hates the position she is forced to occupy, and distinguishes her official duties from her personal predilections. Here again, as in *τ. 7*, we find ourselves in the atmosphere of later Judaism.

King of the gods. Cf. Ps. xcvi. 3.

24. eloquent speech. Cf. Luke xxi. 15.

before the lion. Strength is suggested, cf. Jer. xlix. 19; and terribleness, cf. Prov. xix. 12, xx. 2; Sir. xxviii. 23. The Aramaic 'Mordecai's Dream' has, 'For Thy maid feareth before him, as the kid before the lion' (*Μέρκ. Ἐθρ.*, *Targ.* p. 164).

turn his heart. For *μετατίθημι* in this sense cf. Sir. vi. 9 *φίλος μετατιθέμενος εἰς ἔχθρον*.

an end. *συντελεῖν* in this sense is used with *ἀπώλεια* 1 Macc. iii. 42.

25. have none. A assimilates to *τ. 14* by adding *ἄλλου*.

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. C 26—D 3

- 26 (15) 'Knowledge hast Thou of all things, and Thou knowest that I hate the glory of the wicked, and I  
27 (16) detest the bed of the uncircumcised and of any alien. Thou knowest my necessity, that I abhor the  
sign of my proud estate, which is upon my head in the days when I show myself openly; I abhor it  
as a menstruous rag, and I wear it not in the days of my leisure.  
28 (17) 'And Thy servant hath not eaten at the table of Haman, and I have not honoured the king's  
feast, neither have I drunk the wine of the libations.  
29 (18) 'And Thy servant hath known no joy since the day I was brought here until now, save in Thee,  
30 (19) Lord God of Abraham. O God, whose strength is over all, hear the voice of the hopeless, and save  
us from the hand of them that deal wickedly, and save me out of my fear.'

## ADDITION D.

### *The appearance of Esther before the king.*

- 1 (XV) (4) And it came to pass on the third day, when she had ceased praying, she put off her garments of  
2 (5) humiliation, and clothed herself in her glorious apparel. And being majestically adorned, she called  
3 (6) upon the all-seeing God and Saviour, and took with her two maids: and upon the one she leaned as

26. **Knowledge hast Thou . . . and Thou knowest.** Cf. St. Peter's appeal to the universal knowledge of Christ, John xxi. 17.

**I hate the glory.** It is no personal vanity that keeps Esther where she is; the glory of her high place is shame to her. Cf. Esther ii. 8-17.

**of any alien.** The prohibition of marriages with those outside the covenant dated from very early times (cf. Deut. vii. 3, 4), and came to rest on religious sentiment blended with national prejudice. In Ezra x. 2, Neh. xiii. 23 ff., we learn something of the abhorrence in which the marriage of Jewish men with heathen women was held. A, through a simple oversight, omits from 'the bed of' (v. 26) down to 'that I abhor' (v. 27).

27. **my necessity.** She is under compulsion, and as wife of a heathen king she must wear the token of her dignity, the royal crown, her badge of shame.

**sign of my proud estate.** The crown royal, a kind of peaked turban, which had to be worn when the queen appeared in public. Cf. Esther i. 11, ii. 17. For *δρασία*, *appearance*, cf. Mal. iii. 2.

**rag.** Cf. Isa. lxi. 6.

28. **hath not eaten.** Cf. Dan. i. 8, 13, 15.

**king's feast.** Cf. Esther i. 5, ii. 18.

**the libations.** Cf. Deut. xxxii. 38 LXX. One reason for Esther's abstention from the royal feasts was their heathen character. Cf. Dan. v. 3, 4. Fuller suggests that there is a reference here to the Haoma-drink, which 'was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods'. Cf. Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, p. 269.

29. **since the day I was brought,** lit. 'since the day of my change', i.e. since the day of entry into the palace.

30. **the hopeless.** For *ἀπηλπισμένων* cf. Isa. xxix. 19; Judith ix. 11.

**save us . . . save me.** Cf. v. 23. Old Lat. adds 'transfer luctum nostrum in laetitiam, dolores autem nostros in hilaritatem: surgentes autem supra partem tuam Deus palam facito, aperi Domine; cognoscere Domine'.

ADDITION D. *Esther's interview with the king*, vv. 1-16. Add. D consists of sixteen verses, and follows in LXX immediately upon Add. C. In Vulg. it is numbered xv. 4-19, and is separated from xiv. 19 by the following words, which are not unlike Esther iv. 13 ff.:

'Haec quoque addita reperi in editione Vulgata.

(1) Et mandavit ei (haud dubium quin esset Mardocheus) ut ingrederetur ad regem, et rogaret pro populo suo et pro patria sua.

(2) Memorare, inquit, dierum humilitatis tuae, quomodo nutrita sis in manu mea, quia Aman, secundus a rege, locutus est contra nos in mortem;

(3) Et tu invoca Dominum, et loquere regi pro nobis, et libera nos de morte.

*Nec non et ista quae subdita sunt.*

Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 6. 9) draws largely upon Add. D, which endeavours to show in detail what is briefly stated in Esther v. 1 f. The danger of Esther's enterprise is emphasized by the king's wrath, which serves also to set off the power of God which could turn the king's heart.

1. **the third day.** Cf. Esther iv. 16, v. 1. A. W. Streane quotes the Midrash, 'Never did the Israelites find themselves in trouble longer than three days,' and refers to Gen. xxii. 4, xlii. 17; Jonah i. 17; and Hos. vi. 2.

**when she had ended her prayer.** > Vulg.

**garments of humiliation.** *ἡμέτια θρηνητικά*, cf. D 13; so A.V. *garments of mourning*. Esther's *θραπεία* (or *servitium*, cf. Esther iv. 16, consisted in mortification and prayer. Accordingly, Fritzsche is perhaps right in emending *vest. ornatus* Vulg. to *vest. oratus*. After these words Old Lat. has 'et lavavit corpus suum aqua et unxit se unctione'.

**glorious apparel.** Cf. Esther v. 1 and Judith x. 3.

2. **majestically adorned.** *γρηθείου ἐμφυῆς*. Vulg. 'cum regio fulgeret habitu'; Jos. 'adorned herself as became a queen'.

**she called.** The religious element is as usual emphasized in non-canonical Esther.

**two maids.** So NA, instead of *τῶν δύο* B, *her two maids*. She was waited upon by seven maids (cf. Esther ii. 9), and of them she took with her only two.

For *ἄβραι* (Vulg. *famula*, but elsewhere *delicata*, i.e. pretty, delicate) cf. Gen. xxiv. 61; Judith x. 5.

The *ἄβραι* were maids of honour for the queen's personal service.

3. **she leaned.** *ἐπηρείετο*, cf. Prov. iii. 18.



# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. D 4-14

- 4(7)5(8) one that walked delicately, and the other followed *her*, holding up her train. And she herself was radiant in the perfection of her beauty, and her countenance was happy and lovely: but her heart  
6(9) was stricken with fear. And when she had passed all the doors, she took her stand before the king: now he was sitting upon his royal throne, clad in all his array of majesty, all adorned with gold and precious stones. And he was very terrible.  
7(10) And lifting up his face that flamed with glory, he looked upon *her* in fierce wrath. And the queen fell down and changed colour and swooned, and she bowed herself down upon the head of the maid who went before her.  
8(11) And God changed the spirit of the king into mildness, and in alarm he sprang up from his throne, and raised her in his arms until she came to herself again, and comforted her with reassuring words,  
9(12) and said unto her, 'What is it, Esther? I am thy brother. Be of good cheer, thou shalt not die.  
10(13) 11(14) For our commandment is *only* for our subjects. Draw near.'  
12(15) Then he raised the golden sceptre and laid it on her neck, and embraced her and said, 'Speak to me.'  
13(16) And she said unto him, 'I saw thee, my lord, as an angel of God, and my heart was dismayed for  
14(17) fear of thy glory. For wonderful art thou, lord, and thy countenance is full of grace.'

walked delicately. *ὡς τροφεμένην*, Vulg. 'quasi prae deliciis et nimia teneritudine corpus suum ferre non sustinens'. Esther adopted the languishing manner of deportment cultivated by the pampered ladies of the harem. The impression of delicateness is heightened by Esther's having a train-bearer. *ὡς τροφή*, lit. 'like a pampered, effeminate woman'.

4. train. *ἰνδοίς*, a very rare use, and *ἀπ. λεγ.* in LXX.

5. the perfection. *ἀκμή* B N A, *ὡς ἀκμή* N\*, *ἐν ἀκ. N\**. Cf. v. 7, *ἐν ἀκμή θυμοῦ*, in fierce wrath.

happy and lovely, lit. 'happy like a lovely (face)'. Old Lat. adds 'oculi autem gratissimi'.

6. passed all the doors. Cf. Esther v. 1, '[she] stood in the inner court of the king's house, over against the king's house: and the king sat upon his royal throne in the royal house, over against the entrance of the house.' Esther had entered into the inner court, in itself an act of presumption. Cf. Esther iv. 11. The throne-room opened upon the inner court, and through this door Esther passed into the immediate presence of the king.

took her stand. *κοιῶται*, but *ἵστη* N\* A.

majesty. *ἐπιφάνεια*; cf. v. 2 *ἐπιφάνης*. The regular use of *ἐπιφ.* in LXX is in connexion with the visitations of heavenly beings; cf. 2 Macc. (six times). The sculptures of Persepolis present a striking picture of the splendour of a Persian king (cf. Rawlinson, *Ancient Mon.* iv. 153). The Greeks assessed at 12,000 talents the value of the precious stones worn by Xerxes.

7. flamed with glory. > *δόξη* A, which reads *καὶ ἤρεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπρωμένον ἐν ἀκμή θυμοῦ*, and 'he lifted his face, which flamed in fullness of wrath'. For *ἀκμή* θυμ. cf. v. 5.

fierce wrath. Esther had violated the rule (see Esther iv. 11) which forbade any one to approach the king unsummoned. After *ἔβλεψεν* Old Lat. has 'et cogitabat perdere eam rex, et erat ambiguus clamans, et dixit, quis ausus est introire in aulam non vocatus?'

fell down. Cf. Esther viii. 3. But this seems to be a fall due to fear, rather than in token of obeisance. Vulg. *corruit*.

changed colour. *μετεβάλετο* N, but *μεταβάλλειν* has an intr. use.

swooned. *ἐν ἐκλίσει*. But LXX more commonly gives a milder meaning to *ἐκλιναι*, i.e. *weariness*, and Vulg. does so here, taking *ἐν ἐκλ.* with the following clause, 'lassum super ancillulam reclinavit caput'.

bowed herself down. *ἐπέκυνεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς προσπορευομένης αὐτῆς* A, *προσπορ.* N, i.e. 'who was coming towards (the king)'.

8. changed the spirit. Cf. an intr. use of *μεταβ.*, Hab. i. 11 *τότε μεταβάλει τὸ πνεῦμα*. Old Lat. has 'Deus autem iram convertit in miserationem et furem ipsius in tranquillitatem'. For *μετεβ.* N\* has *μετέλαβεν*, and conversely for *μετέλαβεν* below A has *ἀνέβαλεν*.

in alarm. *ἀγωνιάσας*, Vulg. 'festinus ac metuens'.

from his throne. > *αὐτοῦ* A.

with reassuring words, lit. *with peaceable words*. For the expr. *λόγοι εἰρηνοῖ* cf. Deut. ii. 26; Mic. vii. 3; and 1 Macc. (seven times); also Sir. iv. 8 *ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ εἰρηνοῖ ἐν πραιτέρῳ*.

9. What is it, Esther? Old Lat. adds 'soror mea Hester es et consors regni'.

thy brother. An expression of intimacy, intended to show that the king regarded Esther as really entitled to special consideration. Cf. Song of Solomon viii. 1. For the Egyptian use of *adelphos* as 'husband' cf. Witkowski, *Épist. Priv. Univ.* xxvi, p. 37, where we find a wife so addressing her husband. For the converse use of *adelphos* cf. Pap. Oxyr. iv, No. 744, and Tobit vii. 15, viii. 4, 7.

10. our commandment. Lit. *our common, is common*, i.e. it governs the king's subjects generally, but not so favoured a one as Esther. Cf. Vulg. 'non enim pro te, sed pro omnibus haec lex constituta est'. The words, preceded by 'Thou shalt not die', are a reminiscence of Esther iv. 11. Paton, however (p. 220), quotes Herodotus to the effect that people might send in a message to the king, and request an audience.

11. Draw near. Vulg. 'Accede igitur et tange sceptrum'.

12. embraced her. *τὴν Ἑσθέρ* A. The pronoun is better as in B N.

13. as an angel of God, i.e. radiant and terrible. The expression does not accord well with the scrupulosity shown by Esther in Add. C; it comes strangely from a Jew to a heathen. Perhaps this is why it does not appear either in Josephus, or the Midrash, or Ben-Gurion. Cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 9 (cod. AL); 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20; xix. 27.

for fear of. > *φόβου* A, but Vulg. has 'prae timore gloriae'.

14. full of grace. *χαρίτων μεστόν*. Cf. Ps. xlv. 2 *ὡμίση κύλπει παρὶ ταῖς γυνὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐξήχεθη ἡ χάρις ἐν χερίσιν σου*.

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. D 15—E 5

- 15 (18) But while she was speaking, she fell swooning.  
16 (19) And the king was troubled, and all his servants sought to comfort her.

## ADDITION E.

### *The Decree of Artaxerxes concerning the Jews.*

- 1 (xvi) Of which letter that which follows is a copy.

The great king Artaxerxes to the rulers of countries in one hundred and twenty-seven satrapies from India to Ethiopia, and to those who are well affected to our government, greeting.

- 2 Many, the more often they are honoured by the all too great goodwill of their benefactors, have  
3 become the more proud; and not only do they seek to injure our subjects, but, being unable to  
4 endure abundance, they take in hand to devise schemes against their own benefactors. And not  
5 only do they take thankfulness away from men, but also, being lifted up with the ostentatiousness  
of the foolish, they suppose that they shall escape the evil-hating justice of the all-surveying God.

- 5 Yea, and oftentimes many of those who have been placed in the highest positions of authority  
have been moved by the specious words of those their friends who have been entrusted with the  
administration of the government to become partakers of innocent blood, and have become involved

15. swooning. ἀπὸ ἐκλίσεως B + αὐτῆς NA, lit. because of her fainting. She fell a second time. Cf. 7, 7.

16. servants. θεραπεῖν, cura Old Lat. Cf. Gen. xlv. 16 Φαριώ καὶ ἡ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ.

ADDITION E. *The decree of Artaxerxes concerning the Jews*, xvi. 1-24. Add. E consists of twenty-four verses, and is placed in LXX between Esther viii. 12 and viii. 13. In Vulg. it is numbered xvi. 1-24, and is separated from Add. D by the words 'Exemplar epistolae regis Artaxerxis, quam pro Iudaeis ad totas regni sui provincias misit; quod et ipsum in Hebraeo volumine non habetur'. It presents an imaginary reconstruction of the edict mentioned in Esther viii. 13, which, while cancelling the earlier rescript (Add. B), instructs all the king's subjects in the most precise way to render all the aid in their power to the Jews on the thirteenth day of Adar. For the style of this Add. see note on Add. B. Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 6. 12 reproduces this letter very fully.

1. Of which letter, lit. of which things, i.e. the letter, that which follows is a copy. ὧν > X\*.

to the rulers . . . Ethiopia. The recipients are described in almost identical terms with those in Add. B. Here σατραπείας (σατραπείας N\*, σατράπεις N\*\*\*) precedes χωρίων. On satrapies see B 1, ἰδὼν χωρίων N\*.

to those who . . . government. τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονέουσιν takes the place of τοῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑποταγμένοις in B 1. N\*\*\*) A have wrongly καὶ σατραπείαις τοῖς τὰ . . . Two classes of officials are thus referred to, (a) the governors in 127 satrapies, (b) the other officials, less prominent than satraps. Vulg. supports this view with 'ac principibus qui nostrae iussioni obediunt', and this is better than to refer the clause (with Fritzsche) to subjects generally, who are mentioned unambiguously in 7, 3. Jos. seems to favour 'subjects'.

2. Many. A veiled reference to Haman. Cf. Esther iii. 1.

their benefactors. Cf. Luke xxii. 25. Their benefactors are the kings who have elevated them to their high position. A. W. Streane recalls how Ptolemy III (247-242 B.C.) obtained the actual title of εὐεργέτης (benefactor) through his restoration of the images of Egyptian gods, carried off by Cambyses to Persia.

the more proud. μᾶλλον ἐφρόνησαν. The general is interpreted by the particular in 7, 12-14.

3. abundance, i.e. the excess of the honour bestowed on them in particular. Ryssel recalls the old proverb ῥίσκεται τοῖς κόποις ὕβρις. Satiety is shown in thanklessness, 7, 4.

against their own benefactors. It has been suggested that Haman was not altogether free from participation in the plot of the two eunuchs, discovered by Mordecai (Add. A), and that Haman's hatred of Mordecai was due to his having been thwarted by him. Cf. A 17. Haman's part in the plot may be referred to here. See also Esther vii. 8.

4. thankfulness. καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐχ. NA wrongly, by dittography.

lifted up . . . foolish. 'Avidorum praesumptionibus inflammati' Old Lat. This is a nearer translation of τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγμένων κόποις ἐπαρθένης than in Vulg. 'humanitatis in se iura violare'. ἀπειραγμένων has given much concern to copyists (ὑπεραγμένων 52, ἀπειραγμένων 93 a) and to commentators, but it is a late ecclesiastical word, and (like ἀπειροκαλός) is not to be translated literally, but with the general sense of foolish. 'Men ignorant of benefits' is very clumsy. The foolish are either the parasites who fawn upon the nouveau riche, or the too highly honoured man himself.

suppose. For ὑπολαμβάν. N\*\*\*) A have διαλαύβ.

evil-hating. An attribute properly belonging to God, but here by a rhetorical licence applied to His justice. With μισοσπότης cf. μισοσπονδία, 2 Macc. iii. 1, and μισοσπονδία, 2 Macc. iv. 49, viii. 4.

5. those placed . . . positions, i.e. kings, such as Nerxes himself, who have been misled by their underlings.

specious words. πικρὴ μυσθία in the Greek is the subject of the verb, but the sentence runs more smoothly if it is turned as in text.

friends . . . entrusted. Ryssel suggests with much probability that φίλων should be rendered as in text, and not as often 'entrusted with the management of the affairs of their friends', since a king would be slow to speak of kings as the 'friends' of their subordinates. Ryssel speaks of φίλοι as the universal title of honour borne in Egypt by the highest officers of the king (cf. 1 Macc. ii. 18 and Jacob in ZATW s. 283), and translates Statthalter. Fritzsche emends φίλων to φιλοφρόνως or φιλοτίμως, but this is unnecessary.

partakers. For μετόχους B 93 b have μετατόχους, which seems better in sense, and explains the corruptions μετέχους N\* and μεταγούσσα A.

innocent blood. For αἵματα ἀθώα cf. Jer. xix. 4. Cf. Jer. ii. 34 αἵματα ψυχῶν ἀθώων.



# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. E 6-15

- 6 in irretrievable disasters, these men beguiling the innocent goodwill of their lords with the false trickery of their evil disposition.
- 7 And the things impiously accomplished through the pestilent behaviour of men who thus exercise their power unworthily may be seen not so much by an examination of the more ancient records
- 8 which have been handed down as by observation of the things near at hand; and care must be taken for the future, in order that we may render the kingdom tranquil and peaceable for all men,
- 9 not by relying upon [information]s, but by ever passing judgement with clemency and attentiveness upon the matters that are brought to our notice.
- 10 For Haman, the son of Hamadathus, a Macedonian (an alien in very truth from the Persian blood
- 11 and one who is fallen far from our favour), having been a guest among us, so far enjoyed the goodwill which we display towards every nation, that he was called our father, and continued to receive the honour of all as the second person after the royal throne.
- 12 13 But he, not bearing his proud position, took counsel to deprive us of our kingdom, and to deprive of life not only Mardocheus who is at once our saviour and perpetual benefactor, but also Esther the blameless partner of our kingdom, together with their entire nation, by manifold chicanery and
- 14 deceits asking for them to be delivered up to destruction. For through these wiles he thought to catch us isolated and to transfer the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians.
- 15 But we find that the Jews whom this trebly-dyed villain had delivered to destruction are no evil-

6. with the false trickery. τῶν τῆς κακοῦθιαν τριπλῶς Ν<sup>84</sup>. 'while they after the fashion of their malice (i.e. as malice is wont to do) by lying craft overreached.'

7. The text of this verse is slightly corrupt, though the sense is plain. ὡς ῬΑ > Ν<sup>8</sup>, παραδεδωκεται Ν<sup>84</sup>, παραδωκαμεν Β Α. ὅσα Β Α, ὅσων Ν, ἱμῶν Β Ν Α, ἱμῶν Ν<sup>8</sup>, ἐκζητούμεν Β Ν Α, ἐκζητῶν Ν<sup>8</sup>. Accepting Fritzsche's ὡς παραδωκαμεν ('which they, i.e. our predecessors, handed down'), I read as follows: σκοπὴν δὲ ζήτησι, οὐ τοσοῦτον ἐκ τῶν παλαιτέρων ὡς παραδωκαμεν ἱστορίαν ὅσον τὰ παρὰ πόδας ἡμῶν ἐκζητοῦνται, τὰ ἡμῶν συντελεσμένα.

exercise . . . unworthily. The text here is corrupt. ἀνάξια δυναστεύοντων Β, ἄξια δυναστεύειν | το Ν<sup>8</sup>, ἄξια δυναστεύοντων Ν<sup>84</sup>, ἀξιοδυναστεύοντων Α. Fritzsche's ἀνάξια, . . . λοιμότητι is not very satisfying, besides which τῶν is in the wrong place. I suggest either to read with Cod. 248 τῶν ἀνάξια δυναστεύοντων, or to follow the hint given by Α and accept the rather long compound τῇ τῶν ἀξιοδυναστεύοντων λοιμότητι. It is just possible that ἀνάξια as in Β might be right, the use being adverbial as in ἀνάξια πράττειν; but a suggestion made by Ryssel, ἀνάξια (dat. of subst. formed from ἀνάξιον), cannot be entertained.

which . . . handed down. ὡς παραδωκαμεν would mean 'as we handed down', but it would not fit with τῶν παλ. ἱστ., which refer to chronicles of an earlier age. A. W. Streane refers to the inscription on the rock of Behistun, which, recording events in the reign of Xerxes' predecessor, Darius Hystaspes (522-485 B.C.), tells of the rebellions of Smerdis and Gomatas. Fuller's 'as we have made clear' might be a translation of παραδείξαμεν, but not of παραδεδωκαμεν.

the things near at hand. τὰ παρὰ πόδας ἡμῶν. Cf. the prov. τὰ πρὸς ποσὶν ἀκούει.

8. care must be taken. Before προσέχειν supply ζήτησι from v. 7.  
in order that we. Unless εἰς τὸ . . . παρεῖναι is a colloquialism, which is not to be expected in this passage, we must emend εἰς τὸ τὸ ὅπως, or else, following Codd. 52, 64, 243, 248, read ὥστε, and emend παρὲξ, to παρῆχειν or παρῆξειν.

9. [information]s. Fritzsche, following Ν<sup>84</sup> Α, inserts οἱ, and for μεταβολῶν Β Ν Α suggests διαβολαί, which is found in Luc. texts, and is perhaps supported by *variatio* in Old Lat., and *si diversa tubemus* Vulg., both of which may point to an earlier corruption διαφραῖς. οὐ χροῦμεναι τοῖς διαβολαίς, as translated in text, is supported by Jos. Ant. xi. 6. 12, 'it is not fit to attend any longer to calumnies.'

With this change of text, there is no longer the question of the formal revocation of the earlier edict (Add. B), a step which would seem to be opposed to the Persian rule stated in Dan. vi. 8, 12. Cases are indeed cited where Persian kings have repealed their edicts, but the strongest argument for a change of text seems to lie in the evident antithesis between the first and second clauses of v. 9.

10. ὡς γὰρ Ἀμὴν Β Ν Α. I suggest ὡς γὰρ.

a Macedonian. Vulg. 'et animo et gente Macedo'. Cf. Esther ix. 24 LXX, which renders by Μακεδῶν the same Hebr. expression as in Esther iii. 1 is rendered Βουγαίος. The word is no doubt intended to represent Haman as a traitor, but it is probably employed as a word held in odium by the Jews, who associated it with Antiochus Epiphanes, the hated reversionary in Syria of the Macedonian power.

an alien. Both 'Agagite' and 'Macedonian' describe Haman as a foreigner. Cf. also the plot ascribed to him in v. 14. His malignity is emphasized by ἐπιεισθῆναι: he had enjoyed the privileges of hospitality.

11. our father. Cf. Add. B 6 and v. 3. For 'father' as a complimentary title cp. Witkowski, *Ép. Priv.*, p. 50.  
as the second person. Cf. Esther iii. 1: see also 2 Chron. xxviii. 7, and 1 Esdras iii. 7 δευτέρου καθὼς ἐστὶν Δαρείου, καὶ συγγενὲς Δ. ἐληθῆσεται.

12. deprive . . . kingdom. For Haman's motive, however, cf. A 17 and Esther iii. 5. See also Esther iii. 11. It is difficult to see what Haman could hope to gain by the motive attributed to him here and in v. 14.

13. benefactor. As recorded in the royal chronicles, Esther vi. 1. Paton writes (p. 245): 'It was a point of honour with the Persian kings to reward promptly and magnificently those who conferred benefits upon them (cf. Her. iii. 138, 140; v. 11; viii. 85; ix. 107). According to Her. viii. 85 the Persians had a special class of men known as *Orosangai*, or "benefactors of the king".'

14. these wiles. > τούτων Α.

transfer. μεταξὺ Β Ν Α, μεταλλάξει 44 74 76 106 120 236.

15. trebly-dyed. τρισαλιγῆρος. Cf. 2 Macc. viii. 34, xv. 3.

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. E 16—F 1

- 16 doers, but govern themselves with the most righteous laws, and are sons of the Most High, Most  
 17 Mighty, Living God, who ordereth the kingdom both for us and for our fathers with the most  
 18 excellent governance.  
 19 Ye will do well therefore not to give effect to the letters sent by Haman the son of Hamadathus,  
 20 because the man himself who wrought these things has been hanged with all his house at the gate  
 21 of Susa; for God that ruleth over all hath speedily rendered unto him the justice that he merits.  
 22 Now *therefore* display the copy of this letter openly in every place, and suffer the Jews to obey  
 23 their own laws, and reinforce them so that on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar, on the  
 24 selfsame day, they may defend themselves against those who attacked them in the time of their  
 25 affliction: for this day hath the God who ruleth over all made to be unto them *a day of gladness*  
 26 instead of the day of destruction for the chosen race.  
 27 Do ye also therefore, among your commemorative festivals keep *it* a notable day with all good  
 28 cheer, that both now and hereafter it may be a day of salvation to us and to the Persians friendly to  
 29 us, but a memorial of destruction to those who conspire against us.  
 30 And every city or country without exception which shall not do according to these commands  
 shall fall under our wrath and be destroyed with fire and sword; it shall be rendered not only  
 unpassable for men, but also hateful for all time to beasts and birds.

## ADDITION F.

### *The interpretation of the Dream of Mordecai.*

- 1 (x) (4) And Mardocheus said, 'These things are from God.'

16. **sons of the Most High.** Cf. Hos. i. 10 LXX κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος. The Jews are members of the people which God has created as His 'son'.

**who ordereth.** 'Darius Hystaspes, the father of Xerxes, was wont to attribute—judging from the inscription over his tomb at Naksh-i-Rastām—all that he had done to the favour of Ormuzd' (*Speaker's Comm.* ad loc.). For the likeness between Persian and Jewish language on the subject cf. Ezra i. 3, vii. 21; Dan. iv. 34 ff., vi. 27; Jer. xxvii. 6.

18. **hanged.** ἐσταυρώσθαι, i.e. *impaled*. Cf. Esther vii. 10.

**with all his house.** Haman's sons were not actually impaled till the fourteenth day of Adar, though they died on the thirteenth day. Cf. Esther ix. 12-14. It was indeed a Persian custom to execute the family with the guilty one (cf. Dan. vi. 24), especially in the case of a traitor, but here Haman evidently suffered alone. Cf. Esther vii. 10, viii. 7, ix. 10.

19. **display.** ἐκθέτες. For ἐκτεθέναι, a specially Greek-Egyptian word, cf. Esther iii. 14, iv. 8, viii. 13, ix. 14.

**openly.** With μετὰ παρηγορίας cf. Esther viii. 13 ὁφθαλμοφανῶς.

**obey their own laws.** For νομίμοις BNA have νόμοις. The same permission was given by Artaxerxes to Ezra (Ezra vii. 25 L.). Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, 3.

20. **thirteenth day.** So Esther ix. 1, but Add. B 6 has the *fourteenth day*.

**the selfsame day.** The very day appointed for the destruction of the Jews. Cf. Esther iii. 13, viii. 14.

21. **ruleth over all.** ὁ ἐπὶ πάντα Ἀ.

**chosen race.** The Jewish fabricator of the decree betrays himself here by an expression that a Persian king would not have used. For ἐλεκτός applied to Israel cf. Ps. cv. 6; Isa. xliii. 20.

22. **commemorative festivals.** Fritzsche, thinking ἡμῶν out of place in a decree addressed to Persians, and unsuitable in connexion with ἐπαυνοίς, which when so used could not bear its full meaning, suggests ἐν ταῖς ἐπαυνοίς κλήρων ἱεραῖς. We should thus have κλήρων as the translation of פִּסְתִּים, translating 'on the feasts known by the name of Lots'. The suggestion is good, but not essential.

**a notable day.** Cf. 2 Macc. xv. 36. Translate, supplying ταῖς, 'Keep it (i.e. the 13th day of Adar) a notable day.'

23. **it may be.** After σωτηρία many Codd. add ἦ.

**a day of salvation.** σωτηρία stands in antithesis to ἀπωλείς, and should therefore have this accent; Fritzsche, neglecting this, reads σωτήρια (i.e. ἱερά), but wrongly. The day is to be a 'salutary' day for the Persians, as well as a memorial of their king's deliverance. But they are not called upon to observe the feast in the Jewish way.

**salvation to us.** ἡμῶν N\* ἡμῶν A. Fritzsche suggests ἡμῶν here for ἡμῶν, which is in harmony with ἡμεῖς at beginning of v. 22.

24. **fire and sword,** lit. 'spear and fire'.

**unpassable . . . hateful.** Cf. Jer. xxxii. 43, li. 62; Ezek. xxv. 13, xxxii. 13.

**for all time.** > εἰς . . . χρόνον Ἀ.

ADDITION F. *The interpretation of the Dream of Mordecai*, x. 1-10. Add. F consists of 10 vv., and is numbered in Vulg. x. 4-13, and is the only one of the six Adds. which is given there in its right place. But while in relation to the canonical portions its position is correct, it stands in an inverted relation to the uncanonical, Jerome having gathered out of the text all the Adds. which preceded, and placed them after it in a kind of appendix. Jerome prefixed to this Add. the following words which separate it from Esther x. 3: 'Quae habentur in Hebraeo plena fide expressi. Haec autem quae sequuntur, scripta reperi in editione Vulgata quae Graecorum lingua et litteris continetur; et interim post finem libri hoc capitulum ferebatur; quod iuxta consuetudinem nostram obelo, id est veru,



# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER F 2-11

- 2 (5) 'For I remember concerning the dream which I saw respecting these things; and nothing thereof is unfulfilled.
- 3 (6) 'The little spring became a river, and there was a light and the sun and much water.
- 4 (7) 'The river is Esther, whom the king married and made queen. And the two dragons are I and
- 5 (8) Haman. And the nations are those that were gathered together to destroy the name of the Jews.
- 6 (9) And my nation, this is Israel, which cried unto God and were saved. And the Lord saved His people, and the Lord delivered us out of all these evils. And the Lord wrought great signs and wonders, such as have not been done among the nations.
- 7 (10) 'Therefore the Lord made two lots, one for the people of God and the other for all the other
- 8 (11) nations; and these two lots came at the hour and the moment and the day of judging before God (for His people) and for all the nations.
- 9 (12) 'So God remembered His people, and justified His inheritance.
- 10 (13) 'And these days shall be unto them in the month Adar, on the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the same month, with an assembly and joy and gladness before God, from generation to generation for ever among His people Israel.'
- 11 (xi) (i) In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a priest and

praenotavimus.' In LXX Esther this Add. is the concluding portion of the book. Josephus shows no acquaintance with either the Dream of Mordecai or its interpretation.

1. **These things.** i.e. the history recorded in the chapters of canonical Esther.  
from God. Cf. Ps. cxviii. 23 (Matt. xxi. 42), of an event determined by God's providence.
2. **the dream.** See Add. A.
3. **respecting these things.** 'Haecc. eadem significantes', Vulg. The interpretation of the dream in detail occupies

22. 3-6.  
3. **spring became.** The style of this verse is naturally rather abrupt. *πηγή ἐγένετο* B\* A seems better than *πηγή ἦ* B. Vulg. quite unnecessarily translated 'the little spring became a river, and was turned into light and the sun, and overflowed into many waters'. There is nothing in the Greek of either the dream or its interpretation to suggest this. The elevation of Esther answers to 'the spring [which] became a river', while the safety and joy of the Jews upon their deliverance are pointed to by 'the light and the sun' (cf. Esther viii. 16). But cf. Luc. MSS., *ἡλιος καὶ φῶς οὐ ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ*.

4. **the two dragons.** > *δύο* A. See Add. A 6.
5. **the nations.** See Add. A 6. The suggestion is that the whole world was arrayed against the people of God.
6. **destroy the name,** i.e. the very existence of the Jewish people.
7. **my nation.** We should have expected *τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ δικαίον* from Add. A 6.
8. **cried unto God.** See A 9.
9. **signs and wonders.** Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 9.
10. **Therefore.** This verse is omitted by A.
11. **two lots.** Cf. Esther iii. 7, which shows Haman seeking to obtain a lucky issue by lot; cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 41.

Here God's making two lots means simply that God took into His own arbitrament the decision between His people and their enemies.

12. This verse is omitted by B\*, but is inserted in the lower margin.  
came . . . before God. Hardly, with Ryssel, that 'the destinies represented by them were fulfilled'. They came before God, and God passed judgement on them.

**moment.** *καὶ τότε* B, *καὶ τότε* B\* A.  
(for His people) and. Fritzsche's suggestion is good, and has been incorporated into the text. The question is of both lots, but the mention of 'the people' in v. 9 may be the cause of its omission in v. 8.

9. **justified.** *Servavit*, Old Lat.; *misertus est*, Vulg. But the meaning is the characteristic meaning of *δικαιοῖς*, cf. Deut. xxv. 1; Sir. xiii. 22 'pronounced their cause righteous'.

10. **fourteenth and fifteenth day.** *καὶ τῇ περ.* > B\* A\* (*καὶ τῇ ε' καὶ τῇ ἑσθ' mg*). The actual day of deliverance was the 13th day of Adar, but the fact of the observance of the festival on the 14th and 15th days caused Jewish writers to seek for an explanation.

The explanation as given in Esther ix. 16-19 is as follows: the Jews in the provinces avenged themselves on the 13th Adar, and rested on the 14th; but the Jews in Shushan required two days for their vengeance, and did not rest till the 15th Adar.

The 14th day was the principal day, and is referred to in 2 Macc. xv. 36 as *ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα*.

11. Esther and the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach are the only books of the Greek O. T. which offer any information as to their authorship and date.

The objection has been raised against the authenticity of this subscription that it represents the author of the version as a Palestinian Jew, whereas his speech has an Egyptian colour; but his name 'Lysimachus son of Ptolemaeus' suggests a distinctly Egyptian origin, and it is legitimate to assume that he was an Egyptian Jew who through residence at Jerusalem became acquainted with this Hebrew *Meqillath*, and having acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, sought to benefit his Egyptian brethren by providing them with a Greek version.

It is indeed impossible to say whether the subscription was appended by the translator of the canonical Hebrew portions, or by the author or incorporator of the Additions; but there is nothing in the subscription to make us hesitate to accept its witness. The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach was translated 132 B.C., and it is probable that Hebrew Esther was translated about the same time.

It used to be thought that the date indicated by the subscription was 178 B.C., Ptolemy Philometor, who reigned at that period, being well disposed towards the Jews. But further investigation has shown that of the four Ptolemies who were married to a Cleopatra only one (Ptolemy VIII, Soter II, Lathyrus) was married to a Cleopatra in the

# THE ADDITIONS TO ESTHER. F 11

a Levite, and Ptolemaeus his son brought in *to Egypt* the Epistle of Phrurai *here* set forth, which they said was *true*, and that Lysimachus the son of Ptolemaeus, of the dwellers in Jerusalem, had interpreted it.

fourth year of his reign. The date therefore is plainly 114 B.C. (see Jacob, 'Das Buch Esther bei den LXX,' in *ZATW*, 1890, p. 241 ff.).

This entire verse is omitted by the Luc. MSS. (except 19) and Old Lat.

In the fourth year, i.e. 114 B.C.

Epistle of Phrurai. Φρουραὶ B, Φραίρμα N\* A, cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 6. 13, Φρουρίμ N<sup>o</sup> 12. The 'Epistle' does not refer merely to the instructions of Esther ix. 20-28, but to the whole Book of Esther, which is regarded as an Epistle from Mordecai to the Jewish people concerning the feast of Purim.

For the connexion of the feast of Purim (Phrurim) with the Persian *Forvardigân*, the Feast of the Dead, cf. Paton, *Esth.* pp. 84-87.

of the dwellers. τῶν ἐν B N, but Fritzsche and Lagarde read τῶν.

After the last word in vi. 11 B N A have the subscription 'Εσθῆρ.