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## **Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the Letter of Aristeas** **An Intertextual Examination** Domazakis, Nikolaos

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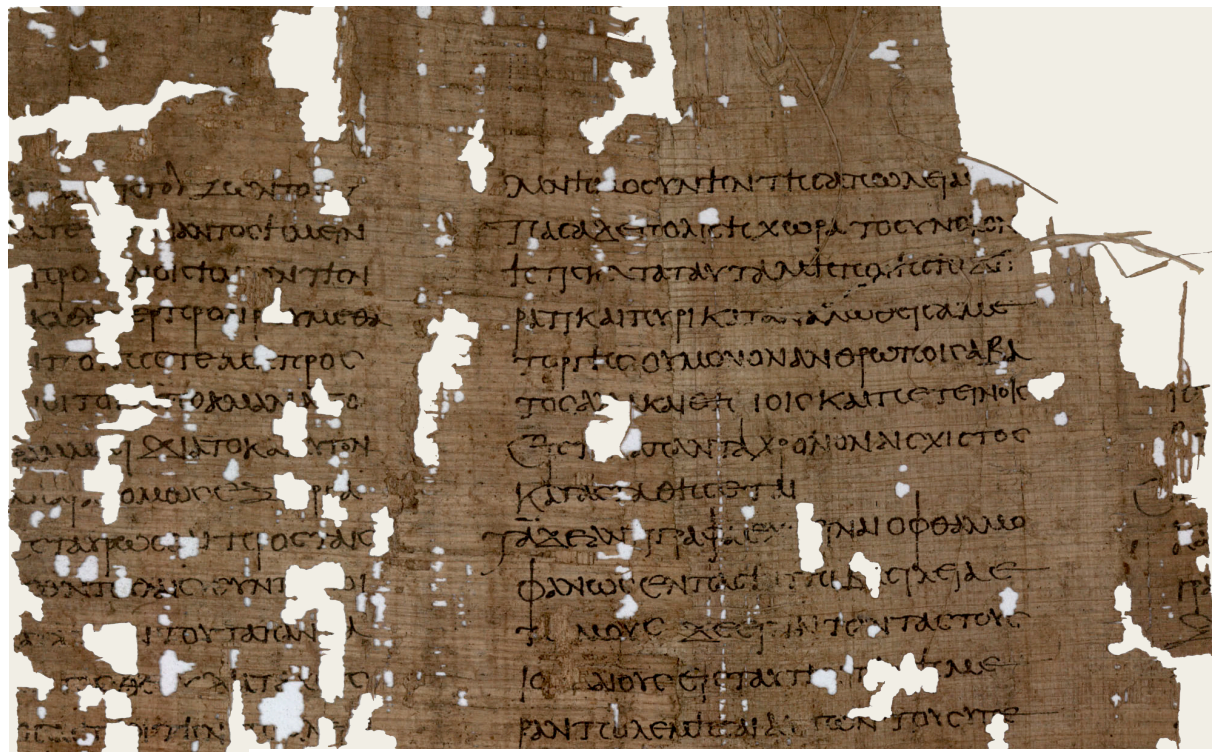
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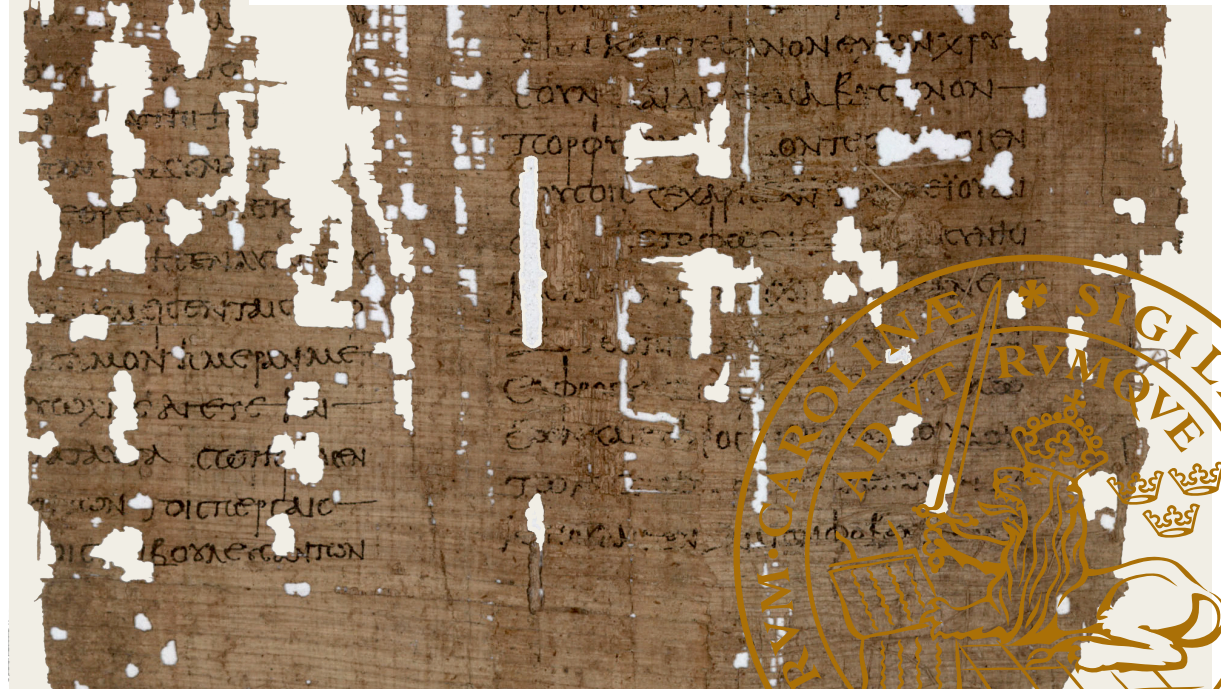
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## Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the Letter of Aristeas: An Intertextual Examination

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An Intertextual Examination



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## An Intertextual Examination

NIKOLAOS DOMAZAKIS



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# Preface

The two studies included in this volume, “3 Maccabees and Greek Esther Reconsidered” and “Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas*,” revisit the long-debated issue of the relationship that connects the following works: two of the three Greek versions of the book of Esther that we know of, either directly or indirectly, namely, the Septuagint (LXX) and the Greek *Vorlage* of the Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) translation of Esther (GVVL), 3 Maccabees, a pseudo-historical work written by an Alexandrian Jew in the first century BCE, and the *Letter of Aristeas*, a pseudepigraphical work also written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew in the late second century BCE.

Previous research has identified thematic, structural, and verbal similarities between these works. However, scholars hold differing opinions about whether these similarities indicate direct literary dependence of one work upon the others as well as about the direction of the possible dependence.

Through a close examination of the lexical and phraseological similarities shared by the aforementioned works, I argue for the existence of an intertextual dependence between them, which runs as follows: (a) from the canonical sections and the deuterocanonical Addition C of an ancestor of the LXX version of Esther to 3 Maccabees, (b) from the *Letter of Aristeas* to 3 Maccabees and from there to the deuterocanonical Additions B and E of the aforementioned ancestor of the LXX version, and (c) from 3 Maccabees to Addition C of the GVVL version.

I express my gratitude to Åke Wibergs stiftelse, Hjalmar Gullbergs och Greta Thotts stipendiefond, Helge Ax:son Johnsons stiftelse, Stiftelsen Ingrid och Torsten Gihls fond, and Einar Hansens Allhemsstiftelse for research grants that supported my project on Greek Esther and its Additions, part of which are the two studies presented here. I am also thankful to Sven och Dagmar Saléns vetenskaps- och kulturstiftelse for providing a grant that covered the printing expenses of the current volume.

Lund, October 2023

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# STUDY 1: GREEK ESTHER AND 3 MACCABEES RECONSIDERED



## Chapter 1.

# Introduction

The present study aims to revisit the question of the intertextual relationship between the Greek Esther in its various textual forms and the Third Book of Maccabees. In this first chapter, I will briefly introduce the texts that will be the focus of my examination (1.1), critically review the pertinent literature (1.2–1.4), outline the specific aims of the study and explain the methodology that I will employ (1.5), and provide an overview of the subsequent chapters into which the rest of the study is divided (1.6).

## 1.1 The texts

The Hebrew book of Esther, as it is transmitted in the Masoretic Text (hereafter MT Esther), recounts the story of Esther, a Jewish girl who, after marrying the Persian king Ahasuerus (Xerxes I),<sup>1</sup> averts the extermination of the Jews of the Persian kingdom, which was planned by the high courtier Haman, and alongside her kinsman Mordecai institutes the feast of Purim to commemorate the salvation of her people. The Hebrew Esther likely developed over several stages of composition, for which have been suggested dates ranging from the fourth century BCE to the second century BCE.<sup>2</sup>

The Greek Esther has been transmitted to us in two textual forms, the Septuagint (hereafter LXX Esther or LXX) and the Alpha Text (hereafter AT Esther or AT). We also have indirect knowledge of a third version, the Greek *Vorlage* of

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<sup>1</sup> The name of the king differs from one version of Esther to another. In the Masoretic Text, it is אֲחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ (Ahasuerus), in the Septuagint, Ἀρταξέρξης, in the Alpha Text, Ἀσσυήρος, in the *Vetus Latina* (R text), Artarxerxes (in A:1, Assuerus), and in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, Ἀρταξέρξης. See Kottsieper, "Zusätze zu Ester," 134–35; Cavalier, *Esther*, 75–83.

<sup>2</sup> See Moore, *Esther*, lviii–lx; Macchi, *Esther*, 38–39.



the *Vetus Latina* of Esther (hereafter GVL Esther or GVL).<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have also postulated the existence of a Greek version of Esther independent of the LXX, the AT, and the GVL, which may have served as the *Vorlage* of Josephus' re-write of the Esther story in his *Jewish Antiquities* (11.184–296).<sup>4</sup>

LXX Esther comprises the relatively free translation of the canonical MT, or of a Hebrew text that was very close to it, along with six major deuterocanonical Additions commonly designated by the letters A to F, which lack counterparts in the MT.<sup>5</sup> Additions A, C, D, and F:1–10 are thought to have been translated, wholly or in part, from a Semitic original, whereas Additions B and E are universally considered to be original Greek compositions penned by the same author.<sup>6</sup> The question of whether the six Additions originated in LXX Esther or in one of the other two versions, as well as whether they were added to whichever version they originated in all at once or gradually over time is a subject of debate.<sup>7</sup> According to the so-called colophon at the end of the LXX text (F:11), the LXX translation of the Hebrew book of Esther was made in Jerusalem by an individual named Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, and was subsequently taken to Egypt by Dosithus and his son Ptolemy “in the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra,” which, according to the prevailing scholarly opinion, corresponds to 78/77 BCE.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In this study, I will use the designation ‘Greek Esther’ with reference not only to the two extant Greek versions of the book of Esther, namely, the LXX and the AT, but also to the GVL, although its existence can only be postulated on the basis of the *Vetus Latina* of Esther. I note that in some of the studies which I will refer to in the literature review section (1.2), the designation ‘Greek Esther’ is used more narrowly of the LXX version.

<sup>4</sup> See Motzo, “Testo di Ester in Giuseppe,” 326–29, 345–46; Hanhart, *Esther*, 36–38; cf. Haelewyck, *Hester*, 72–74.

<sup>5</sup> The six major Additions contain the following: A:1–11: dream of Mordecai; A:12–17: Mordecai uncovers a plot against the king; B:1–7: letter of King Artaxerxes ordering the extermination of the Jews in his kingdom; C:1–11: prayer of Mordecai; C:12–30: prayer of Esther; D:1–16: Esther's audience with the king; E:1–24: letter of King Artaxerxes countermanding his previous order; F:1–10: interpretation of Mordecai's dream; F:11: “colophon.”

<sup>6</sup> See Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 155; Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 25–27; Smith and De Troyer, “Additions.”

<sup>7</sup> See Smith and De Troyer, “Additions.”

<sup>8</sup> See Bickerman, “Colophon,” 224–25. 78/77 BCE was the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes and Cleopatra V. Two other Ptolemies who were associated with a Cleopatra in the fourth year of their reign, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, co-regent with his mother Cleopatra III in 114/113 BCE, and Ptolemy XIII, co-regent with his sister Cleopatra VII in 49/48 BCE, are dismissed by Bickerman, because the formula referring to their reign in contemporary official documents is βασιλευόντων Κλεοπάτρας καὶ Πτολεμαίου, whereas the formula used in the documents of the reign of Ptolemy XII Auletes and Cleopatra V is βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, that is, the same as in LXX Esth F:11. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 250, and other scholars prefer

AT Esther is shorter than the LXX. It includes the six major Additions present in the LXX, along with an extra one, a short letter of Mordecai designated by Motzo as G (AT Esth 7:33–38), which has no counterpart in the other versions. It differs most from the LXX in the parts that it shares with the MT, whereas it is very close to the LXX in the Additions. This suggests that the Additions were likely copied from one version to the other.<sup>9</sup> The question of whether the AT, in the parts that it has in common with the MT, represents an independent translation of a Hebrew text that was similar to the MT<sup>10</sup> or a translation of a Hebrew text that was earlier than the MT (Proto-Esther),<sup>11</sup> or whether it is as a whole a rewritten form of the LXX<sup>12</sup> remains a matter of debate. Regardless of its origin and textual history, in the form in which it has come down to us it cannot be earlier than the first century CE.<sup>13</sup>

GVVL Esther is a postulated text, as we have no manuscript evidence for it. Its existence is inferred from the Old Latin (*Vetus Latina*) translation of Esther (hereafter VL Esther or VL), which dates from the second or third century CE.<sup>14</sup> The postulated GVVL, as it is reflected in the VL (hereafter GVVL/VL),<sup>15</sup> mainly agrees with the LXX and occasionally with the AT as well as with the MT and Josephus' re-write of the Esther story, but differs in several aspects from them, to

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the date 114/113 BCE, without, however, addressing the arguments raised by Bickerman and, earlier, by Motzo, "Autore e tempo," 242–43.

<sup>9</sup> See Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 147–94; Macchi, *Esther*, 20–21, 29.

<sup>10</sup> See Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 85, 223–24.

<sup>11</sup> See Fox, *Character and Ideology*, 254–62; Macchi, *Esther*, 24–27.

<sup>12</sup> See De Troyer, *End of the Alpha Text*, 401; De Troyer and Wacker, "Esther: Das Buch Ester (LXX und A-Text)," 1260.

<sup>13</sup> See Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 225–27; Cavalier, *Esther*, 30–31; De Troyer and Wacker, "Esther: Das Buch Ester (LXX und A-Text)," 1265.

<sup>14</sup> Motzo, "Versione latina," 146, "Storia del testo," 215, assigns VL Esther to a date not earlier than the late second century CE and not later than the third century CE; Haelewyck, "Relevance," 451, 453–54, dates it to between 330 and 350 CE at the latest.

<sup>15</sup> It should be pointed out that even if VL Esther is a literal translation of its Greek *Vorlage* (see 1.5), the Greek text that we can reconstruct by retroverting the Latin text would certainly differ from the *Vorlage* of the first Latin translator; this *Vorlage*, in turn, likely differed from the *Urform* of the GVVL because of the modifications that the latter text undoubtedly underwent in the course of its transmission from around 100 BCE, when, according to some experts, it came into being, to the second or third century CE, when it was first translated into Latin. Therefore, it should not be taken for granted that the version of the GVVL which was presumably involved in an intertextual relationship with the other text that I will be discussing in this study, namely, 3 Maccabees, was identical to the GVVL as it is reflected in the VL.

the extent that it can be considered an independent witness.<sup>16</sup> It includes the six major Additions present in the LXX and the AT, with pluses, minuses, and transpositions, particularly in Addition C. Additionally, it contains a prayer of the Jews designated by Motzo as H (H:1–5), which lacks a counterpart in the other versions. Notably, the GVVl/VL omits the account of the slaughter of the enemies of the Jews in chapter 9.<sup>17</sup>

According to Motzo, the GVVl, along with the LXX, the AT, and the version presumably used by Josephus, originated from the contamination of a literal translation of the Hebrew book of Esther with a free translation-cum-adaptation of the Esther story (“libero rifacimento greco di Ester”), which was created by Lysimachus around 50 BCE.<sup>18</sup> Hanhart argues that the GVVl, the AT, and the version used by Josephus arose early on in the Greek Esther tradition as derivatives of the LXX, which he dates to the first half of the first century BCE.<sup>19</sup> For Schildenberger and Milik, the nonextant GVVl represents the Greek *Urform* of Esther, which, supplied with the Additions, came into being around 100 BCE at the latest.<sup>20</sup> According to Schildenberger, GVVl Esther was composed in Egypt some fifty years before Lysimachus’ version—which he considers to be an adaptation of the GVVl adjusted to the Hebrew text of Esther—came to supplant it.<sup>21</sup> Along the same lines, Haelewyck gives priority to the GVVl, which he dates to 120–100 BCE at the latest. He posits that its author not only translated his Hebrew *Vorlage*, which was quite close to the MT, but also remodelled it thoroughly and embedded to it the six major Additions, which he composed himself. These Additions were subsequently taken up by the other two versions.<sup>22</sup>

3 Maccabees is a pseudo-historical work composed in high-style Greek by an anonymous Jewish author who is believed to have written in Alexandria.<sup>23</sup> It is set in the reign of King Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–204 BCE) and recounts two threats

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<sup>16</sup> See Motzo, “Versione latina,” 142, 145, 150; “Storia del testo,” 215; Hanhart, *Esther*, 24; Haelewyck, *Hester*, 79–94; Haelewyck, “Relevance,” 457–73.

<sup>17</sup> See Haelewyck, “Relevance,” 458–60.

<sup>18</sup> See 1.2.

<sup>19</sup> See Hanhart, *Esther*, 96.

<sup>20</sup> See Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 22 [262], 39 [279], who proposes a date around 100 BCE; Milik, “Modèles araméens,” 389–91, 395, 397–98, dates the GVVl to 145–100 BCE.

<sup>21</sup> Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 39 [279].

<sup>22</sup> Haelewyck, *Hester*, 84–94; “Relevance,” 472–73.

<sup>23</sup> See Méléze Modrzejewski, *Troisième livre*, 113–18; Knöppler, 3. *Makkabäerbuch*, 840–42.

launched by this king, the first against the Jerusalem Temple and the second against the Jews of Alexandria and the Egyptian *chora*. Both of these threats are thwarted by divine intervention. Similar to the Greek Esther, in the narrative of 3 Maccabees are embedded two prayers and two royal circular letters. The date of composition of this work is generally placed between 100 and 30 BCE,<sup>24</sup> although some scholars have proposed later dates within the early Roman period.<sup>25</sup>

In the following two sections, I will review some previous studies that have dealt with the relationship between LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees (1.2) and between GVLV Esther and 3 Maccabees (1.3). It should be noted that AT Esther has not been discussed in relation to 3 Maccabees within the relevant scholarly literature.

## 1.2 LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees

The relationship between LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees has long been a topic of debate. While most scholars agree in identifying thematic, structural, and verbal similarities between the two books, there are varying opinions among different scholars regarding whether these similarities betray direct literary dependence of one book upon the other as well as about the direction of the possible dependence.

Firstly, there are scholars who argue for an influence running from LXX Esther to 3 Maccabees. Hadas, for example, contends that “III Maccabees, like the Septuagint Esther, is a corrective of the Hebrew Esther,” that “the relationship of the Greek Esther to III Maccabees is patent,” and that “there would seem to be a strong presumption that the author of III Maccabees knew [the Greek] Esther.”<sup>26</sup> Tcherikover also maintains that the author of 3 Maccabees “had read the Book of Esther in its Greek version.”<sup>27</sup> On the basis of the thematic and verbal similarities

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<sup>24</sup> See Hadas, *Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 21 (25–24 BCE); Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, 132, 136, 141 (100–30 BCE); Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Terzo libro dei Maccabei,” 605–13 (end of second–beginning of first century BCE); Knöppler, 3. *Makkabäerbuch*, 843–44 (ca. 100 BCE).

<sup>25</sup> See Kopidakis, Γ’ *Μακκαβαίων*, 29–34; cf. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 124–131, esp. 124–26. Both scholars date 3 Maccabees to the reign of the Emperor Caligula.

<sup>26</sup> Hadas, *Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 7–8, 24; “III Maccabees,” 100.

<sup>27</sup> Tcherikover, “Third Book of Maccabees,” 22 n. 45.

that he detects between 3 Maccabees and both the canonical parts of and the Additions to LXX Esther, Kopidakis posits that the former book depends on the latter.<sup>28</sup> Collins likewise points out that the verbal parallels between 3 Maccabees and LXX Esther “are so close as to require us to assume literary influence”; because these parallels “are not confined to the Greek additions to Esther, as we might expect if 3 Maccabees were prior,” Collins assumes the priority of LXX Esther.<sup>29</sup>

That 3 Maccabees “clearly draws heavily on the Greek Esther” is also the opinion of Parente, who, however, distinguishes two stages in the compositional development of this book: he posits that an “Ur-III Macc.,” composed shortly after the introduction of the Greek translation of Esther in Egypt (77 BCE), was rewritten half a century later, in the age of Augustus. According to Parente, it was the author of the “Ur-III Macc” who drew upon the Greek Esther, transposing its “overall scheme” so as to present the figure of the king in a favourable light, whereas the author of the final, rewritten version changed the perspective of the book in order to present the king in a negative light.<sup>30</sup>

On the basis of the striking similarities between 3 Maccabees and LXX Esther, which can be detected in the prayers for the salvation of the Jews (3 Macc 2:2–20; 6:2–15; LXX Addition C), in the royal letters (3 Macc 3:12–29; 7:1–9; LXX Additions B and E), in the motif of the sleep that God gives to or takes from the king in order to save His people (3 Macc 5:11ff.; LXX Esth 6:1), and the revenge that the Jews take, by permission of the king, on the apostate Jews in 3 Maccabees (7:10ff.) and on the enemies of the Jews in LXX Esther (8:11–13; 9:1ff.), Kottsieper posits that one book is dependent upon the other. When it comes to the direction of dependence, he argues that it is 3 Maccabees that depends on LXX Esther. His rationale is that the sections in the former book that bear the closest affinities with the latter book, namely, the prayer of the high priest Simon and the two letters of King Ptolemy IV Philopator, are loosely anchored in their context, and therefore secondary. 3 Maccabees is, thus, according to Kottsieper, an early,

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<sup>28</sup> Kopidakis, *Γ' Μακκαβαίων*, 19–22.

<sup>29</sup> Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 123 n. 57.

<sup>30</sup> Parente, “Third Book of Maccabees,” 168–70, 179–80.

indirect witness to the text of LXX Esther, as it was established in Egypt around 50 BCE.<sup>31</sup>

Secondly, there are scholars who hold that the influence runs from 3 Maccabees to LXX Esther. One of them is Motzo, who, as mentioned earlier, posits that around 50 BCE, Lysimachus produced in Jerusalem a free Greek adaptation of the Esther story, which included the six major Additions; this version was greatly inspired by 3 Maccabees, a book composed, according to the Italian scholar, before 100 BCE. Motzo goes so far as to claim that, when composing his “libero rifacimento greco,” and in particular the Additions, Lysimachus had before his eyes 3 Maccabees. He further contends that Lysimachus’ intention was to supplant 3 Maccabees and the feast that it promoted, and instead make popular in Egypt the story of Esther and the feast of Purim celebrated by the Palestinian Jews.<sup>32</sup> Lysimachus’ version, holds Motzo, was introduced in Alexandria around 48–47 BCE and was there contaminated with a literal translation of the Hebrew book of Esther. The literal translation of the Hebrew Esther supplied with the major Additions contained in Lysimachus’ “rifacimento” was at the origin of the Greek versions of Esther which are known to us or postulated by us, namely, the LXX, the AT, the GVV, and the version presumably used by Josephus in his re-write of the Esther story.<sup>33</sup> The influence of 3 Maccabees on the aforementioned versions is, according to Motzo, distinctly traceable in the Additions, whereas there are no notable points of contact with 3 Maccabees in the canonical parts of the Greek Esther. However, Motzo points out, the influence of 3 Maccabees can occasionally be discerned even in the latter parts, through a few phrases originating in the “rifacimento” which are shared by all or are found only in some of the versions that resulted from the contamination of Lysimachus’ version with the literal translation of Esther. These phrases constitute minor additions to or deviations from the Hebrew original. As examples of the influence that 3 Maccabees had on LXX Esther through the “rifacimento,” Motzo cites the parallels between LXX Esth B:4–7 and 3 Macc 3:7, 3:24–26, LXX Esth C:2–5, C:19–22 and 3 Macc 2:2–3, 2:13–17, 4:16, 5:43, LXX Esth

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<sup>31</sup> Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 131–32. See also Cavalier, *Esther*, 122–25, who points out the difficulty of determining the direction of influence between the two books but tilts in favour of an influence exerted by the Greek Esther on 3 Maccabees.

<sup>32</sup> Motzo, “Storia del testo,” 213–14; “Autore e tempo,” 245; “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 293.

<sup>33</sup> Motzo, “Storia del testo,” 214; “Origine delle aggiunte,” 267–68, 270.

E:2–16, E:24 and 3 Macc 3:18, 5:20, 6:23–28, 7:2–6, LXX Esth 4:1 and 3 Macc 3:9, and LXX Esth 7:8 and 3 Macc 5:33.<sup>34</sup>

Hacham has also argued for the dependence of LXX Esther on 3 Maccabees but only with respect to Additions B and E. After questioning the possibility of conclusively establishing a relationship of dependence between the two books grounded in thematic-structural parallels, he asserts that only “unique linguistic parallels can definitively establish intertextual affinity and deliberate use of one work by the other.”<sup>35</sup> On the basis of this principle, he identified the words and phrases or expressions that occur in 3 Maccabees and in LXX Esther but nowhere else in the Septuagint. The fact that seven of the nine words and all but one of the fourteen phrases/expressions that are unique to the two books vis-à-vis the rest of the Septuagint are concentrated in Additions B and E to LXX Esther provides, according to this scholar, strong evidence of dependence between the two Additions and 3 Maccabees.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, Hacham argues that there is no “linguistic or structural kinship between 3 Maccabees and the remainder of Greek Esther.” This, he believes, indicates that Additions B and E were written after 3 Maccabees and underwent its influence, for, in the opposite case, “we would expect to find linguistic links between 3 Maccabees and the other parts of Greek Esther.”<sup>37</sup> As regards the relationship between the rest of LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees, Hacham leaves open three possibilities: (a) the Greek translation of Esther, without the Additions B and E, came into being before 3 Maccabees, which was not linguistically or otherwise influenced by it, (b) the translation of the Hebrew Esther came into being before 3 Maccabees; the Additions were composed after 3 Maccabees but were not influenced by it (except for B and E), and (c) 3

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<sup>34</sup> See Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 274–82.

<sup>35</sup> Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 772.

<sup>36</sup> Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 772–80.

<sup>37</sup> Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 779. Other scholars, too, have argued for the same direction of influence between 3 Maccabees and Additions B and E to Esther. See Stein, “Essai d’adaptation,” 116 (influence of 3 Maccabees on Addition B); Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 195–99 (possible influence of the Hebrew Esther on 3 Maccabees and later influence of 3 Maccabees on some parts of the Greek Esther, e.g., on Addition B); Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 201–5 (influence of 3 Maccabees on Additions B, C, E); Siegert, *Einleitung*, 253, 332, 336 (influence of 3 Maccabees on Additions B and C). Bardtke, “Zusätze zu Esther,” 36 n. 2a, posits a reverse direction of influence, namely, from Addition B to 3 Macc 3:12–29.

Maccabees preceded the Greek translation of Esther but had no influence upon it.<sup>38</sup>

Thirdly, there are scholars who suggest that there may be a two-way influence between the two books. Alexander holds that “3 Maccabees knew the Greek Esther” and that some of the Additions, especially B and E, “seem to show a knowledge of 3 Maccabees.” He posits the following scenario: a Greek version of Esther “close in content to our current Hebrew text” (i.e., without the Additions) was carried into Egypt in 114 BCE. The absence of any reference to God and of any religious elements in this version, on the one hand, and the wish to propagate a local Egyptian feast of deliverance instead of the foreign feast of Purim, which the Hasmonean authorities aspired to promote in Egypt, on the other hand, led the author of 3 Maccabees to compose around 100 BCE a “festal scroll” similar to that of Esther. In response to the publication of 3 Maccabees, an expanded version of Esther came into existence. This version included the religiously-tinted Additions, some of which were “modelled on parts of 3 Maccabees.”<sup>39</sup>

Lastly, there are several scholars who acknowledge the existence of many significant similarities between the two books but either hesitate to pronounce judgement on the literary dependence of one book upon the other, or on the direction of the dependence, or attribute the similarities to common literary traditions and the common *Sitz im Leben* out of which the two books arose.

After enumerating the similarities between the prayers and the royal letters in Greek Esther and in 3 Maccabees, Passoni Dell’Acqua remarks that the royal letters in the former book have fewer terminological affinities with official documents preserved on Ptolemaic papyri than the royal letters in the latter book, and that in the prayers in the Greek Esther occur themes that do not have counterparts in the rest of the book. This, she maintains, may indicate an influence exerted on the Greek Esther, if not directly from 3 Maccabees, at least from the milieu from which

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<sup>38</sup> Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 780.

<sup>39</sup> Alexander, “3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim,” 333–37; cf. Alexander and Alexander, “Image of the Oriental Monarch,” 92–94. Keddie and Flexsenhar, in White and Keddie, *Jewish Fictional Letters*, 342–43, envisage a similar scenario in which a version of the Greek Esther without Additions B and E influences 3 Maccabees, which subsequently influences Additions B and E; however, they ultimately conclude that “3 Maccabees’ dependence on Greek Esther cannot be proven affirmatively” because “there are not enough literary correspondences between Greek Esther (minus B and E) and 3 Maccabees”; cf. Keddie and Case in White and Keddie, *Jewish Fictional Letters*, 324.



3 Maccabees emerged and to which the Greek Esther itself bears witness.<sup>40</sup> With respect to the royal letters in Additions B and E to Esther, in particular, Passoni Dell'Acqua states that "it is hard to say whether they were actually respectively drawn from the two parallel edicts of 3Macc, as some have maintained."<sup>41</sup>

Johnson asserts that the similarities between 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther attest to the direct contact between the two books. However, she considers the evidence for the direction of the influence to be inconclusive. She endorses Motzo's thesis that the verbatim parallels between the two books are concentrated in the Additions, whereas the similarities between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of Esther are "of a much more generic type and do little to demonstrate influence in either direction." She further dismisses as "unsupported by evidence" Collins' assertion that the parallels between the Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees are not confined to the Additions because it "does not take account of the difference between verbatim parallels and vague generic similarities." Accordingly, "on the grounds of general probability," she considers it likely that 3 Maccabees preceded and influenced the Greek Esther, while adding the caveat that "probability does not constitute proof."<sup>42</sup>

Croy acknowledges that 3 Maccabees exhibits a close relationship with Esther, 2 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas*. However, he considers that direct literary dependence is "seldom provable" and suggests instead that the similarities between the aforementioned books are due to the common milieu out of which they emerged.<sup>43</sup>

Magliano-Tromp believes that the "striking agreements" between the prayers and the royal letters in 3 Maccabees and in Greek Esther "may be due to the formulaic character of such texts in general, combined with both authors' obvious penchant for a bombastic style." He also argues that the overall structural and verbal similarities between 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther can be attributed to the fact that these books reflect common traditions of Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>44</sup> Commenting on Hacham's thesis that the author of Additions B and E depends on

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<sup>40</sup> Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Terzo libro dei Maccabei," 598–601.

<sup>41</sup> Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Liberation Decree," 76.

<sup>42</sup> Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, 137 with n. 35, and 141 with n. 48.

<sup>43</sup> Croy, *3 Maccabees*, xvi–xvii.

<sup>44</sup> Magliano-Tromp, "Relations," 65–66.

3 Maccabees, he states that, if accepted, it implies that “both writings as a whole are independent of each other, since the strongest arguments for dependence are restricted to those two passages” and that the author of the two Additions “may have been inspired by 3 Maccabees in style only.”<sup>45</sup>

Highlighting the differences between the royal letters in Greek Esther and in 3 Maccabees, Knöppler rejects the notion of literary dependence between the two books in either direction. Instead, he attributes their similarities to their shared treatment of the same theme, namely, the occasionally life-threatening conditions endured by the Diaspora Jews.<sup>46</sup>

### 1.3 GVL Esther and 3 Maccabees

As previously noted, the second extant Greek version of Esther, AT Esther, is rarely, if ever, discussed in the studies that have dealt with the relationship between the Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees.<sup>47</sup> Conversely, a small number of scholars have introduced GVL Esther into the discussion.

Motzo has argued for an influence of 3 Maccabees on his postulated “libero rifacimento greco di Ester” and, through it, on GVL Esther and the other versions that derived from the supposed contamination of the “rifacimento” with a literal translation of the Hebrew Esther.<sup>48</sup> As examples of the influence of 3 Maccabees on GVL Esther through the “rifacimento,” Motzo cites the parallels between VL Esth 3:15 and 3 Macc 4:1, between the plus in VL Esth B:7 and 3 Macc 3:27, and between the plus in VL Esth C:16 and 3 Macc 6:6–8.<sup>49</sup>

Schildenberger and Milik posit a direct contact between GVL Esther and 3 Maccabees. Both argue that it is the latter book that depends on the former. Schildenberger points out that 3 Macc 3:1, 3:7, 4:14, 4:16, and 5:3 have points of

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<sup>45</sup> Magliano-Tromp, “Relations,” 67.

<sup>46</sup> Knöppler, 3. *Makkabäerbuch*, 797–98.

<sup>47</sup> See the comments of Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 779, and of Magliano-Tromp, “Relations,” 59 n. 4, who consider the AT secondary vis-à-vis the LXX with regard to Additions B and E, in which, as they argue, the most significant parallels between LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees are concentrated.

<sup>48</sup> See 1.1 and 1.2.

<sup>49</sup> Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 286–92.

contact not only with GVL Esther but also with the Hebrew book of Esther (3:5, 3:8, 3:13, 3:15) and that the decrees of King Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Macc 3:12–29 and 7:1–9 depend on the decrees of King Artaxerxes in Additions B and E to Esther.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, Milik argues for an influence of the royal decrees in GVL Additions B and E on those in 3 Maccabees and of the prayer of Esther in GVL Addition C on the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Macc 6:2–15.<sup>51</sup> His argument is grounded on the fact that both King Artaxerxes' decree in VL Addition B and Esther's prayer in VL Addition C contain pluses over against the other versions, which have close parallels in 3 Maccabees.

More recently, Thambyrajah has discussed three of the parallels between VL Esther and 3 Maccabees that the above-mentioned scholars had previously drawn attention to (VL Esth B:7/3 Macc 3:29; VL Esth C:7/3 Macc 5:51; VL Esth C:16/3 Macc 6:3–8), along with the parallel between VL Esth 4:16–17 and 3 Macc 1:16–20, 4:5–10, and has argued that there exists an interdependence between the two texts. Thambyrajah bases his argumentation on the distinction that he makes between the “core Esther material,” which is found in all the versions of Esther (the canonical sections), the “additional Esther material,” which is found in most versions of Esther except for the MT, the Peshitta, and the Slavonic version (Additions B, C, and E), and the “peripheral material” that is shared only by the VL and 3 Maccabees (pluses unique to the VL such as B:7, 4:16–17, and C:7). He argues that the “additional material,” including the plus at C:16, was borrowed from GVL Esther into 3 Maccabees, that the “peripheral material” originated in 3 Maccabees and was borrowed by VL Esther at a later stage, and that there is no interdependence between the “core material” and 3 Maccabees, as there are no verbal points of contact that can be securely established between them.<sup>52</sup>

## 1.4 Critical remarks on some previous studies

The scholars cited in the two preceding sections have contributed valuable insights to the discussion of the relationship between 3 Maccabees and the Greek

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<sup>50</sup> Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 39 [279], 76 [316], 109 [349].

<sup>51</sup> Milik, “Modèles araméens,” 353, 395.

<sup>52</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 712–15.

Esther. Nonetheless, the divergent conclusions that they have arrived at show that the debate over this relationship remains open. Prior to outlining the scope and methodology of the present study, I would like to make some critical observations on some of the previous contributions to the debate in question. I will address, in particular, three of the most recent article-long studies, Hacham's "3 Maccabees and Esther: Parallels, Intertextuality, and Diaspora Identity" and Magliano-Tromp's "The Relations between Egyptian Judaism and Jerusalem in Light of 3 Maccabees and the Greek Book of Esther," which deal with the relationship between 3 Maccabees and LXX Esther, and Thambyrajah's "The Relationship between 3 Maccabees and the Vetus Latina of Esther," which, as the title indicates, examines the relationship between 3 Maccabees and VL Esther.

Hacham opted to consider as reliable indicators of the intertextual connexion between 3 Maccabees and LXX Esther only the words and phrases that are unique to these books within the Septuagint. This is a sound, albeit limiting, methodological choice. As Magliano-Tromp has noted apropos of it, "it is important to look further than the Septuagint alone, because the concept of something like a 'Septuagint'-corpus seems irrelevant insofar as Esther and 3 Maccabees are concerned."<sup>53</sup> Indeed, of the nine words that Hacham cites as being "unique to LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees in the Septuagint"<sup>54</sup> only two, the verb *δυσνοέω*, "to be ill-disposed," and the noun *ὀλεθρία*, "destruction," are neologisms previously unattested in ancient Greek literature; the rest are attested in the same sense in extra-Septuagint literary and documentary texts that are anterior to or roughly contemporary with 3 Maccabees and LXX Esther. Likewise, of the fourteen phrases/expressions that Hacham adduces as being "exclusive to Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees,"<sup>55</sup> five occur outside the Septuagint, in literary and documentary texts that predate 3 Maccabees and LXX Esther or are roughly contemporary with these books.<sup>56</sup> The phrase *δόρατι καὶ πυρί*, "by spear and fire,"

<sup>53</sup> Magliano-Tromp, "Relations," 66.

<sup>54</sup> See Hacham, "3 Maccabees and Esther," 773. To these nine words should be added the adverb *ἀνοσίως* (3 Macc 1:21; LXX Esth E:7).

<sup>55</sup> See Hacham, "3 Maccabees and Esther," 775.

<sup>56</sup> *ἐπαίρω* + *θράσος* in the dative (Thucydides, *Hist.* 1.120.5; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 2.34.4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 8.91.1); *ὁ/οἱ τεταγμένος/τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ (τῶν) πραγμάτων* (*IK Estremo oriente* 250 [205 BCE], l. 26; *IG XI,4* 1112 [187–175 BCE], l. 2; *P.Tebt.* 3.1.699 [135/134 BCE], l. 20); *κατευθύνω* + *μέγας/μέγιστος θεός* + *ἡ βασιλεία/τὰ πράγματα* (*Let. Aris.* § 15 [without

which, according to Hacham, is “the most significant parallel between Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees” and “is found in ancient Greek literature only in these two works,”<sup>57</sup> previously occurs in Euripides.<sup>58</sup> The title ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, “he who has been placed in charge of the affairs of the state,” which Hacham designates as a “Ptolemaic honorific,” may be unique to LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees in the Septuagint but it designates officials of different rank in these two books: an official of the highest rank in LXX Esth B:6 and officials of a lower rank in 3 Macc 7:1; the former is known to us from the Seleucid and Attalid administration but is unattested in Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>59</sup>

Moreover, because of his strict adherence to his aforementioned methodological principle, Hacham often dismisses summarily the verbal similarities between LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees that previous scholarship has put forth as suggestive of dependence of one book on the other. For example, apropos the opening phrases of the prayers of Mordecai and Simon in LXX Esth C:2 and in 3 Macc 2:2, respectively, he notes that

the vocative κύριε κύριε (...) is not exceptional and makes its appearance in the Greek translations of a number of biblical and apocryphal prayers. Nor is the salutation βασιλεῦ appended to the phrase κύριε κύριε in 3 Maccabees and Esther indicative of either direct dependence or of mutual influence between these prayers. A similar combination appears in the LXX of Deut 9:26; moreover, in each occurrence, this word is followed by a different object under divine dominion. Nor are other claims submitted regarding the affinity between the two prayers convincing.<sup>60</sup>

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μέγας/μέγιστος]); καθάπερ/καθώς + προαιρούμαι (OGIS 219 [279–274 or 197 BCE], l. 25; *Let. Aris.* § 45); πυρὶ καὶ δόρατι (Euripides, *Andr.* 105).

<sup>57</sup> See Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 772 and cf. Magliano-Tromp, “Relations,” 66–67.

<sup>58</sup> See 2.2.9b.

<sup>59</sup> See Virgilio, “Lettera seleucidica,” 342: “Usato nella forma plurale e senza indicazione dei nomi dei funzionari, il titolo assume il valore generico e collettivo dei funzionari che sono preposti—ciascuno con le proprie competenze e con titolo specifico—ai vari settori della amministrazione locale. I *pragmata* del τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων sono gli affari generali dello stato e del regno ...; i *pragmata* degli anonimi e generici τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων sono gli affari locali di competenza della amministrazione locale seleucidica nelle singole sedi nelle quali ciascuno di tali τεταγμένοι esercita il proprio ufficio.” See also Domazakis, *Additions B and E to Esther Reconsidered* (forthcoming).

<sup>60</sup> Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 770.

One has to point out that, although the double vocative κύριε κύριε, “O Lord, Lord,” occurs elsewhere in the Septuagint, it is only in LXX Deut 9:26, LXX Esth C:2, and 3 Macc 2:2 that it is encountered in conjunction with the vocative βασιλεῦ, “O King.” The fact that its first attested instance occurs in LXX Deut 9:26 does not eliminate the possibility of an intertextual connexion between the other two texts; indeed, one may consider the possibility of a chain-like intertextual connexion between LXX Deut 9:26, LXX Esth C:2, and 3 Macc 2:2. This is supported by the fact that the appellation βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν, “King of the gods,” which follows κύριε κύριε in LXX Deut 9:26, elsewhere occurs only in the prayer of Esther (LXX Esth C:23). Furthermore, Yahweh’s designation as πάντων κρατῶν, “Ruler over all things,” in LXX Esth C:2 finds a counterpart in the designations παντοκράτωρ, “Almighty,” and τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν, “Sovereign of all things,” in 3 Macc 2:2–3; the designation τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν, in turn, finds a counterpart in the designations πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν, “Master of all dominion,” in LXX Esth C:23 and ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατῶν, “Sovereign of all things,” in LXX Esth E:18. These and other clues, which I will discuss in their appropriate places,<sup>61</sup> render the intertextual connexion between the prayers in LXX Esther and in 3 Maccabees likely, *pace* Hacham. The same can be said with regard to the combination of the verb κατευθύνω, “to direct,” with ὁ (μέγας/μέγιστος) θεός, “the (great/greatest) god” (subject) and ἡ βασιλεία/τὰ πράγματα, “the kingdom/the affairs of the state” (object), which, Hacham asserts, “is natural in Hellenistic Jewish literature and does not provide strong evidence of a link between 3 Maccabees and Esther.”<sup>62</sup> This combination elsewhere occurs only in LXX 2 Chr 17:5 (with κύριος instead of θεός and without the adjective μέγας/μέγιστος) and in *Let. Aris.* § 15 (without the adjective μέγας/μέγιστος), which raises the possibility of an intertextual connexion, if not between all four texts, at least between LXX Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 7:2, which, in addition to the verb and the nouns, share the adjective μέγας/μέγιστος. The fact that *Let. Aris.* § 15 has verbal points of contact not only with 3 Macc 7:2 but also with 3 Macc 6:28 (ἀπόλυσον/ἀπολύσατε) strengthens the possibility that *Let. Aris.* § 15, too, is involved as a third member in the intertextual relationship between LXX Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 7:2.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>61</sup> See 4.2.1 and Study 2, 2.6.

<sup>62</sup> Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 776 n. 45. Cf. Magliano-Tromp, “Relations,” 65.

<sup>63</sup> See 2.2.8.

Lastly, Hacham's contention that "the royal letters added to Greek Esther were written after 3 Maccabees and manifest its influence, for, if this were not the case, we would expect to find verbal links between 3 Maccabees and the remaining sections of Greek Esther"<sup>64</sup> conflicts with some of the evidence that he adduces—the significance of which he tends to downplay—as well as with the linguistic evidence that previous scholarship has adduced. For example, two of the nine items that Hacham includes in his list of "words unique to Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees in the LXX," namely, κώθων, "drinking bout," and ὑπερχαρής, "overjoyed," occur in the canonical parts of LXX Esther (at 8:17 and 5:9, respectively). With regard to the former, Hacham notes that "even though the word κώθων appears in the LXX only in 3 Macc 6:31 and Esth 8:17, because the verb κωθωνίζω appears elsewhere in the LXX [1 Esd 4:63] this parallel carries less weight";<sup>65</sup> on the very rare adjective ὑπερχαρής he passes no comment.<sup>66</sup> Kopidakis had previously adduced a list of twenty-six verbal parallels shared between LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees, half of which occur outside of Additions B and E.<sup>67</sup> Evidently, there are verbal links between 3 Maccabees and "the remaining sections of Greek Esther" (viz. the canonical parts and Additions C and D), which should not be summarily overlooked or brushed off.

Along the same lines as Hacham, Magliano-Tromp dismisses many of the verbal similarities that previous scholarship has adduced as suggestive of literary dependence between LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees. He argues, for instance, that "the use of the word προστετάχαμεν [in LXX Esth B:6 and 3 Macc 3:25 and 7:8] is not very specific for either writing" since "προστάσσειν, 'to order', is a typical activity for kings, and both the use of the pluperfect [*sic*] and the majestic plural is common," as it is attested in Ptolemaic royal documents, or that "the argument that both writings use the expression 'to rob someone from both his rule and his life' [in LXX Esth E:12 and in 3 Macc 6:24] becomes less compelling once it is acknowledged that this is probably a stock phrase, repeatedly used, for instance, by Polybius."<sup>68</sup> It should be noted, however, that the presence of the formulaic

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<sup>64</sup> Hacham, "3 Maccabees and Esther," 780.

<sup>65</sup> Hacham, "3 Maccabees and Esther," 774 n. 39.

<sup>66</sup> See 3.2.2 and 3.2.3.

<sup>67</sup> Kopidakis, *Γ' Μακκαβαίων*, 19–22.

<sup>68</sup> Magliano-Tromp, "Relations," 64–65.

term προστετάχαμεν in other sources aside from Addition B to LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees does not exclude the possibility of an intertextual connexion between the two Septuagint texts. The existence of such a connexion is in fact corroborated by the occurrence in the context of both LXX Esth B:6 and 3 Macc 3:25 of a reference to a written missive (ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις and τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, respectively), of the phrase σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις, “wives and children included,” and of terms denoting violent death (ἀπολέσαι and ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς ... φόνον, respectively). The combination of these elements, as found in the aforementioned verses of Addition B to Esther and 3 Maccabees, does not occur anywhere else.<sup>69</sup> As for the expression “to rob someone from his rule and his life,” it should be pointed out that although Polybius uses more than once the combination στερέω (“to deprive”) + ἀρχή (“rule”) + βίος (“life”), the combination στερέω/μεθίστημι + ἀρχή + πνεῦμα (“breath of life”) found in LXX Esth E:12, AT Esth 7:26, and 3 Macc 6:24 is unique in ancient Greek literature. This allows us to posit an intertextual connexion between the texts that share this combination, all the more so, as in 3 Macc 6:24 we also encounter the noun εὐεργέτης, “benefactor,” and the verbs ἐπιχειρέω, “to attempt,” and μηχανάομαι, “to scheme,” which occur in close proximity in LXX Esth E:3.<sup>70</sup>

Among the scholars who have addressed the relationship between 3 Maccabees and GVL Esther, Schildenberger and Milik have touched upon the issue only en passant. Regrettably, Schildenberger’s views are often theologically biased.<sup>71</sup> Motzo’s conclusions are tied to his theory of the “libero rifacimento greco di Ester” and its contamination with a literal translation of the Hebrew Esther, which has been contested in recent years.<sup>72</sup> Thambyrajah’s investigation is based on only four passages, one from the canonical section of VL Esther, two from VL Addition C, and one from VL Addition B. About one-third of his study is devoted to the

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<sup>69</sup> See Study 2, 2.2.

<sup>70</sup> See 2.2.8 with n. 98 and the table in Appendix 6.

<sup>71</sup> See Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 39 [279]: “Die Abhängigkeit liegt kaum auf seiten von E<sup>2</sup> [=GVL], sondern auf seiten von 3 Mkk. E<sup>2</sup> steht geistig unvergleichlich höher als 3 Mkk.”; ib. 43 [283]: “Da mit moralischer Sicherheit feststeht, dass diese dk Zusätze mit der griech. Urform E<sup>2</sup> ein einheitliches Werk bilden, so ergibt sich mit dem gleichen Grad moralischer Sicherheit, dass der Verfasser von E<sup>2</sup> nicht bloss bei diesen Zusätzen, sondern auch bei seinen Auslassungen und bei seiner Übersetzungstätigkeit inspiriert war, dass also E<sup>2</sup> als Ganzes ein vom Hl. Geist eingegebenes Werk ist.”

<sup>72</sup> See Magliano-Tromp, “Relations,” 60–65; Haelewyck, “Relevance,” 455–56, 472.



discussion of one of these passages, the plus in VL Esth C:16, which he considers to be “key to evaluating the nature of the relationship between 3 Maccabees and Esther’s additional material.”<sup>73</sup> This plus does not fit well within his categorization.<sup>74</sup> It cannot be assigned to the “additional material,” as it is missing in the LXX and the AT, and cannot be part of the “peripheral material,” because apart from the VL it is also found in the Armenian and one of the two Old Georgian versions. The classification of VL Esth C:7 also poses issues. Thambyrajah assigns it to the “peripheral material,” because it is found in no other version of Esther.<sup>75</sup> Now, the plus contained in VL Esth C:7, namely, Mordecai’s plea to Yahweh *appare domine, cognoscere domine*, “show yourself, O Lord, be known, O Lord,” also occurs in the prayer of Esther, in VL Esth C:23, while its Greek equivalent, ἐπιφάνηθι ἡμῖν, κύριε, καὶ γνώσθητι ἡμῖν, occurs in AT Esth 4:24 [C:23]).<sup>76</sup> Thus, as per Thambyrajah’s categorization, VL Esth C:7, being absent in the other versions, is part of the “peripheral material,” which originated in 3 Maccabees, whereas VL Esth C:23, which contains the same phrase as VL Esth C:7, being present in one more version, namely, the Alpha Text, cannot be part of the “peripheral material” and should rather be included in the “additional material,” which originated in the GVV. In addition to this discrepancy, Thambyrajah draws a parallel between VL Esth C:7 (prayer of Mordecai) and 3 Macc 5:51 (prayer of the Jews), on the basis of the “verbal similarity” that they share.<sup>77</sup> However, the prayer in 3 Macc 5:51 does not contain the plea ἐπιφάνηθι, “Appear!” which occurs in VL Esth C:7.<sup>78</sup> The Jews in this prayer, which is given in indirect speech, entreat Yahweh to show pity on them by a manifestation (οἰκτεῖραι μετὰ ἐπιφανείας).<sup>79</sup> The exact verbal parallel in this case involves VL Esth C:7 (Mordecai’s prayer), VL Esth C:23 (Esther’s prayer), and 3 Macc 6:9 (Eleazar’s prayer), in all three of which occurs the imperative *appare/ἐπιφάνηθι*. Based on his analysis of VL Esth C:16, Thambyrajah

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<sup>73</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 714.

<sup>74</sup> See 1.3.

<sup>75</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 702, 712–13.

<sup>76</sup> See 2.2.6.

<sup>77</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 702.

<sup>78</sup> See the table in Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 701, where it is inaccurately stated that the imperative “Appear!” occurs in both VL Esth C:7 and 3 Macc 5:51.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. the prayer in 3 Macc 5:7–8, where the Jews ask Yahweh to save them with a magnificent manifestation (5:8: ῥύσασθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ μεγαλομεροῦς ἐπιφανείας). See 2.2.6 with n. 66.

generalizes that the additional material, “in particular B, C, and E,” was borrowed as a whole from GVVL Esther into 3 Maccabees,<sup>80</sup> and concludes that “it is unambiguously the Vetus Latina rather than the Septuagint or Alpha Text that is closest to 3 Maccabees,”<sup>81</sup> a statement that needs to be further substantiated in order to be accepted.

## 1.5 Aim and method of the study

In the present study, I will revisit the debate on the relationship between 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther. More specifically, I will address the following questions which arise from the divergent conclusions that previous studies have reached: is 3 Maccabees involved in an intertextual relationship<sup>82</sup> with LXX or with GVVL Esther? Does this relationship concern only some portions of LXX or GVVL Esther, in particular the deuterocanonical Additions B, C, D, and E, or the rest of LXX or GVVL Esther, as well? Is there a one-way dependence between 3 Maccabees and LXX or GVVL Esther or an interdependence? And does the intertextual relationship that presumably exists between 3 Maccabees and LXX or GVVL Esther involve other texts (intertexts), too, either Septuagint or extra-Septuagint ones?

My approach will be similar to that taken by Hacham in his previously discussed study, namely, it will involve closely examining the lexical and phraseological similarities shared by the texts under discussion (3 Maccabees, LXX Esther, as well as VL and AT Esther, which Hacham did not deal with). However, it will also be informed, on the one hand, by my aforementioned critical observations on Hacham’s article and other previous studies (see 1.2), and, on the other hand, by a set of criteria for assessing the existence and direction of intertextual dependence that have been proposed in recent biblical scholarship.

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<sup>80</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 714.

<sup>81</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 700.

<sup>82</sup> By “intertextual relationship” I hear mean a relationship of dependence between two texts, the chronologically posterior of which (hypertext) quotes, alludes to, echoes, or otherwise makes use of the chronologically anterior one (hypotext).

From the critical observations made in 1.4 arise the following considerations that I will take into account in this study:

1. The uniqueness or rarity of a word or combination of words within a limited corpus cannot be the sole determining criterion for establishing an intertextual connexion between the texts that share them; one should operate based on the most comprehensive corpus/corpora possible, encompassing all types of texts, biblical/Septuagint as well as extra-biblical/extra-Septuagint, literary as well as documentary, along with a diverse set of criteria.
2. Intertextual clues are to be sought not only at the level of individual words or phrases but also within the broader context where similar terms occur.
3. Strong evidence of an intertextual connexion between two texts found in a specific part of one text (e.g., in Additions B and E to Esther) should not lead us to dismiss a priori the existence of intertextual connexions in the rest of that text, where, for one reason or another, the intertextual clues may be less strong and discernible.
4. An intertextual relationship may involve more than two texts.

In addition to these general considerations, to assess whether the verbal similarities shared by the texts that I will examine suggest an intertextual connexion, I will take into account a few more specific criteria. I have compiled the following list based on the sets of criteria that have been put forth by scholars who have addressed the issue of literary dependence in studies dealing with texts of both the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament (Edenburg, Nurmela, Leonard, Tooman, Bergsma) and the New Testament (MacDonald, Williams):

1. Words that are uniquely shared by two texts provide strong evidence of an intertextual connexion. Shared rare or distinctive words provide stronger evidence of an intertextual connexion than shared common words; common words can also be involved in an intertextual connexion,

but it is more difficult to substantiate such a connexion relying solely on them.<sup>83</sup>

2. Shared sequences of words, particularly those containing rare or distinctive words, are more likely to indicate an intertextual connexion than shared single words.<sup>84</sup> Verbatim and contiguous sequences of words provide the strongest evidence for an intertextual connexion; sequences of words modified by insertion, deletion, inversion, substitution of synonyms, change of inflection, and rearrangement of elements may also provide evidence for an intertextual connexion; however, the more a sequence is transformed, the more difficult it becomes to identify the connexion, and the weaker the case for the intertextual relationship between the texts that share the sequence.<sup>85</sup>
3. The greater the number of shared words or sequences of words between two texts, the closer their proximity, and the more similar the order in which they occur, the higher the likelihood of a connexion between these texts; shared words or sequences of words that provide strong evidence of an intertextual relationship between two texts enhance the likelihood

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<sup>83</sup> Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 251–52 ("shared language that is rare or distinctive"); Nurmela, *Prophets*, 27–28; Tooman, *Gog*, 27–28 ("uniqueness," "distinctiveness"); Edenburg, "How (not) to Murder a King," 72 ("unique recurrence of peculiar formulations"); Bergsma, "Biblical Manumission Laws," 66–67 ("shared low-frequency vocabulary"); MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8–9 ("distinctiveness"); Williams, "Intertextuality," 180 ("type of similarities").

<sup>84</sup> Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 252–53 ("shared phrases"); Bergsma, "Biblical Manumission Laws," 67–68 ("shared low-frequency word sequences").

<sup>85</sup> Bergsma, "Biblical Manumission Laws," 68; cf. Tooman, *Gog*, 30–31 ("inversion"); Edenburg, "How (not) to Murder a King," 72 ("transformation and reactualization of a common element"). Cf. Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 249: "The presence of shared language may serve to indicate a connection between texts or traditions. More importantly, however, the fact that a text contains additional language that is idiosyncratic or not shared in no way undermines the possibility of a connection. Unique or idiosyncratic language may be a reflection of the creativity or writing style of a given author. It may even point toward an author's use of multiple sources"; cf. also Williams, "Intertextuality," 180: "Verbatim agreement across multiple words or phrases provides the clearest indication of literary borrowing; however, a difference in the form and order of words need not rule out a literary connection between two texts. In some cases, a receptor-text might depart from its source-text in significant ways (...). Therefore, the similarities between two texts should be the determining factor for evaluating literary dependence, not their differences."

that shared words or sequences of words providing weaker evidence are also involved in an intertextual connexion.<sup>86</sup>

4. Shared words, especially rare or distinctive ones, that appear in similar contexts offer stronger evidence of an intertextual connexion than shared words alone.<sup>87</sup>
5. Thematic correspondences between two texts corroborate the existence of an intertextual connexion between them when combined with shared language.<sup>88</sup>
6. The more of the above criteria that are met, the stronger the claim for an intertextual connexion becomes.<sup>89</sup>

Ascertaining the direction of dependence, once the existence of an intertextual connexion between texts that share verbal similarities is established, is a challenging and often inconclusive undertaking. Given the uncertainty that surrounds the date of composition/translation of the texts that I will discuss in this study,<sup>90</sup> the direction of dependence cannot be adjudicated on the basis of a relation of chronological anteriority/posteriority of one text vis-à-vis another. For this reason, I will rely on the following textual criteria, which have been proposed by Leonard, Nurmela, Tooman, and Edenburg:

1. Between two texts that share verbal similarities, the one displaying a general tendency to borrow from other texts is more likely to be dependent on the one displaying no such tendency or exhibiting it to a lesser extent.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 253 ("accumulation of shared language"); Tooman, *Gog*, 28–29 ("multiplicity"); MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8 ("density," "order"); Williams, "Intertextuality," 180 ("number of similarities").

<sup>87</sup> Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 255 ("shared language in similar contexts"); Nurmela, *Prophets*, 27; Edenburg, "How (not) to Murder a King," 72 ("similarity of context and/or structure").

<sup>88</sup> Tooman, *Gog*, 29–30 ("thematic correspondence").

<sup>89</sup> Edenburg, "How (not) to Murder a King," 72 ("accumulative evidence"); Tooman, *Gog*, 31; Williams, "Intertextuality," 181.

<sup>90</sup> See 1.1.

<sup>91</sup> Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 262 ("general pattern of dependence"); cf. Williams, "Intertextuality," 179 ("authorial tendency").

2. Between two texts that share a verbal similarity, the one of which the shared verbal element is more typical is likely to be the source text and the other the receiving text.<sup>92</sup>
3. Between two texts that exhibit a verbal similarity, the one in which the shared verbal element is less well integrated in its context is likely to be dependent on the other.<sup>93</sup>
4. If a shared verbal element occurs many times in one text and only once in the other text, it is more likely that the receiving text is the one with the single occurrence.<sup>94</sup>
5. Between two texts that share a verbal similarity, the one which seems to have introduced modifications to the shared verbal material in order to adjust it to its own distinctive language, style, and ideas is the borrowing text.<sup>95</sup>

It is important to emphasize that all of the criteria mentioned above are merely rules of thumb, which cannot ensure absolute certainty in every case where they are applied, and that the assessment of verbal parallels on the basis of such criteria inevitably involves a degree of subjectivity.<sup>96</sup>

The lexical and phraseological similarities shared between 3 Maccabees and LXX and AT Esther that I will discuss in this study were identified by comparing the concordances of these texts, which I compiled with the help of the tools provided by the Accordance and the Logos Bible Software.<sup>97</sup> Due to the lack of a searchable text of VL Esther, I had to rely on a careful reading of Haelewyck's critical edition and his "Introduction" to it. To facilitate the comparison with 3 Maccabees, I occasionally attempted to reach the Greek text that underlies VL Esther (GVVL) by retroverting into Greek the R-text of the VL, which, according

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<sup>92</sup> Nurmela, *Prophets*, 31; "Growth," 256.

<sup>93</sup> Nurmela, *Prophets*, 32–33; Edenburg, "How (not) to Murder a King," 68, 72–73 ("ungrammatical' [*sensu* Riffaterre] actualization of a common element"); Tooman, *Gog*, 33 ("integration").

<sup>94</sup> Tooman, *Gog*, 32–33 ("volume of use").

<sup>95</sup> Tooman, *Gog*, 33 ("modification").

<sup>96</sup> See the caveats put forward by Leonard, "Identifying Inner-Biblical Allusions," 264–65, Tooman, *Gog*, 35, MacDonald, *Homeric Epics*, 8, and Williams, "Intertextuality," 181.

<sup>97</sup> Accordance Bible Software, Oaktree Software, Inc., version 13.3.4 (LXXG-EST-O and LXXG-EST-L); Logos Bible Software 7, Faithlife (LXX-G Es, LXX-G Es L, LXX-G 3 Mac).

to Haelewyck, reflects the oldest, unrevised version of VL Esther.<sup>98</sup> The underlying assumption behind such an attempt is that VL Esther reflects fairly faithfully a Greek *Vorlage* that differed in several aspects from LXX and AT Esther, and that it was not a “rifacimento” made by the Latin translator on the basis of a Greek version of Esther that was quite similar to one of the aforementioned versions that have come down to us, most likely the LXX.<sup>99</sup> This assumption relies on the opinions expressed by VL Esther experts such as Motzo and Haelewyck. The former asserts that the first Latin translator, possibly a Jew who had a poor knowledge of Greek and a crude knowledge of Latin, followed servilely his source text. His ineptitude led him to errors of incomprehension, which are most evident in Additions B and E, whose ornate style he tried to render mechanically into Latin, often producing a text that makes little sense. Yet, thanks to his close attachment to his *Vorlage*, Motzo remarks, we can glean from the VL some valuable readings, which are older than those of LXX and AT Esther.<sup>100</sup> Both Motzo and Haelewyck emphasize that the pluses and minuses that the VL exhibits vis-à-vis LXX and AT Esther were already present in its Greek *Vorlage* and are not the result of any liberties that the Latin translator took with it.<sup>101</sup>

To conduct lexical searches on extra-biblical Greek texts, I used the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: A Digital Library of Greek Literature (TLG);<sup>102</sup> for epigraphical texts, I relied on the Searchable Greek Inscriptions: A Scholarly Tool in Progress (The Packard Humanities Institute)<sup>103</sup> and the Supplementum Epigraphicum

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<sup>98</sup> The R-text is best represented by MS VL 151 (Corbeiensis 7) as well as by MSS VL 155 and 130. See Haelewyck, *Hester*, 40, 46, 68.

<sup>99</sup> This is what Macchi, *Esther*, 23, 31, posits.

<sup>100</sup> Motzo, “Versione latina,” 141–46.

<sup>101</sup> See Motzo, “Versione latina,” 141–42, 145; Haelewyck, *Hester*, 90 n. 169, 91–92; cf. id. “Relevance,” 440–41. Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 15, maintains that the readings that are exclusive to VL Esther originated in the Greek *Urform*, namely, the GVVL, but considers it likely that the VL contains some later additions, too. On the pluses, the minuses, and the other differences of the VL vis-à-vis the other Esther versions, see Haelewyck, *Hester*, 79–84. On the close adherence of the Old Latin translators to their Greek *Vorlagen*, see Haelewyck, “Relevance,” 440: “The Latin translator is always the faithful witness of a Greek model. He is not writing an original work, in the sense that he does not rework the text in front of him. He simply makes a calque of it, and sometimes a very slavish one.”

<sup>102</sup> <https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu>.

<sup>103</sup> <https://inscriptions.packhum.org>.

Graecum Online;<sup>104</sup> and for papyrological texts, I ran searches using the Papyri.info database.<sup>105</sup>

The text and the verse numeration of LXX and AT Esther follow Hanhart's Göttingen edition<sup>106</sup> and those of VL Esther (R-text), Haelewyck's critical edition.<sup>107</sup> The text of 3 Maccabees is quoted from Hanhart's Göttingen edition.<sup>108</sup> The text of other Septuagint books is quoted from the Göttingen editions of these books, where available, otherwise from Rahlfs and Hanhart's *Septuaginta*. For the text of extra-Septuagint books, I have followed the editions provided by the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae online database. For ancient works, I have used the abbreviations found in *The SBL Handbook of Style*.<sup>109</sup> For papyri and inscriptions, I have used the abbreviations found in the previously-cited epigraphical and papyrological databases. The translation of MT Esther follows the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) and that of VL Esther, Bellmann and Portier-Young<sup>110</sup> with minor changes.

The intertextual relationship between 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther will be further discussed—this time in connexion with the *Letter of Aristeas*—in the second study included in this volume, which is titled “Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas*” (hereafter Study 2).

## 1.6 Structure of the study

The main part of this study comprises three chapters. In Chapter 2, I will attempt to establish whether there exists an intertextual relationship between the GVVL, as it is reflected in VL Esther, and 3 Maccabees. For this purpose, I will examine a number of words/phrases/verses in the canonical and the deuterocanonical parts of VL Esther, which constitute pluses vis-à-vis LXX and AT Esther and have verbal parallels in 3 Maccabees. In Chapter 3, I will test the claim made in previous studies that the canonical parts of LXX/AT Esther are not involved in any intertextual

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<sup>104</sup> <https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/sego/>.

<sup>105</sup> <https://papyri.info>.

<sup>106</sup> Hanhart, *Esther*. Hanhart uses the sigla *o'* for the LXX and *L* for the AT.

<sup>107</sup> Haelewyck, *Hester*.

<sup>108</sup> Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*.

<sup>109</sup> Collins, Buller, and Kutsko, *SBL Handbook of Style*, 124–70.

<sup>110</sup> Bellmann and Portier-Young, “Old Latin Book of Esther.”



relationship with 3 Maccabees. To this end, I will examine a number of words/phrases/verses within the canonical parts of LXX/AT Esther, which have verbal parallels in 3 Maccabees but no counterparts in VL Esther. In Chapter 4, I will look at the verbal similarities shared between the prayers in 3 Maccabees and those in the deuterocanonical Addition C to Esther. Considering the significant differences between the LXX/AT version and the VL version of these prayers, the aim of my investigation will be to establish which of the two versions maintains an intertextual relationship with 3 Maccabees. The findings from Chapters 2 to 4 will be summarized and assessed in Chapter 5 (Conclusion). When reading sections 2.2.4, 2.2.8, 2.2.9, 4.2.4, and 4.3, I encourage the reader to refer to the tables provided in Appendices 1 to 4 located at the end of this book.

## *Chapter 2.*

# Verbal similarities between VL Esther and 3 Maccabees

## 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine ten verbal similarities which are shared between VL Esther and 3 Maccabees (2.2.1–2.2.9a–b).<sup>1</sup> Some of these similarities have been identified in previous studies, whereas others have hitherto not been taken into account. Most of the words/phrases/verses in VL Esther that I will look at in comparison with 3 Maccabees are pluses over against LXX and AT Esther (2.2.1; 2.2.3; 2.2.4; 2.2.5; 2.2.7; 2.2.8; 2.2.9a). However, I will also look at two cases where the verbal agreement between VL Esther and 3 Maccabees concerns words/phrases in the former text which, without being pluses vis-à-vis LXX and AT Esther, differ from those occurring in both or only one of these versions (2.2.2; 2.2.6), and one case where the verbal similarity is shared between LXX/AT/VL Esther and 3 Maccabees (2.2.9b). The words/phrases/verses of VL Esther that I will discuss occur both in its canonical sections (in chapters 3 and 4) and in the deuterocanonical Additions (B, C, D, E); their parallels in 3 Maccabees occur throughout the book (in chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7).

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<sup>1</sup> Despite my careful reading of VL Esther and 3 Maccabees, I cannot claim to be exhaustive with regard to the number of verbal parallels that are shared exclusively between the two books.

## 2.2 Discussion

### 2.2.1

- MT Esth 3:15: The king and Haman sat down to drink; but the city of Susa was thrown into confusion (NRSV)
- LXX Esth 3:15: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ Αμαν ἐκωθωνίζοντο, ἐταράσσετο δὲ ἡ πόλις
- AT Esth 4:1: καὶ ἡ πόλις Σοῦσα ἐταράσσετο ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγεννημένοις
- VL Esth 3:15: *et convivium fecerunt omnes gentes Aman autem cum introisset regiam cum amicis luxuriabatur*
- 3 Macc 4:1: δημοτελὴς συνίστατο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐωχία

LXX Esth 3:15, following fairly closely the MT, recounts what happened in Susa soon after King Artaxerxes issued his anti-Jewish decree: the king and Haman sat drinking heavily (ἐκωθωνίζοντο), while the city was in turmoil (ἐταράσσετο δὲ ἡ πόλις). The corresponding verse in the AT makes no mention of Haman and the king; it only states that the city of Susa was in turmoil (ἡ πόλις Σοῦσα ἐταράσσετο) because of what had happened (ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγεννημένοις). In VL Esth 3:15, Haman revels in the palace with his friends (*cum amicis luxuriabatur*) instead of with the king, while in the city “all the nations<sup>2</sup> made a banquet” (*et convivium fecerunt omnes gentes*). The last phrase is a plus vis-à-vis the other versions, which reflects a Greek text likely reading καὶ πότον (or a synonymous noun)<sup>3</sup> ἐποίησαν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη. This plus has a parallel in 3 Macc 4:1, which recounts that a public feast<sup>4</sup> (δημοτελὴς εὐωχία) was made for the nations (τοῖς ἔθνεσιν) right after the publication of King Ptolemy IV Philopator’s anti-Jewish decree, in every place where the decree was sent.<sup>5</sup> It is noteworthy that the noun εὐωχία, “banquet,

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<sup>2</sup> *gentes* here likely renders ἔθνη, “nations,” in the sense of “gentiles.”

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LXX Esth 1:5: ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πότον (VL: *potum/convivium*) τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; LXX Esth 2:18: καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πότον (VL: *convivium*); LXX Esth 5:4: εἰς τὴν δοχὴν (VL: *in convivium*).

<sup>4</sup> Or “a feast made at the public cost.”

<sup>5</sup> See Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 291–92.

feast,” which is used in this verse, occurs in combination with πότος in Josephus’ paraphrase of Esth 3:15 (A.J. 11.220: ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀμάνης πρὸς εὐωχίαις καὶ πότοις ἦσαν).

3 Macc 4:1 has one more point of contact with VL Esther, which I will discuss next.

### 2.2.2

- MT Esth 4:3: In every province, wherever the king’s command and his decree came, there was great mourning among the Jews, with fasting and weeping and lamenting (NRSV)
- LXX Esth 4:3: καὶ ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ, οὗ ἐξετίθετο τὰ γράμματα, κραυγὴ καὶ κοπετὸς καὶ πένθος μέγα τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις
- AT Esth 4:1: καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἦν πένθος μέγα καὶ πικρὸν ἐν πάσῃ πόλει
- VL Esth 3:14: *et ubicumque proponebatur exemplum epistulae turbatio ingens erat per regionem ... [3:15] et in Susis propositum erat exemplum et convivium fecerunt omnes gentes ... [4:3] ubicumque igitur proponebatur exemplum epistulae ploratio et luctus ingens fiebat apud omnes Iudaeos*
- 3 Macc 4:1: πάντῃ δέ, ὅπου προσέπιπτε τοῦτο τὸ πρόσταγμα, δημοτελὴς συνίστατο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐωχία ... [4:2] τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις ἄλεκτον πένθος ἦν καὶ πανόδυρτος μετὰ δακρύων βοή ... [4:3] ... τίνες ἀγυιαί κοπετοῦ καὶ γόνων ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐνεπιπλῶντο;

LXX Esth 4:3/AT Esth 4:1/VL Esth 4:3 and 3 Macc 4:1–3 recount in similar terms the impact that the promulgation of the extermination decrees issued by King Artaxerxes and King Ptolemy IV Philopator, respectively, had on the Jews. LXX Esth 4:3 begins with a locative prepositional phrase (ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ, “in every land”), followed by a relative clause (οὗ ἐξετίθετο τὰ γράμματα, “where the letters were exhibited publicly”), and continues with a tripartite polysyndeton: κραυγὴ καὶ κοπετὸς καὶ πένθος μέγα, “crying and wailing and great mourning”. In the MT there is also mention of fasting, which is here omitted. AT Esth 4:1 mentions only

the “great and bitter mourning” (πένθος μέγα καὶ πικρόν), omits the relative clause, and employs a different prepositional phrase, ἐν πάσῃ πόλει, “in every city,” which it places in sentence-final position. In VL Esther, the initial position of verse 4:3 is filled by an adverb of place, *ubicumque*, “wherever,” followed by the phrase *proponebatur exemplum epistulae*, which reflect a Greek text likely reading οὗ ἂν/πάντῃ ὅπου ἐξετίθετο ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.<sup>6</sup> Instead of the three nouns that we find in the polysyndeton in LXX Esth 4:3 (κραυγή, κοπετός, πένθος), VL Esth 4:3 has two, *luctus*, corresponding to πένθος, and *ploratio*, corresponding to κραυγή/κοπετός. VL Esth 4:3 is preceded by 3:15,<sup>7</sup> where the plus *et convivium fecerunt omnes gentes*, which I discussed previously (2.2.1), occurs, and by 3:14, which has the same opening as 4:3 (*ubicumque proponebatur exemplum epistulae...*), in contrast to LXX Esth 3:14, which, following fairly closely the MT, reads τὰ δὲ ἀντίγραφα τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἐξετίθετο κατὰ χώραν, “the copies of the letters were displayed publicly in every land.”

3 Macc 4:1–3 provides a parallel closer to VL Esth 3:14–4:3 than to LXX Esth 4:3: πάντῃ δέ, ὅπου προσέπιπτε τοῦτο τὸ πρόσταγμα (3 Macc 4:1) corresponds to *et ubicumque proponebatur exemplum epistulae* (VL Esth 3:14; 4:3), δημοτελὴς συνίστατο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐωχία (3 Macc 4:1) to *convivium fecerunt omnes gentes* (VL Esth 3:15), ἄλεκτον πένθος ... καὶ πανόδυρτος μετὰ δακρύων βοή (3 Macc 4:2) to *ploratio et luctus ingens* (VL Esth 4:3), and τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις (3 Macc 4:2) to *apud omnes Iudaeos* (VL Esth 4:3; cf. AT Esth 4:1: πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις). In 3 Macc 4:1–3 occur two of the three nouns that we find in LXX Esth 4:3 (πένθος, modified by the dative τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, and κοπετός), plus γόος, “weeping, wailing,” and the circumlocution πανόδυρτος μετὰ δακρύων βοή, “lamentable crying with tears.” The relative clause ὅπου προσέπιπτε τοῦτο τὸ πρόσταγμα in 3 Macc 4:1 does not use the same verb and noun as LXX and VL Esth 4:3 (ἐκτίθημι + γράμματα/*propono* + *exemplum epistulae*) to designate the promulgation of the royal order; however, the combination that it employs, namely, προσπίπτω + πρόσταγμα, occurs elsewhere in LXX Esther.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cf. LXX Esth 8:17: κατὰ πόλιν καὶ χώραν, οὗ ἂν ἐξετέθη τὸ πρόσταγμα, οὗ ἂν ἐξετέθη τὸ ἔκθεμα; VL Esth 8:17: *secundum civitatem et regionem ubicumque praepositum erat exemplum epistulae*.

<sup>7</sup> In the VL, due to a transposition of verses, 3:14, 3:15, and 4:3 are consecutive. See Haelewyck, *Hester*, 81.

<sup>8</sup> See LXX Esth 9:4: προσέπεσεν γὰρ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνομασθῆναι ἐν πάσῃ τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Some scholars take the verb προσέπεσεν to be impersonal, having as its subject the infinitive

The number of verbal points of contact shared by LXX Esth 4:3/VL Esth 3:14–4:3 and 3 Macc 4:1–3 makes the intertextual connexion between them very likely. In this case, the direction of influence cannot but run from the former to the latter because at 4:3, LXX, VL, and, to a lesser extent, AT Esther follow fairly closely the MT. The two extra points of contact that 3 Macc 4:1–3 has with VL Esth 3:14–4:3 vis-à-vis LXX Esth 4:3, namely, *πάντη δέ, ὅπου/et ubicumque* and *δημοτελὴς συνίστατο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐωχία/convivium fecerunt omnes gentes*, suggest that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with the GVVL rather than with the LXX version of the aforementioned verses. It is certainly possible that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with LXX Esth 4:3, which he adapted by turning *καὶ ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ* to *πάντη δέ, ὅπου* (since Egypt did not consist of many *χώραι* like the Persian kingdom) and by adding the phrase *δημοτελὴς συνίστατο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν εὐωχία*, and that the composer of GVVL Esther borrowed the latter elements from 3 Macc 4:1–3. However, the phrase *et convivium fecerunt omnes gentes* is more at home in GVVL/VL Esther, as it seems to have been added to create a contrastive counterpart to MT/LXX/GVVL/VL Esth 8:17, which states that when King Artaxerxes’ decree countermanding his previous extermination order was made known in every city and land of the kingdom there was joy and feasting among the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

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ὀνομασθῆναι, which in turn has as subject τὸ πρόσταγμα (so Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 299: “προσέπεσεν=συνέβη”; cf. Jobes’ translation (“Esther,” 438): “For it turned out that the king’s ordinance was referred to by name throughout all the kingdom”; cf. also AT Esth 7:43: *καὶ προσέπεσεν ἐν Σούσοις ὀνομασθῆναι Ἀμαν καὶ τοὺς ἀντικειμένους ἐν πάσῃ βασιλείᾳ*). Other scholars take *προσέπεσεν* to be personal, having as its subject τὸ πρόσταγμα. E.g., Muraoka, *Syntax*, 349 n. 1, notes that “in the *ó* version [of Esth 9:4] τὸ πρόσταγμα can only be the subject of *προσέπεσεν*, and not of *ὀνομασθῆναι*: ‘the order of the king arrived ...’.” Elsewhere in the Septuagint, the combination *προσπίπτω* + *πρόσταγμα* occurs only in 1 Esd 8:8, and the combination *προσπίπτω* + *ἐπιστολή* only in 3 Macc 3:25. The combinations *ἐκτίθημι* + *ἀντίγραφον ἐπιστολῆς*, *ἐκτίθημι* + *γράμματα/πρόσταγμα*, and *προσπίπτω* + *ἐπιστολή* are attested in literary and/or documentary texts, whereas the combination *προσπίπτω* + *πρόσταγμα* is not attested outside the Septuagint.

<sup>9</sup> MT Esth 8:17: “In every province and in every city, wherever the king’s command and his edict came, there was gladness and joy among the Jews, a festival and a holiday” (NRSV); LXX Esth 8:17: *κατὰ πόλιν καὶ χώραν, οὗ ἂν ἐξετέθη τὸ πρόσταγμα, οὗ ἂν ἐξετέθη τὸ ἔκθεμα, χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, κώθων καὶ εὐφροσύνη*; VL Esth 8:16–17: *Iudaeis vero factum est lumen et alacritas ... ubicumque praepositum erat exemplum epistulae gaudium et voluptas*. LXX Esth 8:17 has a verbal point of contact (the noun *κώθων*) with 3 Macc 6:30. See 3.2.3.

### 2.2.3

- VL Esth 4:9: *et corpus eius formidolosum factum est*
- MT/LXX/AT Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 6:20: καὶ ὑπόφρικον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα ἐγενήθη

In Esth 4:7–8, the MT, the LXX, the AT (4:3–6), and the VL state that Mordecai entrusted a eunuch with a message to Queen Esther, asking her to intercede with the king on behalf of her people. In MT/LXX Esth 4:9–11/AT Esth 4:7–8, all three versions show Esther receiving the message and sending the eunuch matter-of-factly back to Mordecai with her answer. VL Esth 4:9, on the other hand, contains a plus, which shows the queen reacting dramatically: “When Esther had read the notes from her brother, she tore her clothing, cried out in a bitter and heavy voice, and lamented with great lament; and her body became fearful and her flesh collapsed.”<sup>10</sup> The segment “and her body became fearful” (*et corpus eius formidolosum factum est*) finds a parallel in 3 Macc 6:20, which depicts the reaction of King Ptolemy IV Philopator to the epiphany of Yahweh: καὶ ὑπόφρικον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα ἐγενήθη, “and even the body of the king was seized with shuddering.” The construction is the same in both verses (*corpus*/τὸ σῶμα, *eius*/τοῦ βασιλέως, *formidolosus*/ὑπόφρικον, *factum est*/ἐγενήθη) and has no parallel inside or outside the Septuagint. The adjective that modifies the noun *corpus* in VL Esth 4:9 is *formidolosus*, likely rendering a Greek adjective from the φόβος word group (e.g., ἔκ-/ἔμ-/περί-φοβος). The adjective that modifies the noun σῶμα in 3 Macc 6:20 is the *dis legomenon* ὑπόφρικος, a word perhaps drawn from a poetic text, if it is not a neologism coined by the author of the book. The choice of this adjective may have been triggered by the use of its cognate noun φρικασμός, “shuddering,” in a passage of 2 Maccabees which the author of 3 Maccabees seems to have known; this passage describes the fear of the high priest in Jerusalem when confronted with Heliodorus’ demand to enter the Temple.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Trans. Bellmann and Portier-Young, “Old Latin Book of Esther,” 277.

<sup>11</sup> 2 Macc 3:17: περιεκέχυτο γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα δέος τι καὶ φρικασμὸς σώματος. On the acquaintance of the author of 3 Maccabees with the Heliodorus story in 2 Maccabees, see Kopidakis, *Γ’ Μακκαβαίων*, 25–26; Tromp, “Formation,” 318–22; Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 223–24; see also 2.2.4.

The emphasis on the emotional and psychological states of the characters is a distinctive feature of VL as well as of AT Esther,<sup>12</sup> which, however, is not lacking in 3 Maccabees.<sup>13</sup> The rarity of the construction exhibited in VL Esth 4:9 and in 3 Macc 6:20, and the proximity of 3 Macc 6:20 with 3 Macc 6:22, which, as we will see further below (2.2.7), has verbal similarities with VL Esth D:8, make the possibility of an intertextual connexion between the verses discussed here seem likely. It is, however, difficult to establish the direction of the possible influence on the basis of this parallel alone.

#### 2.2.4

- VL Esth 4:17: *sponsi autem de thalamis exierunt et sponsae de pascuis suis separati sunt infantes a matribus suis presbyteri autem et anus exierunt ad deprecandum boves et pecora praecepit ut tribus diebus et tribus noctibus non pascerentur omnes autem acceperunt cinerem et invocabant excelsum dominum ut propitius illorum fieret humilitati*
- MT/LXX/AT Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 1:18: αἱ τε κατάκλειστοι παρθένοι ἐν θαλάμοις σὺν ταῖς τεκούσαις ἐξώρμησαν καὶ ἀπέδωκαν κόνει τὰς κόμας πασάμεναι γόου τε καὶ στεναγμῶν ἐνεπίμπλων τὰς πλατείας. [1:19] αἱ δὲ καὶ προσαρτίως ἐσταλμέναι τοὺς πρὸς ἀπάντησιν διατεταγμένους παστοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν αἰδῶ παραλείπουσαι δρόμον ἄτακτον ἐν τῇ πόλει συνίσταντο. [1:20] τὰ δὲ νεογνὰ τῶν τέκνων αἱ τε πρὸς τούτοις μητέρες καὶ τιθηνοὶ παραλείπουσαι ... [1:23] ... μόλις δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν γεραιῶν καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀποτραπέντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῆς δεήσεως παρῆσαν στάσιν. [1:27] ... ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὸ σὺν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν πᾶν κράτος ἔχοντα
- See Appendix 1

<sup>12</sup> See Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 15 [255]; Haelewyck, “Texte,” 27, 29, 31, 33.

<sup>13</sup> See 3 Macc 1:4, 16–17; 2:23; 3:1; 4:1–8, 16; 5:1, 30, 33–34, 42, 47; 6:20, 22–23; 7:20. Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 292, has drawn attention to the similarity between LXX Esth 7:8 and 3 Macc 5:33, which describe the change in the facial expression of Haman and Hermon, respectively, due to distress and fear. See 3.2.8.



In MT and LXX Esth 4:16, before intervening with the king on behalf of her people, Esther asks Mordecai to gather the Jews of Susa and to fast for her for three days and nights. In the corresponding verse in the AT [4:11], she asks him instead to proclaim a worship service and to pray earnestly to God. In the following verse, 4:17, the MT, the LXX, and the AT (4:12) simply state that Mordecai did what the queen had ordered him to do. The VL, on the other hand, has a plus, which gives a vivid depiction of the reaction of the Jews in Susa: “Bridegrooms went out from their bridal beds and brides from their pastures. Infants were separated from their mothers. The elders, moreover, and the matrons went out to intercede with prayer. He directed regarding the oxen and cattle that for three days and three nights they should not be pastured. Moreover, all received ash and were appealing to the highest lord that he might become gracious toward their humble state.”<sup>14</sup>

As can be seen in the table in Appendix 1, LXX Esth 4:16, AT Esth 4:11, and GVV/VL Esth 4:16–17 are all indebted in different ways to LXX Joel 1:14 and 2:15–16, where the prophet calls all the people of Jerusalem, including the aged, the infants, and the newly married, to pray and fast as an enemy army marches against the city. LXX Esth 4:16 and AT Esth 4:11 have each two different points of verbal contact with LXX Joel 2:15–16<sup>15</sup> and 1:14,<sup>16</sup> respectively, whereas GVV/VL Esth 4:16–17 is more extensively indebted to LXX Joel 2:15–16.<sup>17</sup> GVV/VL Esther also draws on LXX Joel 2:17 in the prayer of the Jews, which is not found in LXX/AT Esther.<sup>18</sup> The segment in GVV/VL Esth 4:16–17 referring to the fast imposed on the domestic animals draws on LXX Jonah 3:7.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Trans. Bellmann and Portier-Young, “Old Latin Book of Esther,” 278. This plus is also attested in the Second Targum to Esther (4.16).

<sup>15</sup> LXX Esth 4:16: ἐκκλησίασον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις (cf. LXX Joel 2:16: συναγάγετε λαόν, ἀγιάσατε ἐκκλησίαν) καὶ νηστεύσατε ἐπ’ ἐμοί (cf. LXX Joel 2:15: ἀγιάσατε νηστείαν).

<sup>16</sup> AT Esth 4:11: παραγγείλατε θεραπείαν (cf. LXX Joel 1:14: κηρύξατε θεραπείαν) καὶ δεήθητε τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκτενῶς (cf. LXX Joel 1:14: καὶ κεκράξατε πρὸς κύριον ἐκτενῶς).

<sup>17</sup> VL Esth 4:16–17: *praedica igitur sanitatem/praedixit sanitatem* (cf. LXX Joel 2:15: κηρύξατε θεραπείαν) *et annuntia ieiunium* (cf. LXX Joel 2:15: ἀγιάσατε νηστείαν) ... *presbyteris/presbyteri* (cf. LXX Joel 2:16: πρεσβυτέρους) ... *lactantes/infantes* (cf. LXX Joel 2:16: νήπια θηλάζοντα μαστούς) ... *sponsi autem exierunt de thalamis et sponsae de pascuis suis* (cf. LXX Joel 2:16: ἐξελθάτω νυμφίος ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτοῦ καὶ νύμφη ἐκ τοῦ παστοῦ αὐτῆς). See Motzo, “Versione latina,” 143.

<sup>18</sup> VL Esth H:5: *non des hereditatem nostram in infamiam ut hostes dominantur nostri*; cf. LXX Joel 2:17: μὴ δῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος τοῦ κατάρξαι αὐτῶν ἔθνη.

<sup>19</sup> VL Esth 4:16: *boves et pecora non pascantur tribus diebus*; 4:17: *boves et pecora praecepit ut tribus diebus et tribus noctibus non pascantur* (cf. LXX Jonah 3:7: οἱ βόες καὶ τὰ πρόβατα μὴ γευσάσθωσαν μηδὲν

3 Macc 1:16–29 depicts in a similar but more elaborate scene the reaction of the Jerusalemites of all ages to the threat posed by King Ptolemy IV Philopator’s demand to enter the Temple. These verses exhibit affinities of content and diction with GVVL/VL Esth 4:17: in 3 Macc 1:18–19, the secluded virgins (αἱ κατάκλειστοι παρθένοι) and the recently married women (αἱ προσαρτίως ἑσταλμένοι) get out from their bed-chambers (θαλάμοις) and nuptial chambers (παστούς), respectively; in VL Esth 4:17, the bridegrooms get out from their bed-chambers (*de thalamis*=ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων) and the brides from their nuptial chambers (*de pascuis*=*de pastis*=ἐκ τῶν παστῶν);<sup>20</sup> in 3 Macc 1:20, the mothers and the nurses leave unattended their newly-born children (τὰ νεογνὰ τῶν τέκνων); in VL Esth 4:17, the infants (*infantes*) are separated (*separati sunt*) from their mothers (cf. 3 Macc 5:50: τὰ νήπια χωρίσαντες τῶν μαστῶν); 3 Macc 1:23 mentions the old men (γεραιῶν) and the elders (πρεσβυτέρων) as being among the supplicants; in VL Esth 4:17, the elders and the elderly women (*presbyteri et anus*) join the congregational prayer; in 3 Macc 1:18, the maidens sprinkle their hair with dust (κόνει) [and ashes?];<sup>21</sup> in VL Esth 4:17, all the Jews put on ashes (*cinerem*); lastly, in 3 Macc 1:27, all the Jews appeal (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι) to the one who has all power; in VL Esth 4:17, everyone appeals (*invocabant*) to the most high Lord.

Other similar scenes can be found in Jdt 4:10–15 and in 2 Macc 3:18–22. The latter passage is not only thematically akin to 3 Macc 1:18–27, as it depicts the commotion caused in Jerusalem by Heliodorus’ imminent entrance and profanation of the Temple, but also shares notable verbal similarities with it: it uses the same or similar terms to designate the prostration of the priests (2 Macc 3:15: οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ... ἐν ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς στολαῖς ῥίψαντες ἑαυτούς; 3 Macc 1:16: τῶν

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μηδὲ νεμέσθωσαν). See Bickerman, “Notes,” 242 n. 16; Milik, “Modèles araméens,” 393–94, and Cavalier, *Esther*, 40. That the fasting of the animals in VL Esth 4:16–17 should last three days and three nights is likely an allusion to LXX Jonah 3:4–5: ἔτι τρεῖς ἡμέραι καὶ Νινευη καταστραφήσεται. καὶ ἐνεπίστευσαν οἱ ἄνδρες Νινευη τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐκήρυξαν νηστείαν.

<sup>20</sup> *de pascuis suis*, “from their pastures,” is the reading of MS 151, which is believed to preserve the oldest, unrevised text of VL Esther; however, it is MS 130 that seems to preserve the original reading, *de pastis suis*, which reflects an underlying Greek text reading ἐκ τῶν παστῶν αὐτῶν. Cf. LXX Joel 2:16. See Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester,” 278 n. 1, and Haelewyck, “Version latine,” 299.

<sup>21</sup> Instead of ἀπέδωκαν κόνει, the Lucianic MSS read σποδῷ καὶ κόνει, “with ashes and dust.” See Croy, *3 Maccabees*, 47, and Méléze Modrzejewski, *Troisième livre*, 133. However, the author of 3 Maccabees, who knew his Homer, may be using the noun κόνις here and at 4:6 in the sense of “ashes.” See Homer, *Il.* 18.23; *Od.* 24.316.

δὲ ἱερέων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐσθήσεσι προσπεσόντων), the people's rushing out of their houses (2 Macc 3:18: ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀγεληδὸν ἐξεπήδων; 3 Macc 1:17: οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπολειπόμενοι ... ἐξεπήδησαν), the secluded virgins (2 Macc 3:19: αἱ δὲ κατάκλειστοι τῶν παρθένων; 3 Macc 1:18: αἱ τε κατάκλειστοι παρθένοι), and the invocation of the Almighty God (2 Macc 3:22: ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν παγκρατὴ κύριον; 3 Macc 1:27: ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὸ ... ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν πᾶν κράτος ἔχοντα).<sup>22</sup>

It seems, thus, that in order to compose this scene, which precedes the prayer of the high priest Simon<sup>23</sup> just as the similar scene in VL Esther precedes the prayer of Mordecai, the author of 3 Maccabees combined thematic and verbal elements drawn from two sources: a Greek text that was very close to or identical with GVVL Esth 4:17 (which in turn was indebted to LXX Joel 2:15–16), and verses 3:15–22 from 2 Maccabees (or its source, namely, Jason of Cyrene's historiographic work). That 3 Maccabees depends directly on GVVL Esther and only indirectly, through the latter text, on LXX Joel can be seen from 3 Macc 1:18–19: under the influence of 2 Macc 3:19, the author of 3 Maccabees has the secluded virgins rather than the bridegrooms (which are mentioned in LXX Joel 2:16 and in VL Esth 4:17) rush out of their θάλαμοι.<sup>24</sup> The reference to the θάλαμοι, which is missing in 2 Macc 3:19, comes from GVVL Esth 4:17 (*de thalamis*=ἐκ τῶν θαλάμων) and not from LXX Joel 2:16, which uses instead the term κοιτών, “bed-chamber” (v.l. νυμφών, “bridal chamber”).

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<sup>22</sup> See above, n. 11.

<sup>23</sup> I designate the prayer in 3 Macc 2:2–20 as “the prayer of Simon,” although the verse which names Simon as the speaker of the prayer (3 Macc 2:1: ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀρχιερεὺς Σιμων ... ἐποίησατο τὴν δέησιν τοιαύτην) is not attested in the uncial codices Alexandrinus and Venetus but only in the MSS of the Lucianic recension and in the Peshitta. Rahlfs in Rahlfs and Hanhart, *Septuaginta*, 1141, introduces this verse in the main text, whereas Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber III*, 44, relegates it to the critical apparatus. If the verse is omitted, the prayer appears to have been uttered collectively by the people of Jerusalem. See Passoni Dell'Acqua, “Preghiere,” 136, 144–45.

<sup>24</sup> The author of 3 Maccabees mentions the newly-married men in another pathetic scene of the book, that of the “death march” of the Jews from their places of residence in the *chora* to Alexandria. There, he uses a long circumlocution to designate the newly-married women (4:8: αἱ δὲ ἄρτι πρὸς βίου κοινωνίαν γαμικὸν ὑπεληλυθυῖαι παστὸν νεάνιδες), whereas he designates the newly-married men simply as “their husbands” (4:8: οἱ τούτων συζυγεῖς).

## 2.2.5

- VL Esth C:16: *tu Ionam de ventre ceti liberasti ... tu Ananiam Azariam Misahel de camino ignis liberasti ... tu Danihel de lacu leonum eruisti*
- MT/LXX/AT: ∅
- 3 Macc 6:6: σὺ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν τρεῖς ἐταίρους πυρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐθαιρέτως δεδωκότας εἰς τὸ μὴ λατρεῦσαι τοῖς κενοῖς διάπυρον δροσίσας κάμινον ἑρρύσω μέχρι τριχὸς ἀπημάντους φλόγα πᾶσιν ἐπιπέμψας τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. [6:7] σὺ τὸν διαβολαῖς φθόνου λέουσι κατὰ γῆς ῥιφέντα θηροσὶ βορὰν Δανιηλ εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγες ἀσινῇ, [6:8] τόν τε βυθοτρεφοῦς ἐν γαστρὶ κήτους Ἰωνᾶν τηκόμενον ἀφιδῶν ἀπῆμαντον πᾶσιν οἰκείοις ἀνέδειξας

At C:16, the VL version of the prayer of Esther has an extensive plus vis-à-vis the LXX and the AT. In it, Esther evokes a number of biblical figures who obtained deliverance or assistance from Yahweh: Noah, Abraham, Jonah, the Three Youths (Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael), Daniel, Hezekiah, and Hannah.<sup>25</sup> Each of these seven *exempla* is introduced by the same phrase: *ego audiui in libris paternis meis, domine, quoniam tu...*, “I have heard in my ancestral books, Lord, that you...” The Greek counterpart of this phrase occurs only once in LXX Esth C:16 (ἐγὼ ἤκουον ἐκ γενετῆς μου ἐν φυλῇ πατριᾶς μου ὅτι σύ, κύριε... “Ever since I was born I have heard in my family’s tribe that you, Lord...”)/AT Esth 4:20 (ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα πατρικῆς μου βίβλου ὅτι..., “I have heard from my father’s book that...”), followed by a general statement about Yahweh electing and delivering the Israelites from all the nations and doing for them all that he had told them.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> This plus is also found in the Armenian and in one of the two Old Georgian versions of Esther (GeII). To the above-named biblical figures evoked by Esther, the Armenian version adds Enoch and the Old Georgian Isaac and Jacob. See Hanhart, *Esther*, 33–34; Haelewyck, *Hester*, 76, 91–92; Siegert, *Einleitung*, 256–57; Mirotadze, “Old Georgian Version,” 331–41; Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 702–8. The *exempla* of Daniel and the Three Youths, followed at some distance by the *exemplum* of Jonah, are also evoked in Esther’s prayer in the Second Targum to Esther (5.1). See Harl, *Voix de louange*, 203–4, 220.

<sup>26</sup> Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 19 [259], who considers GVVl Esther to have been the Greek *Urform* of Esther, which was later reworked by Lysimachus, the composer of the LXX version, argues that Lysimachus omitted the list of *exempla* that he found in the GVVl to avoid the repetition of the formula *ego audiui...*, and replaced it with a general statement about Yahweh’s providence for Israel. He further argues that, if the list of *exempla* in the GVVl was an addition postdating the LXX and the AT, one would have expected the translator of the VL to have

This plus turns Esther's prayer in VL Esther into a *Paradigmengebet*.<sup>27</sup> As previous scholarship has noted,<sup>28</sup> Jonah, the Three Youths, and Daniel are also cited, albeit not in the same order, in another specimen of *Paradigmengebet*, Eleazar's prayer in 3 Maccabees (6:6–8). This prayer also evokes two negative figures from biblical history, Pharaoh and Sennacherib.<sup>29</sup> The latter is readily associated with Hezekiah—one of the seven *exempla* evoked by Esther—whose two prayers, the first when threatened by Sennacherib's invasion, the second when faced with a life-threatening illness, are cited in 2 Kgs 19:15–19 and 20:2–3, respectively. Eleazar's prayer in 3 Maccabees hearkens back to the episode that generated the former of these prayers, while Esther's prayer in VL Esther hearkens back to the episode that generated the latter prayer.<sup>30</sup>

Both the negative and the positive *exempla* fit well into the context of the prayer of Eleazar. Pharaoh and his destruction in the Red Sea are also evoked in the prayer of Simon (3 Macc 2:7) as well as in other *Paradigmengebeten*.<sup>31</sup> Being an Egyptian *exemplum*, it is actually more at home in the prayer of Eleazar than it is in that of Simon. The *exemplum* of Sennacherib's threat against Jerusalem does not occur in other *Paradigmengebeten*<sup>32</sup> and would have been more apropos in the prayer of Simon, which is prayed in the Temple of Jerusalem; however, the threat that King Ptolemy IV Philopator made against Jerusalem and its Temple the day

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translated both the addition and the general statement; however, the latter is missing in the VL. Cf. Haelewyck, *Hester*, 91–92. A counterargument to Schildenberger's position could be that the redactor of the GVVL, who would have wanted to add the *exempla* to the LXX version of Esther's prayer, might have considered the general statement redundant and thus opted to remove it; in such a case, the Greek *Vorlage* of the Latin translator would have featured only the *exempla* and not both the general statement and the *exempla*. It is interesting to note that the Armenian and one of the two Georgian versions (GeII) have both the general statement and the list of *exempla*. See Mirotadze, "Old Georgian Version," 331; Thambyrajah, "Relationship," 705.

<sup>27</sup> See Lumpe, "Exemplum," cols. 1240–42.

<sup>28</sup> See Motzo, "Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei," 288–89; Milik, "Modèles araméens," 395; Thambyrajah, "Relationship," 700–10.

<sup>29</sup> For a similar combination of positive and negative figures, cf. Wis 10:1–21. See Dimant, "Use and Interpretation of Mikra," 393.

<sup>30</sup> 3 Macc 6:5: σὺ τὸν ἀναριθμήτοις δυνάμεσι γαυρωθέντα Σεναχηρείμ ... μετεωρισθέντα ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν σου πόλιν ... ἔθραυσας; VL Esth C:16: *tu Ezechiae regi Iudaeorum morte damnato et oranti pro vita misertus es et donasti ei vitae annos quindecim*.

<sup>31</sup> See Neh 9:9–11/LXX 2 Esd 9:9–11.

<sup>32</sup> The only prayer in the Septuagint which mentions Sennacherib is that of Judas Maccabeus in 2 Macc 15:22.

before Eleazar prayed his prayer (3 Macc 5:43) makes the reference to Sennacherib apposite in the context of the latter prayer.

The author of 3 Maccabees weaves masterfully these two *exempla* into his narrative fabric through verbal cross-references: Pharaoh and Sennacherib embody par excellence the insolence (3 Macc 6:4: ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει; 6:5: κόμπῳ καὶ θράσει) that characterizes King Ptolemy IV Philopator (3 Macc 2:2: θράσει ... πεφρυαγμένου; 2:21: θράσει ... ἐπηρμένον; cf. 2:26; 6:20); Jerusalem is besieged by Sennacherib's forces (3 Macc 6:5: τὸν ἀναριθμήτοις δυνάμεσι γαυρωθέντα) in the same way that the Alexandrian hippodrome in which the Jews are imprisoned is beleaguered by Philopator's elephants and other military forces (3 Macc 5:29: τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις; 5:48: τῆς συνεπομένης ἐνόπλου δυνάμεως; 6:16: ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ τῆς δυνάμεως φρυάγματι; 6:19: τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ὑπεναντίων); Sennacherib is about to seize the holy city having first taken the whole earth captive by the spear (3 Macc 6:5: δόρατι); Philopator threatens to destroy Judaea by spear and fire (3 Macc 5:43: πυρὶ καὶ δόρατι). The author of 3 Maccabees, presuming upon the reader's knowledge of biblical history, does not mention either the angel of the Lord who wreaked havoc on Sennacherib's camp (2 Kgs 19:35; 2 Macc 15:22) or the angel who delivered the Three Youths (Dan 3:28), yet the miraculous salvation of the Jews in the hippodrome by two angels (3 Macc 6:18–19) harks back to these *exempla*.<sup>33</sup>

Thambyrajah argues that the *exempla* of Jonah, Daniel, and the Three Youths fit the context of Esther better than that of 3 Maccabees because “although there is danger to all of the Jews, Esther is specifically concerned with the danger to herself ... Eleazar's situation is one of more communal danger; Eleazar is in no more danger than the rest of the Jews.”<sup>34</sup> To be sure, Eleazar's prayer is not a private one like Esther's; it is a public prayer. The elderly priest becomes the voice of his community, of every one of the Jews around him, who, as they hear him pray, identify themselves with the biblical figures that he evokes and associate their situation with that out of which the latter were delivered. Having first evoked two *exempla* of communal salvation, Eleazar goes on to cite three *exempla* of personal salvation, because the situation in which the biblical figures related to

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<sup>33</sup> See Alexander, “3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim,” 334–35.

<sup>34</sup> Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 707.

these *exempla* had found themselves was very similar to that in which he and his fellow Jews were found.

The author of 3 Maccabees subtly likens the hippodrome, into which the elderly priest and the other Jews were confined, to the belly of the fish into which Jonah remained for three days and three nights, and to the lions' pit and the fiery furnace into which Daniel and the Three Youths, respectively, were cast. The prayers of Jonah and the Three Youths were delivered from the belly of the fish and the fiery furnace, respectively,<sup>35</sup> as the prayer of Eleazar was delivered from the hippodrome. The fate of Jonah, Daniel, and the Three Youths is further likened to that of the confined Jews through the following intratextual links: Daniel is a victim of slander (3 Macc 6:7: διαβολαῖς φθόνου), as are the Egyptian Jews (3 Macc 2:26: δυσφημία; 2:27: ψόγον; 3:2: φήμη δυσμενής; 3:7: ψόγω); Daniel is thrown to the lions as "food for wild beasts" (3 Macc 6:7: θηρσὶν βοράν); the Jews in the hippodrome are to provide a "feast for wild beasts (sc. the elephants)" (3 Macc 5:31: θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ... θοῖναν); Yahweh sends the flames threatening the Three Youths upon their enemies (3 Macc 6:6: φλόγα πᾶσιν ἐπιπέμψας τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις); the angels make the wild beasts (sc. the elephants) turn upon the armed forces that led them against the Jews (3 Macc 6:21: καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ θηρία ἐπὶ τὰς συνεπομένας ἐνόπλους δυνάμεις); Jonah is brought to light unscathed and returns to his family (3 Macc 6:7: εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγες ἀσινῇ; 6:8: ἀπήμαντον πᾶσιν οἰκείοις ἀνέδειξας); the liberated Jews return to their homes unscathed (3 Macc 7:20: ἀνέλυσαν ἀσινεῖς ... ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν).<sup>36</sup>

The same *exempla* in the prayer of Esther in VL Esther provide fewer intratextual links: at C:24, Esther calls King Artaxerxes "the lion," which creates a link with the *exemplum* of Daniel; the *exemplum* of Jonah can be linked to the three-day fast and the three-day prayer mentioned in VL Esth 4:16–17 and D:1, respectively.<sup>37</sup> Of the other *exempla*, that of Abraham, to whom Yahweh "handed over nine kings, with 318 men" (cf. Gen 14), is somewhat mismatched, since Abraham did not pray on this occasion for deliverance or assistance, as did Jonah, the Three Youths, Hezekiah, and Hannah, and was the saviour of his kinsmen, who

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<sup>35</sup> Although Daniel, too, undoubtedly prayed in the lions' pit, the Bible does not provide us with the text of his prayer. See Harl, *Voix de louange*, 210, 222,

<sup>36</sup> See Hacham, "I Did Not Despise Them," 114–20.

<sup>37</sup> See above, 2.2.4, n. 19.

had been taken prisoners, rather than the saved one himself. The evocation of Abraham as a warrior hero who defeats numerically superior enemies but takes no plunder for himself (Gen 14:22–24) would have been more apposite in LXX Esther, where the Jews confront their enemies in battle, defeat them, but take no plunder (LXX Esth 9:16), rather than in GVL/VL Esther, where no combat between Jews and gentiles takes place.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the statement that Yahweh handed over nine kings to Abraham (*novem reges tradidisti*) is inaccurate; Abraham with his 318 men defeated the four kings from Mesopotamia, who had previously defeated the five rebel kings from Canaan (Gen 14:8–15).<sup>39</sup> That the only feminine *exemplum* that Esther chooses to evoke is that of Hannah is understandable given the paucity of women’s prayers in the Bible. However, in a prayer in which she does not refrain from referring to her sex life and her menstruation (C:26–27), the reason she gives for invoking this particular *exemplum* (“you enabled Hannah, who asked in the desire of her spirit, to conceive a child”) cannot help but be seen as an indirect expression of her longing for motherhood. The expression of such a longing in her prayer is not only at odds with the purpose of her impending meeting with the king but also with her statement in the same prayer that she abhors having intercourse with an uncircumcised man (C:26), namely, with the king, her husband, through whom she would have to fulfil her desire to become a mother.

Outside of the above-mentioned prayers, lists of *exempla* (*Beispielreihen*) from biblical history are found in a few biblical and extra-biblical books.<sup>40</sup> Daniel and the Three Youths are elsewhere evoked in the lists of *exempla* given in 1 and 4 Maccabees and in the Epistle to the Hebrews.<sup>41</sup> The juxtaposition of Jonah and

<sup>38</sup> In other *Paradigmengebeten*, Abraham is invoked in connexion with his departure from the land of the Chaldeans; cf. 2 Esd 19:7: σὺ ἐξελέξω ἐν Αβραὰμ καὶ ἐξήγαγες αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Χαλδαίων; Apos. Con. 7.37.11: Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων. One of the two Old Georgian versions (Gell) evokes Abraham in connexion both with his victory over the foreign kings and his departure from the land of the Chaldeans. See Mirotdadze, “Old Georgian Version,” 335, 340.

<sup>39</sup> The Armenian version does not give the number of the defeated kings; one of the two Old Georgian versions (Gell) states that Abraham won a victory “for the five kings that had been massacred” (trans. Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 705).

<sup>40</sup> See Lumpe, “Exemplum,” cols. 1240–41; Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra,” 391–95; Newman, *Praying by the Book*, 159–67.

<sup>41</sup> See 1 Macc 2:59–60: Ἀνανίας, Ἀζαρίας, Μισαήλ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐκ φλογός. Δανιήλ ... ἐρρύσθη ἐκ στόματος λεόντων; 4 Macc 16:21: καὶ Δανιήλ ὁ δίκαιος εἰς λέοντας ἐβλήθη, καὶ Ἀνανίας καὶ Ἀζαρίας καὶ Μισαήλ εἰς κάμινον πυρὸς ἀπεσφενδονήθησαν; 18:12–13: τοὺς ἐν πυρὶ



Daniel, or of Jonah, Daniel, and the Three Youths reappears in texts dating from not earlier than the first centuries of the Common Era such as *1 Clement*, *Sibylline Oracles* 2, Origen's *On Prayer*, and *Apostolic Constitutions* 5 and 7.<sup>42</sup> Especially noteworthy are the latter two texts.

In *De Or.* 13.2–4 and 16.3, Origen gives a list of biblical figures who obtained the greatest benefits from God because they prayed in the right way. This list includes Hannah and Hezekiah, who were cured of infertility, Mordecai, Esther, and Judith, who were saved from their enemies, and the Three Youths, Daniel, and Jonah, who were saved from fire, wild beasts, and the sea monster, respectively. The inclusion of Mordecai and Esther along with five of the *exempla* that occur (albeit not in the same order) in Esther's prayer in VL Esther suggests that Origen may have been acquainted with GVVVL Esther.<sup>43</sup>

In *Apos. Con.* 5.7, Jonah, the Three Youths, and Daniel are cited as examples of resurrection. In *Apos. Con.* 7.37, we read a long *Paradigmengebet* which evokes thirty-three biblical figures, among which are those evoked in the VL version of the prayer of Esther.<sup>44</sup> The *Apostolic Constitutions* date from the fourth century CE; however, the six prayers at 7.33–38 are believed to have been based on Jewish synagogal prayers.<sup>45</sup> The *Beispielreihe* contained in *Apos. Con.* 7.37 may thus go back to a Jewish liturgical text.<sup>46</sup>

The prayer of Esther in GVVVL Esther and the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees may also have been patterned after a Jewish liturgical text. A likely candidate for this text is the *Mi She-'ana*, a Second Temple prayer that was recited on fast-days

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Ανανιαν καὶ Αζαριαν καὶ Μισαηλ ... καὶ τὸν ἐν λάκκῳ λεόντων Δαυιδ; Heb 11:33–34: οἱ διὰ πίστεως ... ἔφραξαν στόματα λεόντων [Daniel], ἔσβεσαν δύναμιν πυρός [Three Youths].

<sup>42</sup> *1 Clem.* 45.6–7; *Sib. Or.* 2.247–248; Origen, *De Or.* 13.2–4; 16.3; *Apos. Con.* 5.7.60–63; 7.37. On the evocation of Jonah and Daniel, with or without the Three Youths, in Jewish and Christian literary sources, see Prigent, *Art des premiers chrétiens*, 210–22, 245, and van den Hoek and Herrmann, “Celsus’ Competing Heroes,” 207–13.

<sup>43</sup> See Harl, *Voix de louange*, 205–10 (esp. 209), 220.

<sup>44</sup> *Apos. Con.* 7.37.10–27: Νῶε ἐξεληθόντος τῆς κιβωτοῦ, Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελεθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαίων, ... Ἐζεκία ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Σενναχηρείμ, ... Δαυιδ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῶν λεόντων, Ἰωνᾶ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ τοῦ κήτους, τῶν τριῶν παίδων ἐν καμίνῳ πυρός, Ἄννας ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐνώπιον τῆς κιβωτοῦ. Be it also noted that all the *exempla* cited in the prayer of Simon in 3 Macc 2:2–20, namely, the destruction of the iniquitous—including the Giants—in the Flood, the destruction of the Sodomites, Pharaoh and the plagues, and the destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea (which is also mentioned in the prayer of Eleazar), are also cited in *Apos. Con.* 8.12.22–26.

<sup>45</sup> See van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 4, 25–27; Harl, *Voix de louange*, 211–19.

<sup>46</sup> See van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 87.

and consisted of an enumeration in chronological order of biblical persons who had been delivered by divine intervention from a situation of distress. Traces of this prayer are preserved in the Mishnah, *Ta'anit* 2:1–4, which states that on public fast-days, six extra benedictions were added between the seventh and the eighth of the eighteen benedictions of the weekday Amidah. In each of these additional benedictions, which are believed to have originally constituted an independent liturgical composition, occurs the formula “May he who answered X [name of a biblical person], answer us!” The list of biblical persons evoked in the *Mi She-'ana* was most likely modified over time, so we cannot with any certainty get back to the original list.<sup>47</sup> The *Mi She-'ana* is thought to have been adopted and adapted by the early Christian liturgy and to have influenced the early Christian iconography.<sup>48</sup>

It is difficult to say whether the prayer of Esther in GVVL Esther and the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees drew independently on the same prayer tradition for the *exempla* that they share or whether one prayer borrowed these *exempla* from the other. With regard to this issue, I can make the following remarks:

- a) The *Beispielreihen* are typical of 3 Maccabees, as both the prayer of Simon and that of Eleazar are *Paradigmengebeten* citing in total eight *exempla*, whereas of the three prayers in VL Esther, only Esther's prayer is a *Paradigmengebet* citing seven *exempla*. The prayer of Esther and the prayers of Simon and Eleazar share three *exempla* (Jonah, Daniel, the Three Youths), while two other *exempla* that they cite are tangentially related to one another (VL Esth C:16: Noah was saved from the Flood; 3 Macc 2:4: the Giants perished in the Flood; VL Esth C:16: Hezekiah recovered from his illness; 3 Macc 6:5: Sennacherib attacked Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah). The fact that the prayers in the two books contain both shared and non-shared *exempla* may indicate that they drew on different *Beispielreihen*, which may have happened to partially overlap. The prayer of Esther seems to have borrowed en bloc its *exempla* from a stock

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<sup>47</sup> The biblical figures evoked in *Ta'anit* 2:4 are Abraham at Mount Moriah, the Fathers at the Red Sea, Joshua at Gilgal, Samuel at Mitzpah, Elijah on Mt. Carmel, Jonah in the belly of the fish, and David and Solomon in Jerusalem.

<sup>48</sup> See Kaufmann, “Sens et origine,” 245–53; Prigent, *Art des premiers chrétiens*, 219–22; Levine, “Temple Prayer.”

*Beispielreihe* like that of the *Mi She-'ana* or a similar text; this would explain the inclusion of the *exemplum* of Abraham, which does not really fit the context. The *exempla* evoked by Simon and Eleazar, although they, too, in all likelihood originated in a *Beispielreihe*, are more carefully chosen and better integrated into the prayers in which they occur and into the context of these prayers. It is possible that GVV Addition C drew the idea for a list of *exempla* from 3 Maccabees but drew the items included in the list from a different source.

- b) Esther's evocation of the exemplary figures of Jonah, the Three Youths, and Daniel is simple and succinct, whereas Eleazar lavishes detail on their deliverance. The Greek text presumed to underlie the relevant verses of VL Esth C:16 likely ran thus: σὺ τὸν Ἰωнан ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας/γαστρὸς τοῦ κήτους ἐρρύσω ... σὺ τὸν Ανανίαν, Αζαρίαν, Μισαηλ ἐκ τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς ἐρρύσω ... σὺ τὸν Δαυνηλ ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου τῶν λεόντων ἀνέσπασας/ἐξήγαγες (or a synonymous verb). The author of this text (or his *Vorlage*) seems to have drawn on LXX Jonah and LXX Daniel.<sup>49</sup> For the reference to Daniel and the Three Youths, the author of 3 Maccabees has evidently drawn on LXX Daniel;<sup>50</sup> for the reference to Jonah, apart from LXX Jonah, he may have drawn on an extra-biblical tradition, as neither MT nor LXX Jonah mentions the return of the prophet to his family.<sup>51</sup> Although both prayers use characteristic terms taken from the Greek

<sup>49</sup> VL Esth C:16: *de ventre ceti ... de camino ignis ... de lacu leonum*; cf. LXX Jonah 2:2: ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τοῦ κήτους; LXX Dan 3:6 et passim: τὴν καμίνον τοῦ πυρὸς; 6:5 et passim: εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. On the influence of LXX Jonah 3:7 on GVV Esth 4:17, see above, 2.2.4.

<sup>50</sup> 3 Macc 6:6: τρεῖς ἐταῖρους; cf. LXX Dan 2:17: Ανανία καὶ Μισαηλ καὶ Αζαρία τοῖς συνεταῖροις; 3 Macc 6:6: πυρὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ... δεδωκότας εἰς τὸ μὴ λατρεῦσαι τοῖς κενοῖς; cf. LXX Dan 3:95: παρέδωκαν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῶν εἰς ἐμπυρισμόν, ἵνα μὴ λατρεύσωσι μηδὲ προσκυνήσωσι θεῷ ἑτέρῳ; 3 Macc 6:6: διάπυρον δροσίσας καμίνον; cf. LXX Dan 3:46: καὶ ἡ κάμιнос ἦν διάπυρος; 3:50: καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου ὥσει πνεῦμα δρόσου; 3 Macc 6:6: ἐρρύσω μέχρι τριχὸς ἀπημάντους; cf. LXX Dan 3:94: καὶ αἱ τρίχες αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπεκάησαν; 3 Macc 6:6: φλόγα πᾶσιν ἐπιπέμψας τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις; cf. LXX Dan 3:48: καὶ ἐνεπύριεν [ἡ φλόξ] οὐς εὔρε περὶ τὴν καμίνον τῶν Χαλδαίων; 3 Macc 6:7: διαβολαῖς φθόνου; cf. LXX Dan 3:8: ἄνδρες Χαλδαῖοι διέβαλον τοὺς Ἰουδαίους; 3 Macc 6:7: λέουσι κατὰ γῆς ῥιφέντα; cf. LXX Dan 6:17: ἐρρίφη εἰς τὸν λάκκον τῶν λεόντων. See Knöppler, 3. *Makkabäerbuch*, 799–800.

<sup>51</sup> 3 Macc 6:8 uses the term κῆτος to refer to the sea monster, as does LXX Jonah 2:1, 2:2, 2:11, and the term γαστήρ to refer to the latter's belly, unlike LXX Jonah 2:1–2, which uses the term κοιλία instead. In the *Lives of the Prophets*, a first-century CE collection of stories about the prophets, one reads that Jonah, on his return from Nineveh, did not stay in his land but settled with his mother in Sour. See Hare, “Lives of the Prophets,” 392, and Newman, “God condemns the arrogance,” 52.

biblical texts on which they draw (e.g. κῆτος/*cetus*, κάμινος/*caminus*), in the *exemplum* of Daniel, the prayer of Esther uses the noun *lacus* (λάκκος), which occurs in LXX Dan 6:6 et passim, whereas the prayer of Eleazar uses the prepositional phrase κατὰ γῆς. The prayer of Esther is thus not verbally dependent on the prayer of Eleazar as regards the *exemplum* of Daniel.

- c) The “conspicuous absence”<sup>52</sup> of the *exemplum* of Esther from Eleazar’s prayer in 3 Maccabees cannot be used to prove that the author of 3 Maccabees did not know the prayer of Esther. Zeitlin offers a convincing explanation for this “absence”: “Esther may simply have been too recent for III Maccabees to include it among classic deliverances, and in fact, the whole list seems to be reproduced from some liturgical piece.”<sup>53</sup>
- d) If we assume that for the *exempla* in the prayer of Eleazar, the author of 3 Maccabees drew inspiration from the GVL version of Esther’s prayer, we are also to assume that he was acquainted with GVL Addition C rather than with LXX/AT Addition C, which does not include the *Beispielreihe* at C:16. If he was acquainted with the latter, we would expect to find points of intertextual contact between the prayers of Simon and Eleazar and the prayers in LXX/AT Addition C. In Chapter 4, I will investigate whether there are such points of contact. Moreover, if 3 Maccabees was acquainted with GVL Addition C, or vice versa, we would expect to find more points of intertextual contact between the prayers of Simon and Eleazar and the prayers in GVL Addition C, other than the three *exempla*. There are, indeed, two additional points of contact between the prayer of Eleazar and the prayers in GVL Addition C, which I will discuss in the following section. For now, I declare a non-liquet with regard to the nature of the intertextual relationship between GVL Esth C:16 and 3 Macc 6:6–8.

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<sup>52</sup> So Alexander, “3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim,” 334–35; cf. Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 289.

<sup>53</sup> Hadas, “III Maccabees,” 100–101 n. 2.

### 2.2.6

- LXX Esth C:23: μνήσθητι, κύριε, γνώσθητι ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεως ἡμῶν
- AT Esth 4:24 [C:23]: ἐπιφάνηθι ἡμῖν, κύριε, καὶ γνώσθητι ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεως ἡμῶν
- VL Esth C:7; C:23: *appare domine cognoscere domine*
- 3 Macc 6:9: καὶ νῦν, μίσυβρι πολυέλεε τῶν ὅλων σκεπαστά, τὸ τάχος ἐπιφάνηθι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ γένους

In Mordecai's prayer, at C:7, the VL has a plus over against the LXX and the AT, *appare domine cognoscere domine*, "show yourself, O Lord, be known, O Lord," which reflects a Greek text reading ἐπιφάνηθι, κύριε, γνώσθητι, κύριε. The same phrase also occurs at the very end of the VL version of Esther's prayer (C:23), but there it is not a plus vis-à-vis the Greek versions: the corresponding verse in the LXX reads μνήσθητι, κύριε, γνώσθητι ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεως ἡμῶν, "remember, O Lord, make yourself known in this time of our affliction," while the AT (4:24), in agreement with the VL, reads ἐπιφάνηθι ἡμῖν, κύριε, καὶ γνώσθητι ἡμῖν.

LXX Esth C:23 seems to allude to LXX Exod 2:23–25, which recounts how the Israelites in Egypt groaned under their labours and cried out (2:23: καὶ κατεστέναξαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἀνεβόησαν) and their cry rose up to God (καὶ ἀνέβη ἡ βοή αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων) who heard their groaning (2:24: καὶ εἰσήκουσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν στεναγμὸν αὐτῶν) and remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ) and looked upon the Israelites (2:25: καὶ ἐπεῖδεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ) and became known to them (καὶ ἐγνώσθη αὐτοῖς). The aorist passive imperatives μνήσθητι and γνώσθητι in LXX Esth C:23 hark back to the aorist passive indicatives ἐμνήσθη and ἐγνώσθη<sup>54</sup> in LXX Exod 2:24–25. What Esther asks from Yahweh is to remember his covenant and to make himself known in the same way that he did for Moses, the Israelites, and the

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<sup>54</sup> MT Exod 2:25 has an active verb, יָדָע, "he knew," which has no object; the Greek translator turned it into a passive verb, ἐγνώσθη, which he complemented with αὐτοῖς, as a foreshadowing of God's revelation to Moses and the Israelites in Exodus 3. See Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 24.

Egyptians, namely, by his “signs and wonders” (σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα).<sup>55</sup> Mordecai had earlier alluded to the Exodus in his prayer (LXX Esth C:9: μὴ ὑπερίδῃς τὴν μερίδα σου, ἣν σεαυτῷ ἐλυτρώσω ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου). In Addition F, where he provides us with the interpretation of his symbolic dream recounted in Addition A, he seems to allude to LXX Exod 2:23–25: the nation of the righteous that appeared in his dream (LXX Esth A:6: δικαίων ἔθνος) are the Israelites, who cried out to God and were saved (LXX Esth F:6: τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ ἐμὸν οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰσραηλ, οἱ βοήσαντες πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ σωθέντες); God did great signs and wonders (LXX Esth F:6: καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ σημεῖα καὶ τὰ τέρατα τὰ μέγала) and remembered his people and vindicated his inheritance (LXX Esth F:9: καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ).

AT Esth 4:24 [C:23] and GVV/VL Esth C:7 and C:23, on the other hand, seem to allude to LXX Exod 33:13, where Moses at Sinai makes the following plea to Yahweh: ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν· γνωστῶς εἶδω σε, “show me yourself, that I may know you clearly.” In the Hebrew text, Moses asks Yahweh not to manifest himself but to “make him know his ways,”<sup>56</sup> a phrase that the Greek translator rendered freely on the basis of the subsequent verses, where Moses pleads for a theophany (33:18: “Show me your glory”) and Yahweh promises to let him see his back, not his face (33:23). This promise is fulfilled at 34:5, which states that Yahweh “descended in the cloud and stood with him [sc. Moses] there.”

The imperative ἐπιφάνηθι in AT Addition C has a verbal point of contact with AT Addition F, where the sun and the light seen in Mordecai’s dream (AT Esth A:8: φῶς, ἥλιος ἀνέτειλε) are interpreted as an epiphany of Yahweh to the Jews (AT Esth 7:54 [F:5]: ἥλιος καὶ φῶς ἦ ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐπιφανεία τοῦ θεοῦ).<sup>57</sup> Like

<sup>55</sup> See LXX Exod 10:2: ὅπως διηγῆσθε εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῶν τέκνων ὑμῶν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις τῶν τέκνων ὑμῶν ὅσα ἐμπέπαιχα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, καὶ τὰ σημεῖά μου ἃ ἐποίησα ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ γνῶσεσθε ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος; cf. LXX Exod 6:7; 7:5, 17 et passim.

<sup>56</sup> See Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 222–23. Cf. LXX Ps 24:4: τὰς ὁδοὺς σου, κύριε, γνῶρισόν μοι; 102:7: ἐγνώρισεν τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῷ Μωυσῇ.

<sup>57</sup> It is only in AT Additions C and F that ἐπιφαίνω and its cognate noun ἐπιφάνεια are used in connexion with Yahweh. ἐπιφάνεια and its cognates are used elsewhere in the AT as well as in the LXX mainly in connexion with Esther’s and Artaxerxes’ splendid appearance: AT Esth A:16: πᾶσαν θύραν ἐπιφανῶς (“conspicuously”) τηρεῖν; 2:17: ἐπιφανεστάτη (“the most splendid”) Εσθηρ; 2:18: ἤγαγεν ... τὸν γάμον τῆς Εσθηρ ἐπιφανῶς (“with great splendour”); 4:18 [C:13]: σημεῖον ἐπιφανείας αὐτῆς (“sign of her splendour”); 5:2 [D:2]: γενομένη ἐπιφανής (“splendid-looking”); 5:4 [D:6]: στολὴν ἐπιφανείας (“splendid attire”); LXX Esth D:2: γενηθεῖσα ἐπιφανής; D:6: στολὴν τῆς ἐπιφανείας αὐτοῦ.

LXX Addition F, AT Addition F seems to allude to LXX Exod 2:23–25, and in fact, it may do so more explicitly than LXX Addition F. It supplements the phrase καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ (AT Esth 7:57 [F:9]), which, as we saw, also occurs in LXX Esth F:9, with the following verse (AT Esth 7:58), which has no counterpart in LXX Addition F: καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀνεβόησε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ καὶ εἶπεν Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, ὁ μνησθεὶς τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, “and all the people cried out with a great voice and said ‘Blessed are you, O Lord, who remembered the covenants with our fathers’.” The verb ἀναβοάω, which also occurs in AT Esth A:9, and the phrase ὁ μνησθεὶς τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν link this verse with LXX Exod 2:23–25.<sup>58</sup>

VL Addition F makes no reference to an epiphany; at F:9, it reads *et commemoratus est populi sui et servavit hereditatem suam*, “and he remembered his people and preserved his inheritance.”

Jobes points out that there is “internal coherence” between Additions C and F in AT Esther: “In the AT, but not in the LXX, Esther prays ἐπιφάνηθι ἡμῖν, κύριε, καὶ γινώσθητι ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεως ἡμῶν. Addition F in the AT, but not in the LXX, answers this prayer.”<sup>59</sup> However, it should be noted that LXX Esther does not lack internal coherence between Additions C and F either, as Esther’s plea μνήσθητι in LXX Esth C:23 appears to have been fulfilled in LXX Esth F:9: καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. It is the verb μιμνήσκομαι, “to remember,” in AT Esth 7:57–58 [F:9] (ἐμνήσθη ὁ θεὸς ... ὁ μνησθεὶς τῶν διαθηκῶν) that has no counterpart in AT Addition C. The version that exhibits the least internal coherence between Additions C and F is the VL, as the plea *appare/ἐπιφάνηθι* in VL Addition C has no verbal correspondent in VL Addition F, and the phrase *commemoratus est/ἐμνήσθη* in the latter Addition has no verbal correspondent in the former Addition. As can be seen in the table below, the imperative γινώσθητι occurs in all three versions of C:23, but only in LXX Esth C:23 it is conjoined with

<sup>58</sup> A similar allusion seems to occur in Judas Maccabeus’ exhortation to his men to pray in 1 Macc 4:9–11: μνήσθητε ὡς ἐσώθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐν θαλάσῃ ἐρυθρᾷ, ὅτε ἐδίωκεν αὐτοὺς Φαραὼ ἐν δυνάμει. καὶ νῦν βοήσωμεν εἰς οὐρανόν, εἰ θελήσει ἡμᾶς καὶ μνησθήσεται διαθήκης πατέρων ... καὶ γινώσκονται πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅτι ἔστιν ὁ λυτρούμενος καὶ σῶζων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ. Cf. also 2 Macc 1:2: καὶ ἀγαθοποιήσαι ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μνησθεὶς τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν πιστῶν.

<sup>59</sup> Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 192.

the imperative μνήσθητι, in correspondence to the pair ἐμνήσθη-ἐγνώσθη in LXX Exod 2:24–25. Moreover, the passive aorist ἐμνήσθη occurs in all three versions of F:9, but only LXX Esth F:9 has a verbal correspondent in LXX Esth C:23 (μνήσθητι). This seems to indicate that μνήσθητι-γνώσθητι-ἐμνήσθη in LXX Additions C and F is original, whereas ἐπιφάνηθι/*appare*-γνώσθητι/*cognoscere*-ἐμνήσθη/*commemoratus est* in AT and GVV/VL Additions C and F is secondary.

	LXX Esther	AT Esther	VL Esther	LXX Exod 2:24–25	LXX Exod 33:13
C:23	μνήσθητι	ἐπιφάνηθι	<i>appare</i>	ἐμνήσθη	ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν
C:23	γνώσθητι	γνώσθητι	<i>cognoscere</i>	ἐγνώσθη	γνωστῶς εἶδω σε
F:5		ἐπιφανεία			
F:9	ἐμνήσθη	ἐμνήσθη ὁ μνησθείς	<i>commemoratus est</i>		

The appeal to Yahweh to manifest himself, expressed by the same second aorist passive imperative ἐπιφάνηθι as in AT Esth 4:24 [C:23] and GVV/VL Esth C:7 and C:23, also occurs in the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Macc 6:9. There, it is introduced by the phrase καὶ νῦν, “and now,” which marks the shift from the past (the biblical *exempla* of Pharaoh, Sennacherib, the Three Youths, Daniel, and Jonah) to the present, and is accompanied by a string of asyndetic vocatives (μίσυβρι πολυέλεε τῶν ὅλων σκεπαστά, “hater of insolence, very merciful, protector of all”). The transition marker καὶ νῦν, followed by a second-person imperative and a vocative, is not uncommon in biblical intercessory prayers.<sup>60</sup> In the LXX version of Esther’s prayer, it occurs twice: at C:17, right after the reference to the “fathers,” where it introduces the confession of sin (καὶ νῦν ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου...),<sup>61</sup> and at C:19, where it introduces the reference to the threat posed by the gentiles against the Jewish religion and the Temple (καὶ νῦν οὐχ ἱκανώθησαν ἐν πικρασμῷ δουλείας

<sup>60</sup> See Laurentin, “We’attah, 171–72, 185–90; Harl, *Voix de louange*, 190–203.

<sup>61</sup> See 4.2.4.



ἡμῶν...). In both verses, it is not followed either by an imperative or a vocative. In the AT, it occurs at 4:22 [C:19], where it introduces the same reference as in LXX Esth C:19, and at the very end of Esther's prayer, where it introduces a triple plea (4:29 [C:30]: καὶ νῦν ... εἰσάκουσον ... ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ... ἔξελοῦ με, κύριε, ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ φόβου μου, "and now ... hear ... save us ... free me, O Lord, from the grip of my fear"). In the VL version of Esther's prayer there is also a double *et nunc*/καὶ νῦν: at C:25, following the seven biblical *exempla* (*et nunc mihi soli et neminem habenti nisi te domine deus domine deus subveni*, "and now, to me, who is alone and has no one except you, Lord God, Lord God, give aid"), and five verses further down, at C:24,<sup>62</sup> where it introduces a quadruple plea (*et nunc subveni orphanae mihi et verbum concinnum in os meum ... da et gratiam da ... et converte cor eius*, "and now, give aid to me, an orphan, and put eloquent speech in my mouth ... and grant favour ... and change his heart").<sup>63</sup> As can be seen, there is an exclusive commonality between 3 Macc 6:9 and VL Esth C:25, namely, the formula καὶ νῦν/*et nunc*, which is placed right after the biblical *exempla* and is followed by a second-person imperative (ἐπιφάνηθι/*subveni*) and a string of vocatives (μίσυβρι πολυέλεε ... σκεπαστά/*domine deus domine deus*). The difference is that in VL Addition C, the imperative *appare*/ἐπιφάνηθι does not occur in the clause introduced by the formula *et nunc*/καὶ νῦν but is placed emphatically at the very end of Esther's prayer.

Epiphanies play as important a role in 3 Maccabees as they do in 2 Maccabees, which may have been its source of inspiration.<sup>64</sup> The author of 3 Maccabees uses the verb ἐπιφαίνω and its cognates ἐπιφάνεια and ἐπιφανής nine times in connexion with Yahweh.<sup>65</sup> Apart from the prayer of Eleazar, ἐπιφαίνω occurs in the prayer of Simon, in 3 Macc 2:19, where the high priest asks Yahweh to show his mercy: ἐπίφανον τὸ ἔλεός σου.<sup>66</sup> The only other instances of the second person

<sup>62</sup> In VL Addition C, the verse corresponding to LXX Esth C:24 has been transposed to between verses C:25–29 and C:30.

<sup>63</sup> Trans. Bellmann and Portier-Young, "Old Latin Book of Esther," 280.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. 2 Macc 3:24–29; 10:29–30; 3 Macc 2:21–23; 6:18–21; see also below, n. 66.

<sup>65</sup> ἐπιφάνεια: 2:9; 5:8, 51; ἐπιφαίνω: 2:19; 6:4, 9, 18, 39; ἐπιφανής: 5:35. Kopidakis, Γ' Μακκαβαίων, 101, notes that the author of 3 Maccabees has a fondness for the preposition ἐπί and the prefix ἐπι-, which occur twelve times in the prayer of Simon and thirteen times in the prayer of Eleazar. In the latter prayer, apart from the imperative ἐπιφάνηθι, there also occur the similarly prefixed imperatives ἔπιδε (6:3, 12) and ἐπιτέλεσον (6:15).

<sup>66</sup> The combination ἐπιφαίνω + ἔλεος occurs only in 3 Maccabees (2:19; 6:4: φέγγος ἐπιφάνας ἑλέους; 6:39: ἐπιφάνας τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ). In two other prayers in 3 Maccabees, whose content is

singular of the aorist active imperative of ἐπιφαίνω, which is attested in the latter verse, are found in LXX Psalms and in Theodotion's version of Daniel, in the expression ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, "show your face."<sup>67</sup> The only other pre-Christian instance of the second person singular of the second aorist passive imperative of the same verb, used in connexion with a deity, occurs in the prayer of the Vestal Virgin Aemilia, as cited by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in *Ant. rom.* 2.68.4: ἐπιφάνηθί μοι καὶ βοήθησον καὶ μὴ περιίδης τὴν σεαυτῆς ἰέρειαν τὸν οἴκτιστον μόρον ἀποθανοῦσαν, "manifest yourself for my sake and help me and do not disregard your priestess who is dying the most pitiable death."<sup>68</sup> A later occurrence is found in the Christian "prayer for chiefs of state" included in the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.<sup>69</sup> It is possible that for the instance of ἐπιφάνηθι in this prayer, Clement was indebted to a version of the prayer of Esther—arguably the GVV— which featured this imperative.<sup>70</sup>

Johnson points out that in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Yahweh responds to prayers in the following ways: (a) by speaking with an audible voice, (b) by sending a mediator (angel), (c) by sending a dream or a vision, and (d) by

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given in indirect speech, the Jews ask Yahweh to rescue/show mercy on them with an epiphany (3 Macc 5:8: ῥύσασθαι αὐτοὺς μετὰ μεγαλομεροῦς ἐπιφανείας; 5:51: οἰκτεῖται μετὰ ἐπιφανείας). In these prayers occurs the noun ἐπιφάνεια instead of its cognate verb. If the prayers were given in direct speech, they would likely have read ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς/οἰκτεῖτε μετ' ἐπιφανείας. Cf. the prayer of the Jews in 2 Macc 14:15, which is also given in indirect speech: ἐλιτάνευον τὸν ἄχρι αἰῶνος συστήσαντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λαόν, αἱ δὲ μετ' ἐπιφανείας ἀντιλαμβάνόμενον τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μερίδος.

<sup>67</sup> LXX Ps 30:17; 66:2; 79:4, 8, 20; 118:135; Dan<sup>th</sup> 9:17; cf. 3 Macc 6:18: ἐπιφάνας τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον. All these verses hark back to the second Aaronic blessing (LXX Num 6:26 [25]: ἐπιφάναι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ). The imperative ἐμφάνηθι is used once in LXX Ps 79:2; in his version of this psalm, Aquila uses ἐπιφάνηθι instead.

<sup>68</sup> As Kopidakis, *Γ' Μακκαβαίων*, 60, notes, in pagan Greek literature, it is the simplex φάνηθι that is commonly used when a deity is invoked. See, e.g., Sophocles, *Aj.* 697; *Ant.* 1149 (προφάνηθι); Euripides, *Bacch.* 1017; Aristophanes, *Eq.* 591; *Thesm.* 1143. The same type also frequently occurs in the magical papyri (PGM 2.167; 4.999 et passim).

<sup>69</sup> *1 Clem.* 59.4: τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπιφάνηθι. *1 Clement* is dated to ca. 80–120 CE.

<sup>70</sup> *1 Clem.* 55.6 shows that Clement was acquainted with Esther's prayer: ἡ τελεία κατὰ πίστιν Ἐσθὴρ κινδύνῳ ἑαυτὴν παρέβαλεν ... διὰ γὰρ τῆς νηστείας καὶ τῆς ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς ἤξιωσεν τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην. Bickerman, "Notes," 247 with n. 34, argues that Clement here draws on VL Esth D:2 (*invocato domino qui omnia conspicit*) rather than on LXX Esth D:2 (ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα) or AT Esth 5:2 [D:2] (ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων γνῶστην καὶ σωτῆρα θεόν) because the LXX and the AT do not read δεσπότης but θεός and the AT does not have the word παντεπόπτης/πάντων ἐπόπτης. Hanhart, *Esther*, 38 n. 4, is not convinced by this suggestion. However, the instance of ἐπιφάνηθι in *1 Clem.* 59.4 may give some further support to Bickerman's argument.

fulfilling directly the prayer.<sup>71</sup> In 3 Maccabees, the response to Eleazar's prayer comes through two angels who make the elephants turn upon the Egyptians instead of upon the Jews (3 Macc 6:18–21), while the response to the other prayers prayed in the book comes through direct fulfilment: as soon as Simon in the Temple and the Jews in the Alexandrian hippodrome finish praying, King Ptolemy IV Philopator is paralysed (3 Macc 2:21–22), falls into deep sleep (3 Macc 5:11–12), and is seized by forgetfulness (3 Macc 5:27–28; 6:20), respectively. In LXX/AT/VL Esther, Mordecai's and Esther's prayers are fulfilled directly by means of a number of divine interventions—two in the LXX, three in the AT, and seven in the VL—which are made known to the reader through changes in the psychological states of the story characters.<sup>72</sup>

The question is: can we consider the multiple interventions that occur in VL Esther to be ἐπιφάνειαι of Yahweh? Can we consider them to be the fulfilment of Mordecai's and Esther's specific plea to Yahweh to manifest himself, as it is expressed by the imperative *appare*/ἐπιφάνηθι?

The answer to this question depends on the definition one gives to the terms ἐπιφάνεια and ἐπιφαίνομαι. Lührmann has argued that, in Hellenistic linguistic usage, ἐπιφάνεια, used as a religious technical term, does not denote a theophany, i.e., the visible appearance of a deity, but, more generally, the demonstration of the power of a deity through an intervention intended to offer assistance or salvation to his/her worshippers, originally in military and later in other contexts as well.<sup>73</sup> Versnel has criticized this definition because it disregards the textual evidence that we have for personal, visible appearances of the gods, and has suggested that ἐπιφάνεια denotes both the personal appearance of a god in various visual forms (as a human being, animal, statue, φάσμα/εἶδωλον, dream apparition) and the signs or miracles that s/he performs.<sup>74</sup> For Henrichs, an

<sup>71</sup> Johnson, *Prayer*, 62–66.

<sup>72</sup> See LXX Esth D:8: “God changed the king's spirit to gentleness”; AT Esth 5:7 [D:8]: “God changed the king's spirit and turned his anger into gentleness”; VL Esth D:8: “God changed [the king's] anger into compassion and his fury into serenity”; LXX/AT Esth 6:1: “God/the Mighty one took away the king's sleep”; VL Esth 6:1: “The god of the Jews ... struck the king with sleeplessness”; VL Esth 6:2: “The god of the Jews directed the reader's hand to the book”; VL Esth 6:6: “The Lord did not permit him [sc. Haman] to speak”; VL Esth (MS 130) 6:10: “[Haman] wanted to lure the king away, but the Lord did not permit”; VL Esth 6:12: “God shattered Haman's heart”; AT/VL Esth (MS 109) 7:2: “God gave her [sc. Esther] courage.” See Milik, “Modèles araméens,” 392.

<sup>73</sup> Lührmann, “Epiphaneia,” 191, 193–96.

<sup>74</sup> Versnel, “What Did Ancient Man See,” 42–55.

epiphany occurs “when a god reveals his presence or manifests his power to a mortal or group of mortals, who ‘see’ or ‘recognize’ the god. Gods may appear in anthropomorphic form (...), as a disembodied voice, or as animals. Divine epiphanies take the form of waking or dream visions; they may be accompanied by miracles or other displays of power (ἀρεταί), be protective or punitive; they may be sudden and spontaneous, or occur in response to a prayer.”<sup>75</sup> More recently, Petridou defined epiphany as “the manifestation of a deity to an individual or a group of people, in sleep or in waking reality, in a crisis or cult context. The deity (...) may appear in an anthropomorphic, enacted, *effigies*, *pars pro toto*, or zoomorphic form; it may also appear as a φάσμα or in the form of unexpected and extreme natural disasters (amorphous). The perception of the deity’s epiphany may be sensorial (i.e. the perceiver may see, hear, feel, or even smell the deity) or intellectual (i.e. the perceiver may be aware of the deity’s presence without seeing or hearing, etc. anything).”<sup>76</sup>

According to these definitions, what occurs in the case of the aforementioned Vestal Aemilia in Dionysius of Halicarnassus’ *Roman Antiquities* and of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees is indeed an epiphany. Aemilia is faced with the death penalty for having let the fire of the altar go out. Her plea to Vesta ἐπιφάνηθί μοι καὶ βοήθησον is fulfilled on the spot, as she throws a strip of her garment upon the altar of the goddess and fire flares up from the cold ashes before the eyes of the priests and the other Vestals. There is no visible, personal appearance of the goddess, only a manifestation of her power in the form of a miracle, which is seen by a group of people. In 3 Maccabees, Eleazar’s plea to Yahweh to manifest himself foreshadows the actual anthropomorphic appearance of Yahweh, who shows his holy face (ἐπιφάνας τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον), as he opens the heavenly gates, and of his agents, namely, the two angels who come down to earth and are visible (φανεροί) to all those present at the hippodrome but the Jews,<sup>77</sup> as well as the manifestation of the divine power through a series of supernatural acts: the king’s military forces are filled with confusion and terror and are bound with shackles,

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<sup>75</sup> Henrichs, “Epiphany,” 526.

<sup>76</sup> Petridou, *Divine Epiphany*, 2.

<sup>77</sup> 3 Macc 6:18: τότε ὁ μεγαλόδοξος παντοκράτωρ καὶ ἀληθινὸς θεὸς ἐπιφάνας τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον ἠνέωξε τὰς οὐρανίους πύλας, ἐξ ὧν δεδοξασμένοι δύο φοβεροὶ ἄγγελοι κατέβησαν φανεροὶ πᾶσι πλὴν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

the elephants turn against them, and the king is seized with trembling (3 Macc 6:19–21).

In VL Esther, Yahweh does not appear in any perceivable visible form; he does influence on several occasions the emotions and the acts of the story characters, but these interventions are a far cry from being miracles or “signs and wonders” and have no supernatural character. Moreover, most of them have only one or two witnesses, or no witness at all, and are recognized as having a divine origin only by the omniscient narrator.<sup>78</sup> The story characters affected by them neither “see” nor have any other sensorial perception of God, nor do they “recognize” him, that is, they have no intellectual/cognitive perception of him, as one would have expected to happen if the plea ἐπιφάνηθι ... γνώσθητι/*appare ... cognoscere* was fulfilled to the letter.<sup>79</sup>

The posited allusion to Moses’ plea for a theophany in LXX Exod 33:13, on the one hand, and the “intimate” and small-scale character of the divine interventions that occur in VL Esther, on the other, make the plea ἐπιφάνηθι/*appare* seem less well-anchored in GVV/ VL Esther than it is in 3 Maccabees. In AT Esther, the epiphany occurs proleptically in the dream vision that Mordecai sees at the beginning of the story, but it is only at the very end that Mordecai “recognizes” that the sun and the light that he saw in his dream were a manifestation of Yahweh.

In conclusion, with regard to the possible intertextual connexion between Esther’s prayer in GVV/ VL Esther and the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees, I can make the following remarks:

- a) The fact that the prayer of Esther and the prayer of Eleazar share three commonalities, namely, the *exempla* of Jonas, Daniel, and the Three Youths, the formula καὶ νῦν/*et nunc* occurring right after the *exempla* and

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<sup>78</sup> See above, n. 72.

<sup>79</sup> In VL Esth E:16 as well as in LXX Esth E:16/AT Esth 7:27, King Artaxerxes states that Yahweh is the most high God, who directs the Persian kingdom on his behalf. However, this statement does not seem to result from a realization of Yahweh’s intervention, as recounted in VL Esth D:8, 6:1, or elsewhere in VL Esther. Moreover, as we will see in 2.2.8, this statement is a borrowing from 3 Maccabees. Haman, who in VL Esth 6:6, 6:10 (MS 130), and 6:12 is the subject of a divine intervention, never realizes that Yahweh intervenes against him. In VL Esth 6:13, Zosarra, his wife, warns him that Mordecai is a “prophet.” It is in LXX Esth 6:13/AT Esth 6:22 that Zosarra realizes that Yahweh is actively involved in the Jewish affairs: θεὸς ζῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ/ὁ θεὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς.

followed by a second-person imperative and a vocative, and the plea for a divine manifestation, combined with the fact that in the prayer of Eleazar, the *exempla*, the formula καὶ νῦν, and the plea ἐπιφάνηθι are clustered in three consecutive verses (3 Macc 6:6–9), speaks in favour of an intertextual connexion between the two prayers.

- b) The epiphanic element and the epiphanic terminology are more prominent and better anchored/integrated in 3 Maccabees than they are in VL Esther.
- c) If the phrase ἐπιφάνηθι ... γνώσθητι/*appare ... cognoscere* in GVVL/VL Esth C:7 and C:23 and in AT Esth 4:24 [C:23] had taken its cue from the phrase ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν· γνωστῶς εἶδω σε, which occurs in LXX Exod 33:13, as I suggested earlier, one would have expected the redactors of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in the GVVL/VL and the AT to have used the second person singular of the aorist passive imperative of the verb ἐμφανίζω (ἐμφανίσθητι) or ἐμφαίνω (ἐμφάνηθι) rather than the second person singular of the second aorist passive imperative of the verb ἐπιφαίνω (ἐπιφάνηθι). The choice of the latter imperative may have been triggered by the occurrence of the type ἐπιφάνηθι in another prayer, which the redactors of the prayers in GVVL and AT Esther were acquainted with, possibly that of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees. If the combination μνήσθητι–γνώσθητι in LXX Esth C:23 is the original one, as I argued earlier, we have to assume that, under the influence of the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees, μνήσθητι was replaced by ἐπιφάνηθι in GVVL Esth C:23 and in AT Esth 4:24 [C:23], and that this substitution was followed, for the sake of coherence between Additions C and F, by the addition of a reference to an epiphany in AT Addition F but not in GVVL Addition F.

## 2.2.7

- LXX Esth D:8: καὶ μετέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς πραΰτητα
- AT Esth 5:7 [D:8]: καὶ μετέβαλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μετέθηκε τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς πραότητα

- VL Esth D:8: *deus autem iram convertit in miserationem et furem ipsius in tranquillitatem*
- 3 Macc 6:22: καὶ μετεστράφη τοῦ βασιλέως ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς οἶκτον καὶ δάκρυα

LXX Esth D:8 displays one of the rare instances of divine intervention in LXX Esther: when the queen appeared unannounced before King Artaxerxes, God changed the spirit (μετέβαλεν τὸ πνεῦμα) of the angry king into mildness (εἰς πραΰτητα). The AT elaborates more on this intervention: God changed the king's spirit and turned his anger (μετέθηκε τὸν θυμὸν) into mildness (εἰς πραότητα). The VL, which abounds with divine interventions,<sup>80</sup> offers further elaboration on the king's emotional transformation: God changed his anger (*iram convertit*) into pity (*in miserationem*) and his fury (*furem*) into tranquillity (*in tranquillitatem*). By introducing the notion of pity (*miseratio*), which is absent in LXX Esth D:8 and AT Esth 5:7 [D:8], VL Esth D:8 provides a fine example of balanced parallelism. Pity is rather uncharacteristic of King Artaxerxes, who elsewhere shows himself utterly merciless (LXX Esth B:6: ἄνευ παντὸς οἴκτου). The Greek term underlying *miseratio* in this verse was likely οἶκτος or ἔλεος.

In 3 Macc 6:22, King Ptolemy IV Philopator undergoes a change similar to that of King Artaxerxes: his anger (ὀργή) turns into pity (εἰς οἶκτον) and tears for the Jews. The second aorist passive verb μετεστράφη has no explicit agent, yet the preceding epiphany (3 Macc 6:18–21) leaves no doubt that the king's emotional change was brought about through the agency of Yahweh.<sup>81</sup> The motif of wrath turning into pity is commonly associated with Yahweh,<sup>82</sup> but in the case discussed here it is applied—exclusively—to the two aforementioned earthly rulers.

Elsewhere in 3 Maccabees occur several other divine interventions, which produce various psychosomatic effects on King Ptolemy IV. In 3 Macc 5:11, Yahweh sends sleep upon the king to avert the scheduled destruction of the Jews

<sup>80</sup> See above, n. 72.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. 2 Macc 13:4, where Yahweh arouses the anger of King Antiochus V: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἐξήγειρε τὸν θυμὸν τοῦ Ἀντιόχου.

<sup>82</sup> See LXX Deut 13:17: ἵνα ἀποστραφῇ κύριος ἀπὸ θυμοῦ τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ δώσει σοι ἔλεος; Sir 5:6; 16:11: ἔλεος γὰρ καὶ ὀργὴ παρ' αὐτῷ; LXX Isa 54:8: ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ ἐν ἑλέει αἰωνίῳ ἠλέησά σε; 60:10: διὰ γὰρ ὀργὴν μου ἐπάταξά σε καὶ διὰ ἔλεον ἠγάπησά σε; 2 Macc 8:5: τῆς ὀργῆς τοῦ κυρίου εἰς ἔλεον τραπέισης. Cf. Philo, *Legat.* 367: ὁ δὲ [θεὸς] λαβὼν οἶκτον ἡμῶν τρέπει τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἔλεον.

in the hippodrome (ὕπνου μέρος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα). A reverse divine intervention takes place in LXX/AT/VL Esth 6:1, where Yahweh takes away the sleep from King Artaxerxes (ἀπέστησεν τὸν ὕπνον [ἀπὸ] τοῦ βασιλέως/*percutsit regem vigilantia*) on the night before Esther's first banquet. In 3 Macc 6:20, Yahweh's epiphany at the hippodrome makes the king's body shudder (ὑπόφρικον καὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως σῶμα ἐγενήθη). As we saw in 2.2.3, a plus in VL Esth 4:9, which is verbally similar to 3 Macc 6:20, shows Esther experiencing the same physical symptom, which, however, is not caused by any divine intervention.

The parallel between VL Esth D:8 and 3 Macc 6:22 is suggestive of an influence of one verse on the other. The existence of one more parallel between Addition D (LXX/VL Esth D:2) and 3 Maccabees (2:21), which will be examined in Study 2 (2.8), strengthens the possibility of an intertextual connexion between the verses discussed here. However, it is difficult to determine the direction of the posited influence.

### 2.2.8

- LXX Esth E:16: ὄντας δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ ὑψίστου μεγίστου ζώντος θεοῦ, τοῦ κατευθύνοντος ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει
- AT Esth 7:27 [E:16]: ὄντας δὲ καὶ υἱοὺς τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ καὶ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ κατευθύναντος ἡμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει
- *P.Oxy.* 4443, col. i, ll. 1–4: [υψιστου] καὶ μεγιστου ζωντος | [θεου του] κατευθυναντος ημειν | [τε και τοις] προγονοις ημων την | [βασιλειαν] καθαπερ προαιρουμεθα
- VL Esth E:16: *filii dei excelsi dirigentis nobis et posteris regnum sicut volumus*
- Ps.-Julian, *Ep.* 51 (ed. Wright), 397D: ἱκετηρίους λατρείας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ μείζονι, τῷ δυναμένῳ κατευθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα, καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα
- 3 Macc 6:28: ἀπολύσατε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ ζώντος, ὃς ἂφ' ἡμετέρων μέχρι τοῦ νῦν προγόνων ... εὐστάθειαν παρέχει τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν



- 3 Macc 7:2: ἐρρώμεθα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν κατευθύνοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ τὰ πράγματα, καθὼς προαιρούμεθα
- *Let. Aris.* § 15: ἀπόλυσον τοὺς συνεχομένους ἐν ταλαιπωρίαις, κατευθύνοντός σοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ τεθεικότος αὐτοῖς θεοῦ τὸν νόμον, καθὼς περιείργασμαι
- *Let. Aris.* § 45: καὶ ἠϋξάτο πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα σοι γένηται καθὼς προαιρῇ διὰ παντός, καὶ διασώζῃ σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ δόξης ὁ κυριεύων ἀπάντων θεός
- See Appendix 2

In LXX Esth E:16, King Artaxerxes recognizes the Jews as the sons (υἱούς) of the most high, most great, living God (τοῦ ὑψίστου μεγίστου ζῶντος θεοῦ), who has directed the kingdom (τοῦ κατευθύνοντος ... τὴν βασιλείαν) both for him and for his ancestors (ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις) in the most excellent state (ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει). The AT introduces minor changes to this declaration: Yahweh is designated as “the only and true God” (τοῦ μόνου καὶ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ), the present participle of the verb κατευθύνω is turned to an aorist one (κατευθύναντος), and the reference to the ancestors is omitted and replaced by the phrase “until now” (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν). *P.Oxy.* 4443, dating to the late first or early second century CE, “the first known copy of a passage [E:16–9:3] from Esther in roll-form,”<sup>83</sup> agrees in this verse with the LXX text, except for the tense of the participle of κατευθύνω (aorist, as in the AT) and the clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα, “just as we desire,” which replaces the prepositional phrase ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει.<sup>84</sup> VL Esth E:16 combines elements found in the LXX text and in *P.Oxy.* 4443, yet it differs from both: Yahweh is assigned only one epithet, *excelsus* (=ὑψιστος, as in the LXX); the king refers to his descendants (*posteris*=ἀπογόνους, probably a scribal error for προγόνοις) instead of to his ancestors; the clause *sicut*

<sup>83</sup> See Luchner, “4443,” 4. A photo of *P.Oxy.* 4443 is reproduced on the cover of this book.

<sup>84</sup> See Luchner, “4443,” 7; Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Liberation Decree,” 73–74, 79.

*volumus*, corresponding to the clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα in *P.Oxy.* 4443, occurs in lieu of the phrase ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει.<sup>85</sup>

A passage from Ps.-Julian's epistle "To the Community of the Jews" (dated by van Nuffelen to between 429 and 450 CE)<sup>86</sup> seems to contain an implicit allusion to Esth E:16. In addition to the obvious correspondences that it exhibits with the LXX text (τῷ μείζονι/τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ; κατευθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν/κατευθύνοντος τὴν βασιλείαν; ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα/ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει), this passage features the clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα, which is attested in *P.Oxy.* 4443. The author of the epistle, who was familiar with the language of the Septuagint,<sup>87</sup> apparently drew on a version of Addition E to Esther that combined elements from both the LXX version and a version similar to that preserved in *P.Oxy.* 4443.

The editor of *P.Oxy.* 4443 remarks that the clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα "may imitate the formulaic language of edicts"<sup>88</sup> and, indeed, we find it attested in a couple of Hellenistic decrees, where it is used with reference to Seleucid and Antigonid rulers.<sup>89</sup> We also find it, albeit introduced by καθώς instead of by καθάπερ,<sup>90</sup> in King Ptolemy IV Philopator's second letter in 3 Macc 7:2 and in the letter of the high priest Eleazar to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the *Letter of Aristeas* (§ 45).

There is a complex intertextual relationship between the above-mentioned versions of Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 7:2, which also involves 3 Macc 3:26 and 6:28, *Let.*

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<sup>85</sup> See Haelewyck, "Papyrus Oxyrhynque 4443," 268–70; Hester, 72; "Relevance," 454–55. The fact that *P.Oxy.* 4443 is the only Greek witness to agree with the VL with regard to the readings καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα/*sicut volumus* (E:16) and παρανομῶς/*iniuste* (E:18) indicates, according to Haelewyck, that by 100 CE a contamination had occurred between LXX and GVLV Esther.

<sup>86</sup> van Nuffelen, "Deux fausses lettres," 135.

<sup>87</sup> See Stern, *From Tacitus to Simplicius*, 509, 568.

<sup>88</sup> Luchner, "4443," 7.

<sup>89</sup> OGIS 219 [decree of Ilion honouring Antiochus I or Antiochus III; 279–274 or 197 BCE], ll. 23–25: καὶ γίνεσθαι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ βασιλίσσῃ πάντα, καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῖς διαμένειν λαμβάνουσαν ἐπίδοσιν καθάπερ αὐτοὶ προαιροῦνται; Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions II*, 36 [decree of Philiproi for Kos; 243 BCE], ll. 13–15: δοῦναι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἐν Κῳ ἄσυλον, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀντίγονος προαιρεῖται. Cf. OGIS 5 [letter of King Antigonos to Scsepsis; 311 BCE], ll. 16–18: ἐπεὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ γ' ἂν ἐποιήσαμεθ' ἅπαντα διοικήσας | τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν καθὰ προειλόμεθα.

<sup>90</sup> On καθάπερ, see Meecham, *Letter of Aristeas*, 133 (quoting Robertson): "It is thoroughly Attic and a slight literary touch." See also Blass, Debrunner, and Funk, *Greek Grammar*, 236, who note that καθώς, "a Hellenistic and MGR word common to virtually every author," is disapproved by Atticist grammarians like Phrynichus who recommend instead καθὰ or καθό.

*Aris.* §§ 15 and 45, and LXX Hos 1:10 [2:1] (see the table in Appendix 2). I suggest the following scenario.

The initial hypotext is *Let. Aris.* § 15, where the courtier Aristeeas asks King Ptolemy II Philadelphus to release the Jewish slaves whom his father, Ptolemy I, had brought to Egypt: ἀπόλυσον τοὺς συνεχομένους ἐν ταλαιπωρίαις, κατευθύνοντός σοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ τεθεικότος αὐτοῖς θεοῦ τὸν νόμον, καθὼς περιείργασμαι (“release those confined in hardships, since the god who established the law for them directs the kingdom for you, just as I have discovered through investigation”).<sup>91</sup> The idea that God directs the kingdom for Ptolemy is at home in the *Letter of Aristeeas*, which uses the verb κατευθύνω nine times, eight of which are in relation to God’s guidance of all human actions.<sup>92</sup> The construction featured in *Let. Aris.* § 15—genitive absolute having the noun θεός as subject—is a favourite of Ps.-Aristeeas, who uses it sixteen times.<sup>93</sup>

The author of 3 Maccabees draws on *Let. Aris.* § 15 twice, at 6:28 and at 7:2.

At 6:28, King Ptolemy IV Philopator gives an oral order to his *philoí* (“Friends”) to release (ἀπολύσατε) the Jews confined in the hippodrome. This order will subsequently be recorded in written form in Philopator’s second letter (3 Macc 7:7: ἀπολελύκαμεν). The imperative ἀπολύσατε is an unmistakable borrowing from *Let. Aris.* § 15, where Aristeeas uses the imperative ἀπόλυσον—followed in the next paragraph by the periphrastic imperative ἀπόλυσιν ποιῆσαι—in his oral request to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus to release the Jewish slaves. The king takes up the same verb in his liberation *prostagma* (*Let. Aris.* §§ 22, 24: ἀπολύειν). Through the verb ἀπόλύνω, the author of 3 Maccabees presents the release of the Jews from the Alexandrian hippodrome by Ptolemy IV as a re-enactment of the release of the Egyptian Jews from slavery, which had been granted in the past by the latter king’s grandfather, Ptolemy II. If 3 Maccabees is indebted to *Let. Aris.* §

<sup>91</sup> Trans. Wright, *Letter of Aristeeas*, 122.

<sup>92</sup> *Let. Aris.* § 18: κατευθύνει τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ὁ κυριέων ἀπάντων θεός; § 195: θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων οὐκ αὐτοῖς κατευθύνοντες τὰ βουλευθέντα· θεὸς δὲ τελειοῖ τὰ πάντων καὶ καθηγεῖται δυναστεύων; § 216: θεὸς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμὸν καὶ πράξιν ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τρεπομένην κατευθύνει; § 243: θεοῦ κατευθύνοντος εἰς τὸ καλῶς ἅπαντα βουλευέσθαι; § 287: ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ θεοῦ σοι [sc. the king] κατευθυνομένων ἀπάντων. See also *Let. Aris.* §§ 193 and 266. The combination κατευθύνω + βασιλεία elsewhere occurs only in LXX 2 Chr 17:5: καὶ κατήθυνεν κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν [sc. of King Josaphat] ἐν χειρὶ αὐτοῦ. Ps.-Aristeeas also uses the combination διευθύνω + βασιλεία: § 188: οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα διευθύνῃς [τὴν βασιλείαν], μιμούμενος τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἐπιεικές.

<sup>93</sup> *Let. Aris.* 15; 20; 21; 192; 219; 243; 249; 267; 270; 271; 274; 280; 282; 283; 290; 292.

15 for the verb ἀπολύω, then it is reasonable to assume that it is also indebted to it for the phrase that comes after this verb, namely, the genitive absolute construction κατευθύνοντός σοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ ... θεοῦ.

King Ptolemy IV Philopator further designates the Jews as “the sons (υἱούς) of the almighty (παντοκράτορος), heavenly (ἐπουρανίου), living God (θεοῦ ζῶντος).” The expression “sons of the living god” is taken from LXX Hos 1:10 [2:1] (κληθήσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος) and occurs nowhere else in the Septuagint except in LXX Esth E:16.<sup>94</sup> 3 Macc 6:28 reproduces with almost verbal exactness the Hoseanic formulation, with the participle ζῶν in postnominal position, whereas in LXX Esth E:16 and in P.Oxy. 4443 the participle is placed prenominal. The idea that Yahweh has a fatherlike relationship with his elect people is at home in 3 Maccabees: apart from 6:28, we encounter it in the prayers of the incarcerated Jews (5:7: τὸν παντοκράτορα ... θεὸν αὐτῶν καὶ πατέρα), in the prayer of Eleazar (6:3, 8: πᾶτερ), and in the second letter of Philopator (7:6: τὸν ἐπουράνιον θεὸν ... ὑπερησπικότα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὡς πατέρα ὑπὲρ υἱῶν διὰ παντὸς συμμαχοῦντα). King Ptolemy IV further states that Yahweh has granted stability (εὐστάθειαν παρέχει) to his government (τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν) from the time of his ancestors (ἀφ’ ἡμετέρων προγόνων) until now (μέχρι τοῦ νῦν). The reference to the king’s ancestors, the epithets παντοκράτωρ and ἐπουράνιος applied to Yahweh, and the term τὰ πράγματα as a designation of the affairs of the state are at home in 3 Maccabees, as they occur elsewhere in this book.<sup>95</sup>

At 7:2, which contains the “health and well-being formula” (*formula valetudinis*) of Philopator’s second letter, the author of 3 Maccabees draws on the latter part of *Let. Aris.* § 15: he copies the genitive absolute τοῦ θεοῦ κατευθύνοντος, adding a modifier to the subject of the participle (μεγάλου) and changing its object (τὰ πράγματα instead of τὴν βασιλείαν). He also replaces the clause καθὼς περιείργασμαι with the clause καθὼς προαιρούμεθα. The latter is taken from *Let.*

<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere in Second Temple literature, it occurs only in Jub. 1:25, which likely draws on Hos 1:10. See Delling, “Bezeichnung,” 18–19. The expression θεὸς ζῶν, by itself, is not especially rare in the Septuagint. It occurs, inter alia, in the canonical part of LXX Esther, in the words of warning that his wife and friends address to Haman: 6:13: οὐ μὴ δύνῃ αὐτὸν [sc. τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον] ἀμύνασθαι, ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ. The phrase ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ has no correspondent in the MT; it is one of the very few instances—all of them pluses vis-à-vis the MT—where God is mentioned explicitly in the canonical part of LXX Esther.

<sup>95</sup> πρόγονοι: 3 Macc 5:31; 7:7; παντοκράτωρ: 3 Macc 2:2, 8; 5:7; 6:2, 18; ἐπουράνιος: 3 Macc 7:6; τὰ πράγματα: 3 Macc 3:7, 13, 23, 26 et passim.

*Aris.* § 45, where it is used in a similar context: in his letter to King Ptolemy II, the high priest Eleazar states that all the Jews prayed (ἡϋζατο πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος) that things should always happen for the king (ἵνα σοι γένηται) as he desired (καθὼς προαιρή) and that God might preserve his kingdom (διασώζη σοι τὴν βασιλείαν) in peace with glory (ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ δόξης). The verb προαιροῦμαι and its cognate noun are favourites of *Ps.-Aristeas*, as he uses them eight times each.<sup>96</sup>

LXX *Esth* E:16 draws on 3 *Macc* 6:28 for the phrase υἱοὺς τοῦ ζῶντος θεοῦ but replaces the divine epithets παντοκράτωρ and ἐπουράνιος with ὕψιστος and μέγιστος, which it also likely derives from 3 *Maccabees*.<sup>97</sup> It also draws on the same verse for the reference to the king's ancestors (ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν) but omits the adverbial phrase μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, which, however, crops up in the AT.<sup>98</sup> From 3 *Macc* 7:2, it borrows the participial phrase κατευθύνοντος (τοῦ θεοῦ)

<sup>96</sup> προαιροῦμαι: *Let. Aris.* §§ 5; 33; 38; 45; 72; 215; 303; 321 (in §§ 38, 45, 72, 215 it is used in relation to the king); προαίρεσις: *Let. Aris.* §§ 3; 14; 20; 32; 42; 72; 233; 265. The possibility that 3 *Maccabees*, a book of Egyptian provenance, derived the formula καθὼς προαιρούμεθα from an authentic Ptolemaic royal letter or *prostagma* is not very likely. The verb προαίρεομαι does not occur in Lenger's *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées*. Only προαίρεσις has a single instance in *C. Ord. Ptol.* 76, l. 16 [letter of Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy Caesarion to Theon; 41 BCE]. The only instance of προαίρεομαι in a Ptolemaic royal document occurs in a very fragmentary letter of a Ptolemaic king to Cos dating to the mid-third century BCE (Rigsby, *Asyria*, 13, l. 17: διὰ τὸ προαίρεῖσθαι]). The verb is, however, attested in a few Seleucid and Attalid royal letters. Aside from *OGIS* 5, cited in n. 89, see *SEG* 39-1285 [letter of Antiochus III; 213 BCE], l. 3: προαιρούμενοι γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐμ βελτίονι διαθέσει; *SEG* 37-1010 [letter of Antiochus III to Zeuxis; 209 BCE], l. 36: προαιρούμενοι αὔξειν; *Iasos* 93 [letter of Queen Laodice III, 195/190 BCE], ll. 11-12: προαιρουμένη δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκόλουθα πράσιν τῇ σπουδῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκτενεῖαι; ll. 29-30: συνεκτρέχειν προ[αιρου]μένη τῇ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ θελήσει; *OGIS* 763 [letter of Eumenes II; 167/166 BCE], l. 57: προαιρούμενος. See Ma, *Antiochos III*, 189. Note also the use of the noun προαίρεσις in the letters of Antiochus IV and Antiochus V in 2 *Macc* 9:27 (τῇ ἐμῇ προαίρεσει) and 11:26 (τὴν ἡμετέραν προαίρεσιν), respectively.

<sup>97</sup> ὕψιστος: 3 *Macc* 6:2; 7:9; μέγιστος: 3 *Macc* 1:9, 16; 3:11; 4:16; 5:25; 7:22. The asyndetic juxtaposition of these superlatives is elsewhere attested in epigraphical texts: *IG* X, 2.1, 67 [Makedonia; 74/75 CE], ll. 1-2: Θεῶν Ὑψίστῳ | μεγίστῳ σωτῆρι; *CJud* II, 1532 [dedication to Hermes or Souchos-Sobek (?); Fayoum, 29 BCE], ll. 1-2: Θεῶν μεγάλῳ | μεγάλῳ ὕψίστῳ. Cf. *IK Izmir* 1141 [Nikaia; second century CE], l. 6: Διὶ Κρατίστῳ Μεγίστῳ; *SEG* 50-1222 [Iuliopolis; second to third century CE], A, l. 2: Θεῶ ἀρίστῳ μεγίστῳ. On the expression υἱοὶ ὕψιστου, cf. LXX *Ps* 81:6.

<sup>98</sup> AT Addition E has one more exclusive point of verbal contact with 3 *Maccabees*: the phrase ἐπετήδευσεν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεταστήσαι (*AT Esth* 7:26 [E:12]) has a parallel in 3 *Macc* 6:24: ἐπιχειρεῖτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥδη καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεθίστην. In these verses occur the aorist and present active infinitives of the verb μεθίστημι, “to remove, to deprive,” while in LXX *Esth* E:12 occurs the aorist active infinitive of the verb στερέω, “to deprive” (ἐπετήδευσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς στερῆσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος). In the corresponding verse in the VL occurs the infinitive *privare*, which reflects the infinitive στερῆσαι found in the LXX. The fact that the phrase μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, which has no counterpart in LXX and VL *Esther*, and the phrase ἐπετήδευσεν ... μεταστήσαι, which is verbally closer to 3 *Macc* 6:24 than its counterpart in LXX *Esth* E:12, are in close proximity to one another and have parallels in neighbouring verses in 3 *Maccabees*, in

τὰ πράγματα, but it replaces the noun τὰ πράγματα with τὴν βασιλείαν, the original reading in *Let. Aris.* § 15. This may betray direct knowledge of the latter text on the part of the author of Addition E or common authorship of Addition E and 3 Maccabees. Lastly, from 3 Macc 3:26 (first letter of King Ptolemy IV), it takes up the prepositional phrase [ἐν] τῇ βελτίστῃ διαθέσει, replacing βελτίστη with καλλίστη; the latter superlative may be a direct borrowing from the *Letter of Aristeas*, which often uses it in combination with the verb κατευθύνω.<sup>99</sup>

The clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα found in *P.Oxy.* 4443, and most likely underlying the *sicut volumus* in VL Esth E:16,<sup>100</sup> comes from 3 Macc 7:2. In 3 Macc 7:2, however, it is introduced by the conjunction καθώς, just as in *Let. Aris.* § 45, from which it was borrowed. It is indeed noteworthy that in Esth E:16, each version of Esther has derived different verbal elements, which are not found in the other versions, from different verses of 3 Maccabees: the LXX (followed by the AT) has drawn the phrase ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ [βελτίστῃ in the source text] διαθέσει from 3 Macc 3:26, the AT the phrase μέχρι τοῦ νῦν from 3 Macc 6:28, and the GVV/L/VL and *P.Oxy.* 4443 the clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα/*sicut volumus* from 3 Macc 7:2, while in Ps.-Julian's implicit quotation of Esth E:16 occur both the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα<sup>101</sup> and the clause καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα.<sup>102</sup> It is possible that the *Urtext* of Esth E:16 contained all these verbal elements and that each of the versions derived from it retained only one or two of them.

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Ptolemy Philopator's speech to his *philoi*, suggests that the redactor of AT Addition E had direct knowledge of Philopator's speech, independently of LXX Addition E. For more points of verbal contact between AT Esther and 3 Maccabees, see 2.2.6 and 3.2.1.

<sup>99</sup> See above, n. 92, and cf. *Let. Aris.* § 247: θεὸς δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἄξει σοι, βασιλεῦ, πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα. There are, however, epigraphical parallels for the combination καλλίστη διάθεσις; IG IX, 1<sup>2</sup> 1:179 [Delphi; decree of the Aitolians in honour of Eumenes II; 183/182 BCE], l. 5: ἐπαυξηκώς τὰμ βασιλείαν καὶ ἐν τὰν καλλίσταν διάθεσιν ἀγνηκώς; SEG 50-1101 [Bargylia; sacred law for the cult of Artemis Kindyas; second to first century BCE], ll. 9-10: διὰ τὸ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐν τῇ | καλλίστῃ εἶναι διαθέσει. On the term διάθεσις in the sense of "condition, state," see Lombardi, "Parole nuove," 263-71, 276-77.

<sup>100</sup> *sicut volumus* would normally be a rendering of καθώς βουλόμεθα. However, the parallel reading of *P.Oxy.* 4443 leaves no doubt that *volo* was used as equivalent to προαιροῦμαι, which the Latin translator rightly understood as denoting, in this context, deliberate wish/desire rather than preference/choice.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. *Let. Aris.* §§ 195; 216; 247. See above, nn. 92 and 99.

<sup>102</sup> Jerome's Latin translation in this verse offers no equivalent either for ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει or for καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα; however, it renders the phrase μέχρι τοῦ νῦν (*usque hodie*), which is attested only in the AT.

One can, of course, consider an alternative scenario, where either GVVl or LXX Esth E:16 drew on *Let. Aris.* §§ 15 and 45, and subsequently, 3 Macc 3:26, 6:28, and 7:2 drew on either GVVl or LXX Esth E:16. However, this scenario is less satisfying because it would imply that 3 Macc 6:28 drew on *Let. Aris.* § 15 for the verb ἀπολύω, while 3 Macc 7:2 drew on LXX Esth E:16 for the phrase that follows the verb ἀπολύω in *Let. Aris.* § 15, namely, κατευθύνοντός σοι τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ ... θεοῦ, which is rather unlikely. Further evidence that the vector of dependence moves from the *Letter of Aristeas* to 3 Maccabees and from there to Additions B and E to Esther is adduced in Study 2 (see especially 2.2 and 2.3).

### 2.2.9a–b

- LXX Esth E:24: πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ἢ χώρα τὸ σύνολον, ἥτις κατὰ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃ, δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται μετ’ ὀργῆς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἔχθιστος κατασταθήσεται
- AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]: ἡ δὲ πόλις καὶ ἡ χώρα, ἥτις κατὰ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃ, δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται μετ’ ὀργῆς καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς ἐκταθήσεται
- VL Esth E:24: *omnis civitas et regio in totum quae secundum haec non fecerit hasta et igni consumpta cum ira non solum hominibus sed et feris et volatilibus in omne tempus abominabilis relinquetur*
- VL Esth B:7: *qui autem celaverit genus Iudaeorum inhabitabilis non solum inter homines sed nec inter aves et igni sancto comburetur et substantia eius in regnum conferetur*
- 3 Macc 3:27: ὃς δ’ ἂν σκεπάσῃ τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ γεραίου μέχρι νηπίου, μέχρι τῶν ὑπομαστιδίων, αἰσχίσταις βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικίᾳ. [3:28] μηνύειν δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐφ’ ᾧ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἐμπίπτοντος ὑπὸ τὴν εὐθυναν λήμψεται καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας στεφανωθήσεται. [3:29] πᾶς δὲ τόπος, οὗ ἂν φωραθῇ τὸ σύνολον

σκεπαζόμενος Ἰουδαῖος, ἄβατος καὶ πυριφλεγῆς γινέσθω καὶ πάσῃ θνητῇ φύσει κατὰ πᾶν ἄχρηστος φανήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον

- 3 Macc 5:43: ἐπιστρατεύσαντα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἰσόπεδον πυρὶ καὶ δόρατι θήσεσθαι διὰ τάχους καὶ τὸν ἄβατον αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ναὸν πυρὶ πρηνέα τάχει τῶν συντελούντων ἐκεῖ θυσίας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καταστήσειν
- *Let. Aris.* § 25: τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον προσαγγέλλειν περὶ τῶν ἀπειθησάντων, ἐφ’ ᾧ τοῦ φανέντος ἐνόχου τὴν κυρίαν ἔξειν· τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθήσεται
- See Appendix 3

LXX Esth E:24 lays down the punishment that will befall every city or land of the Persian kingdom that will not conform to King Artaxerxes’ orders concerning the protection of the Jews from any harm that might be done to them by their gentile enemies: it will be consumed by spear and fire with wrath (δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται μετ’ ὀργῆς) and will be made (κατασταθήσεται) not only impassable for people (οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἄβατος) but also most hostile to wild animals and birds (ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς ἔχθιστος) for all time (εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον). AT Esth 7:32 [E:24] follows LXX Esth E:24 but omits the adjective ἔχθιστος and the prepositional phrase εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον and uses the verb ἐκτείνομαι instead of καθίσταμαι; VL Esth E:24 is an almost word-for-word translation of LXX Esth E:24 except for the adjective ἄβατος, which it omits, and the adjective *abominabilis*, which reflects the Greek adjective αἰσχιστος rather than ἔχθιστος.<sup>103</sup>

At the end of the first royal letter in 3 Maccabees, we find a similar penalty section, which deals, on the one hand, with the persons who might want to shelter the Jews in order to save them from the destruction to which King Ptolemy IV Philopator had doomed them (3:27: ὃς δ’ ἂν σκεπάσῃ τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων), and, on the other, with the places where Jews who have been given shelter might be found (3:29: πᾶς δὲ τόπος, οὗ ἐὰν φωραθῇ τὸ σύνολον σκεπαζόμενος Ἰουδαῖος): the

<sup>103</sup> αἰσχιστος is *varia lectio* for ἔχθιστος in LXX Esth E:24. Verse E:24 is also preserved in *P.Oxy.* 4443, which agrees with the LXX text but has two variant readings in agreement with the VL text: καταναλωθῆσα (LXX: καταναλωθήσεται; VL: *consumpta*) and αἰσχιστος (LXX: ἔχθιστος; VL: *abominabilis*). See Luchner, “4443,” 8; Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Liberation decree,” 73–75.



former will be tortured and killed along with all the members of their households (βασάνοις ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικία), while the latter will be made impassable (ἄβατος) and burned with fire (πυριφλεγής), and will ultimately be totally useless to every mortal creature (πάση θνητῇ φύσει κατὰ πᾶν ἄχρηστος). This section also provides that anyone willing to turn in the Jew-helpers (3:28: μηνύειν δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον) will receive a reward: the property of the latter (τὴν οὐσίαν) plus two thousand drachmas from the royal treasury (ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ) and his freedom (τῆς ἐλευθερίας), if he is a slave.

LXX and AT Esther have the penalty section dealing with the cities and the lands that will disobey the king's orders in Artaxerxes' second letter (Addition E), which countermands the extermination of the Jews, instead of in the first letter (Addition B), which commands their extermination, as opposed to 3 Maccabees, which features a single penalty section, dealing with both the persons and the places that will harbour the Jews, in Philopator's condemnation letter. VL Esther preserves penalty sections in both Addition B (persons) and Addition E (cities/lands).<sup>104</sup> I will first examine the penalty section in VL Esth B:7, which is a plus vis-à-vis the LXX and the AT, and will then discuss its counterpart in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24.

**a)** The penalty section in VL Esth B:7 ordains that anyone who has hidden the people of the Jews (*qui autem celaverit genus Iudaeorum*) will not be able to live (*inhabitabilis*) among humans nor birds (*non solum inter homines sed nec inter aves*) and will be burned by sacred fire (*igni sancto comburetur*), while his property (*substantia eius*) will be transferred to the kingdom (*in regnum conferetur*). As can be seen in the table in Appendix 3, VL Esth B:7 has common elements with both LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24 and 3 Macc 3:27–29.

The segment *qui autem celaverit genus Iudaeorum* in VL Esth B:7 corresponds to ὃς δ' ἂν σκεπάσῃ τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων in 3 Macc 3:27. The segment *inhabitabilis non solum inter homines sed nec inter aves* corresponds to οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς ... ἔχθιστος κατασταθήσεται/ἐκταθήσεται in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24] and to *non solum hominibus sed et feris et volatilibus*

<sup>104</sup> See Motzo, "Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei," 286–87; cf. Milik, "Modèles araméens," 395.

*abominabilis relinquetur* in VL Esth E:24; in lieu of the adjectives ἄβατος and ἔχθιστος/*abominabilis* (LXX/VL Esth E:24:), VL Esth B:7 has the adjective *inhabitabilis*, while it omits the verb (κατασταθήσεται/ἐκταθήσεται/*relinquetur*) and the reference to the wild animals (θηρίοις/*feris*) that we find in the other versions. The term *inhabitabilis*, which should here be understood in its active sense, “qui habitare non potest, domicilio carens,” likely renders the Greek verbal adjective ἀοίκητος, which would here have the meaning of “houseless.”<sup>105</sup> *inhabitabilis* may even reflect the reading ἄχρηστος, “useless,” attested in 3 Macc 3:29, considering that in Wis 3:11 (καὶ ἄχρηστα τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν) some manuscripts of the Vulgate render ἄχρηστα by *inhabitalia* instead of by *inutilia*.<sup>106</sup>

The segment *et igni sancto comburetur* roughly parallels the phrases δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται/*hasta et igni consumpta* in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24 and πυριφλεγῆς γινέσθω in 3 Macc 3:29. Given that Addition B is purported to be a Persian royal document, the phrase *ignis sanctus* (ἅγιον/ἱερὸν πῦρ) can be taken to denote the Zoroastrian sacred fire.<sup>107</sup> However, it is unlikely that this fire would have been used to burn people alive because the Persians did not even burn the bodies of their dead, lest the fire be polluted.<sup>108</sup> Nor does there

<sup>105</sup> See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 7.1, col. 1583, s.v. *inhabitabilis*. For ἀοίκητος, see Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v., I. “uninhabited, uninhabitable”; II. “houseless, ποιεῖν τινα ἀοίκητον banish one from home.”

<sup>106</sup> See Thielmann, “Lexikographisches,” 80.

<sup>107</sup> See Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 17.114.4: τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἱερὸν πῦρ καλούμενον; Curtius, *Hist.* 3.3.9: *ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant*; cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.3.15; 2 Macc 1:32–34. I retain the reading *igni sancto* adopted by Sabatier and Haelewyck. Thambyrajah, “Relationship,” 711 n. 15, presents as an alternative the reading *ignis acto* attested in MS 151, which he takes to be a corruption of *igni arso*; the latter would reflect a Greek text reading πυρὶ καιομένῳ/φλέγοντι/φλεγομένῳ (cf. 3 Macc 3:29: πυριφλεγῆς γινέσθω). However, the combination *igni arso comburetur* contains redundancy. I find more likely the suggestion made by Cavalier, *Esther*, 251–52, *igni actu*, “par l’action du feu.” The GVVl likely read here (ἐν) πυρὶ κατακαυθήσεται. Cf. LXX Lev 20:14; LXX Josh 7:15. Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 78 [318], suggests that the epithet *sanctus* was meant to imply that the punishment was “ein gerechtes Gottesgericht.”

<sup>108</sup> See Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.16; Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.3.14, 18. References to burning as capital punishment in the Bible and in ancient Near Eastern texts are rather rare; they are more common in ancient Egyptian texts. See Holm, “Fiery Furnace.”

seem to be here a reference to the Persian *Aschentod*<sup>109</sup> or to an ordeal of fire similar to that which the Three Youths in the book of Daniel were subjected to.<sup>110</sup>

The mode of capital punishment in VL Esth B:7 is not the same as that in 3 Macc 3:27, where those willing to harbour the Jews are threatened with execution along with the members of their households (ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικία).<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, the term πανοικία links the latter verse with LXX/VL Esth E:18, where King Artaxerxes announces that Haman was crucified with his whole household (ἐσταυρώσθαι σὺν τῇ πανοικίᾳ/*crucifixum cum omni domo sua*).

The segment *et substantia eius in regnum conferetur* has no exact counterpart in 3 Macc 3:27–28, although the terms *substantia* and *regnum* correspond to the terms οὐσία and βασιλικόν [sc. ταμιεῖον],<sup>112</sup> respectively, which occur in 3 Macc 3:28. Its exact counterpart can be found in the penalty section included in King Ptolemy II Philadelphus' liberation *prostagma* in *Let. Aris.* § 25, which ordains that the property of the transgressors of the royal decree will be confiscated to the royal treasury: τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα τῶν τοιούτων εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθήσεται. The latter formula, which also occurs in LXX Dan 2:5 (καὶ ἀναλημφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ

<sup>109</sup> A Persian method of execution that involved fire, albeit indirectly, as it consisted in throwing the culprit into a pit of ashes. This gruel practice is attested under Darius II Ochus and seems to have been adopted by at least one Seleucid king, Antiochus V Eupator (2 Macc 13:5–8). See König, *Persika*, 85–88.

<sup>110</sup> See Bickerman, *Four Strange Books*, 89, 136.

<sup>111</sup> Méléze Modrzejewski, *Troisième livre*, 64–65, 147; *Droit et justice*, 335–38, contends that ἀποτυμπανίζω in 3 Macc 3:27 denotes “l'exposition au poteau,” a form of capital punishment inflicted on traitors and other malefactors, which involved fixing the condemned person's hands, feet, and neck on a pole or plank stuck in the ground and leaving him in this position until he died. Méléze Modrzejewski adduces archaeological, literary, and papyrological evidence dating from as early as the seventh century BCE (shackled skeletons found at Old Phaleron) to the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator and down to the time of Alexander Jannaeus. However, his contention is to be treated with some skepticism, since, as Balamoshev, “Ἀποτυμπανισμός,” has demonstrated, at least the papyrological testimonia for ἀποτυμπανίζω cannot be understood in the way that he suggests. Balamoshev shows that in post-Classical Greek, ἀποτυμπανίζω exhibits a variety of semantically related meanings (“to punish with death,” “to kill,” “to decapitate,” “to beat”) and argues that the verb in 3 Macc 3:27 is to be understood as a generic term denoting “to kill,” as is the case with LXX Dan 7:11, where the same verb is used to render the Aramaic verb *qetal*, “to slay.” Already a century before the aforementioned scholars, Owen, “ἀποτυμπανίζω,” 262–65, had argued that there is no connexion between the punishment designated by ἀποτυμπανίζω and its cognates and the crucifixion-like punishment postulated by some modern scholars. See also Cirio, “ἀποτυμπανισμός,” for a reassessment of the Attic testimonia for ἀποτυμπανισμός, according to which the latter was a garrote-like mode of execution.

<sup>112</sup> The Greek term underlying *regnum* was either τὸ βασιλεῖον or τὸ βασιλικόν (both terms denote the royal treasury; see Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. βασιλεῖον I.2 and βασιλικός II.3a), which the Latin translator understood as referring to the “kingdom” (βασιλεία).

υπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν),<sup>113</sup> or one of its variants that occur in the Ptolemaic papyri,<sup>114</sup> may underlie the clause *et substantia eius in regnum conferetur* in VL Esth B:7.

The penalty section in *Let. Aris.* § 25 also contains a clause concerning the reward of the informers (τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον προσαγγέλλειν περὶ τῶν ἀπειθησάντων, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦ φανέντος ἐνόχου τὴν κυρίαν ἔξειν), which exhibits both similarities with and differences from that in 3 Macc 3:28. In both verses, it is stated that anyone willing to denounce a person who has disobeyed the king's orders (τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον προσαγγέλλειν/μηνύειν δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον) will be rewarded; however, the rewards are different in each case: the ownership (τὴν κυρίαν) of the defaulter, whose property will be transferred to the royal treasury, in the former, and the property (τὴν οὐσίαν) of the defaulter plus two thousand drachmas from the royal treasury, in the latter.

Philadelphus' fictitious *prostagma* in *Let. Aris.* §§ 22–25 is believed to have been modelled on an authentic Ptolemaic *prostagma* such as the second of the two *prostigmata* of Philadelphus contained in the Papyrus Rainer (*PER* 24.552, col. I, ll. 33–37–col. II, ll. 1–26=C. *Ord. Ptol.* 22 [260 BCE]) ordering the registration of slaves in Syria and Phoenicia or some other *prostagma* of similar content.<sup>115</sup> The author of 3 Maccabees seems to have known Philadelphus' *prostagma* in the *Letter of Aristeas*.<sup>116</sup> However, the above-noted differences between 3 Macc 3:28 and *Let. Aris.* § 25 in combination with such details as the capital punishment imposed on the

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<sup>113</sup> Cf. LXX Dan 3:96: ὃς ἐὰν βλασφημῇ εἰς τὸν κύριον θεὸν ... διαμελισθήσεται καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δήμευθήσεται.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. C. *Ord. Ptol.* 21 [*prostagma* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus; 260 BCE], ll. 29–32: μηνύει[ν] δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον [ἐ]φ' ᾧ λήψεται τῷ μὲν κατὰ τὸ διάγραμ[μα] πρᾶσσομένων ἐπιτίμων ... τῶν δὲ ἀναλαμβανομένων οὐσιῶν εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν τὸ τρίτον μέρος; *UPZ* 1.112 [204 BCE], r,8, ll. 17–18: καὶ τὰ ἴδια [αὐ]τῶν ἀνα[λ]ηφθή[σε]ται εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν; *P.Tarich.* 6a [186 BCE], l. 9: τοῦ[των] τὰς οὐσίας ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν; *UPZ* 1.19 [163 BCE], l. 17: τὰ δ' ἐκείνου υπάρχοντα ἀναληφθέντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν. See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 48–49. Cf. also Tob<sup>s</sup> 1:20; 1 Esd 6:31; 2 Macc 3:13; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 11.67.5; 31.32.1; 33.4.3.

<sup>115</sup> See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 41–49, who gives a full list of the phraseological correspondences between the two *prostigmata* and maintains that Ps.-Aristeas composed “un pastiche de *prostagma*” inspired by an authentic document of the type exemplified by *PER* 24.552; cf. Hadas, *Aristeas*, 28–32, 105; Wright, *Letter of Aristeas*, 131–36; White and Keddie, *Jewish Fictional Letters*, 364–66.

<sup>116</sup> See 2.2.8, where I argue that 3 Macc 6:28 and *Let. Aris.* § 15 betray direct contact between the two books, and Study 2, 2.2–2.3. Cf. Hadas, *Aristeas*, 32–38, 105.

entire household of the lawbreaker and the exorbitant reward of the informer<sup>117</sup> suggest that for the penalty section of Philopator's decree he may have very freely adapted *Let. Aris.* § 25.<sup>118</sup>

The tortures, the ἀποτυμπανισμός, the recourse to informers, and the confiscation of property mentioned in 3 Macc 3:27–28 are well-attested practices in Ptolemaic Egypt,<sup>119</sup> whereas—the confiscation excepted—the strange combination of banishment (?) and burning, with which the individual transgressors are threatened in VL Esth B:7, is unattested in the Ptolemaic penal praxis. The latter penalties seem to have been conceived of merely as counterparts of those found in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24: burning of people/incineration of cities or lands; people who are ostracized by both humans and animals/cities or lands inhospitable to both humans and animals. The penalties in both VL Esth B:7 and LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24 have a “biblical tinge,” as they evoke, on the one hand, LXX Deut 13:15–16, which speaks of the holocaust that awaits the Israelite city that will be enticed to idolatry,<sup>120</sup> and, on the other, verses of LXX Jeremiah describing the desolation of ruined places.<sup>121</sup> This “tinge” is absent in 3 Macc 3:29, which uses the adjective πυριφλεγής, likely drawn from pagan Greek poetry,<sup>122</sup> and the generic

<sup>117</sup> On the excessive reward of the informer, see Croy, *3 Maccabees*, 71; Méléze Modrzejewski, *Troisième livre*, 66, 148. Croy points out that the two thousand drachmas that the informer is promised to receive from the royal treasury are ten times the reward that Queen Arsinoë promised to give to each of the soldiers that took part in the Battle of Raphia, if they won (3 Macc 1:4).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Hadas, *Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 52–53: “If III Maccabees and Aristes are related to one another as exponents of opposite views, the reward promised here for information *against* the Jewish interest may have a direct connection with the reward promised by Ptolemy Philadelphus in Aristes 25 for information *for* the Jewish interest.”; id. *Aristes*, 36: “The provision in Aristes that informers be given possession of the persons of recalcitrants was, as we saw, as unlikely as it was unprecedented. III Maccabees’ provision for rewarding informers *against* the Jews seems to be a clear echo of the added touch in Aristes.”

<sup>119</sup> See Méléze Modrzejewski, *Troisième livre*, 64–67; *Droit et justice*, 245–54, 318–38.

<sup>120</sup> LXX Deut 13:15–16: ἀναιρῶν ἀνελεῖς πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας ... καὶ ἐμπρήσεις τὴν πόλιν ἐν πυρὶ ... καὶ ἔσται ἀόικητος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. See Méléze Modrzejewski, *Troisième livre*, 148–49; *Droit et justice*, 330–31.

<sup>121</sup> LXX Jer 28:43: ἐγενήθησαν αἱ πόλεις αὐτῆς γῆ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄβατος, οὐ κατοικήσει ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ μὴ καταλύσῃ ἐν αὐτῇ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου; 30:11: καὶ ἔσται ἡ αὐλὴ διατριβὴ στρουθῶν καὶ ἄβατος ἕως αἰῶνος, οὐ μὴ καθίσῃ ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπος, καὶ οὐ μὴ κατοικήσῃ ἐκεῖ υἱὸς γηγενοῦς; 39:43: ἄβατός ἐστιν [sc. ἡ γῆ] ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπου καὶ κτήνους.

<sup>122</sup> πυριφλεγής is a variant of the Euripidean *hapax legomenon* πυριφλέγων (*Bacch.* 1018). See below, n. 129.

phrase πάση θνητῇ φύσει instead of the “biblical” θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς/*feris et volatilibus* that we find in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24.

The fact that the penalty sections in VL Esth B:7 and in 3 Macc 3:27 open with exactly the same clause, which is elsewhere unattested, leaves no doubt that there is an intertextual connexion between them. The direction of dependence is, however, not clear. One can envisage the following possibilities:

i) For the penalty section dealing with those who would give shelter to the Jews, the author of 3 Macc 3:27–29 drew on the penalty section in GVVL Esth B:7. He retained its opening line and the two penalties that it contains (capital punishment and loss of property) but thoroughly modified the latter, introducing details taken from the legal reality of his time (or the time in which his story takes place), which he injected with a dose of hyperbole.

ii) The author of GVVL Esther drew the opening line of the penalty section at B:7 from 3 Macc 3:27 but did not rely on his source text for the content of this section. He simply replicated the penalties for the cities/lands prescribed at E:24, adapting them so as to apply to humans and adding the provision on the confiscation of property, which he may have drawn from a literary source such as *Let. Aris.* § 25 or LXX Dan 2:5. I consider it plausible that the plus in GVVL Esth B:7 was composed *after* GVVL Esth E:24 rather than vice versa, or that it is an interpolation in the Old Latin textual tradition of Esther, given that (a) the penalties in LXX/AT/VL Esth E:24 make perfect sense, whereas those in VL Esth B:7 sound odd, (b) the plus in VL Esth B:7 does not occur either in the LXX<sup>123</sup> or the AT, or in Josephus’ version of Addition B, or even in MS 130, one of the three witnesses of the R-text of VL Esther,<sup>124</sup> (c) the datives ἀνθρώποις and πετεινοῖς in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24] are rendered as *inter homines* and *inter aves* in VL Esth B:7 and as *hominibus* and *volatilibus* in VL Esth E:24, which may indicate that

<sup>123</sup> Schildenberger, “Buch Esther,” 78 [318] (cf. Haelewyck, “Texte,” 27–28 n. 37), argues that Lysimachus, who, according to his theory, produced the LXX Esther by reworking the GVVL in order to align it with the Hebrew text, may have omitted the plus in GVVL Esth B:7 so as not to conflict with LXX Addition E: the Persian royal decrees being irrevocable, those who would be willing to help the Jews on the thirteenth of Adar might be liable to punishment on the strength of the above-mentioned sanction in the king’s condemnation decree. Schildenberger notes that the royal decree is declared irrevocable in MT Esth 8:8 but not in VL Esth 8:8, which simply states that what is written in the decree cannot be defied (*non illis contradicatur*), and makes the unlikely supposition that in LXX Esth 8:8 (οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἀντειπεῖν) Lysimachus took up the wording of GVVL Esth 8:8 but interpreted it along the lines of MT Esth 8:8.

<sup>124</sup> See Haelewyck, “Version latine,” 298, 305–6.

VL Esth B:7 is by a different hand than VL Esth E:24 rather than that the underlying Greek text of these verses differed or that the Latin translator aimed at variation.

The examination of the penalty section in VL Addition E, which is similar to that in VL Addition B, may provide a clue as to which of these two possibilities is more probable.

**b)** As noted earlier, the penalty section concerning the cities and lands in LXX Esth E:24 is verbally almost identical to that in VL Esth E:24. It exhibits close correspondences not only with the penalty section in 3 Macc 3:29 but also with 3 Macc 5:43, where King Ptolemy IV Philopator threatens to raze Judea to the ground and burn the Jerusalem Temple.

LXX Esth E:24 shares with 3 Macc 3:29 the terms *πᾶς* (modifying a geographical term: *τόπος/πόλις ἢ χώρα*), *τὸ σύνολον*, and *ἄβατος*. These terms are at home in 3 Maccabees. Its author has a predilection for *πᾶς*<sup>125</sup> and for *τὸ σύνολον*, which he uses six times,<sup>126</sup> and uses *ἄβατος* at 5:43, too. The phrase *μετ' ὀργῆς* (LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24])/cum ira (VL Esth E:24) does not occur in 3 Macc 3:29 but is found elsewhere in 3 Maccabees (6:23). The term *ὀργή* occurs four times in the latter book, whereas LXX Esther, outside of E:24, uses the term *θυμός* (3x).<sup>127</sup> The construction *οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί* (LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24])/non solum ... sed et (VL Esth E:24) has no counterpart in 3 Macc 3:29 but occurs elsewhere in 3 Maccabees (1:29; 2:26; 3:1, 23); in LXX Esther, it occurs only in Addition E (E:4, 24) and at 1:16.

LXX Esth E:24 shares with 3 Macc 5:43 the expressions *δόρατι καὶ πυρί/πυρὶ καὶ δόρατι*, *εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*, and the construction *καθίστημι τινά/καθίσταμαι + adjective* (*καταστήσειν τὸν ναὸν [ἔρημον]/κατασταθήσεται ἔχθιστος*). The latter construction is a favourite of the author of 3 Maccabees, who uses it seven times;<sup>128</sup> apart from *εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον*, 3 Maccabees uses the synonymous expressions *εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον* (3:29) and *εἰς τοὺς αἰὲ χρόνους* (7:23). The expression *δόρατι καὶ πυρί* elsewhere in ancient Greek literature occurs only in Euripides' *Andromache*, where it is used in connexion with the destruction of Troy (105: ὦ

<sup>125</sup> See Kopidakis, Γ' Μακκαβαίων, 61–62, and Tromp, "Formation," 320 n. 16.

<sup>126</sup> 3 Macc 3:29; 4:3, 11; 7:8, 9, 21.

<sup>127</sup> AT Esther uses both the terms *θυμός* (4x) and *ὀργή* (4x).

<sup>128</sup> 3 Macc 1:7; 2:5, 33; 3:5, 19, 21, 26. In LXX Esther, it occurs only in Additions B and E (B:2; E:5, 24).

Τροία, δορί [poetic type of δόρατι] καὶ πυρὶ δηϊάλωτον / εἶλέ σ' ὁ ... Ἄρης). It is at home in 3 Maccabees, whose author was familiar with the Euripidean poetry<sup>129</sup> and had a liking for similar expressions.<sup>130</sup> The noun δόρυ also occurs in the first letter of Philopator, in another “Euripidean” phrase (3 Macc 3:15: μὴ βία δόρατος), as well as in the prayer of Eleazar (3 Macc 6:5: δόρατι τὴν πᾶσαν ὑποχείριον ἦδη λαβόντα γῆν). The poetic phrase δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ/*hasta et igni* seems to have been planted in LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/VL Esth E:24, which, as I noted previously, has a “biblical tinge,” rather than to have originated in it. The author of Addition E tried to adjust it to the biblical diction of the verse by having it modify the verb καταναλίσκω, “to consume, devour” (LXX/AT: καταναλωθήσεται; *P.Oxy.* 4443: καταναλωθεῖσα; VL: *consumpta*). This verb occurs elsewhere in the Septuagint in combination with the noun πῦρ<sup>131</sup> but can hardly be conjoined with the noun δόρυ, unless through zeugma, as is the case here.

The above-mentioned lexical clues can be taken as evidence for the priority of 3 Macc 3:29 and 5:43 over LXX Esth E:24/AT Esth 7:32 [E:24]/GVVL Esth E:24. As regards the plus in VL Esth B:7, I am inclined to see it as not belonging to the original stratum of Esth B:7 but as being a later interpolation made by a redactor

<sup>129</sup> The familiarity of the author of 3 Maccabees with the poetry of Euripides can be discerned in the use of several combinations of words, which, on the basis of the fragmentary corpus of ancient Greek literary texts that have come down to us, are first attested in the plays of Euripides and subsequently do not occur anywhere else prior to 3 Maccabees: 3 Macc 3:15: βία δόρατος (cf. *Suppl.* 347); 3:25: δυσκλεῆ φόνον (cf. *Orest.* 1133); 5:1: ὀργῇ καὶ χόλῳ (cf. *Med.* 1150); 5:31: θηρσὶν ἀγρίοις ... θοῖναν (cf. *Hec.* 1072; *Ion* 505–6). On the influence of Euripides on 3 Maccabees, see Harris, “Metrical Fragments,” 206–7; Kopidakis, *Γ' Μακκαβαίων*, 17 and 87 n. 20; Cousland, “Dionysus *theomachos*?” The author of Additions B and E to Esther may also have been acquainted with the poetry of Euripides. In LXX Esth B:2, we find the metaphorical expression ἀκύματος βίος, “waveless life,” which does not occur anywhere else in ancient Greek literature. ἀκύματος is a poetic word first attested in an *adespoton tragicum* transmitted by Phrynichus, where it is literally used of the sea (*PS* p. 6 [ed. de Borries]: <καὶ ἀκύμων θάλασσα ἢ μὴ ἀνέμοις ταρασσομένη καὶ κυμαινομένη>. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἀκύματος: ἀκύματος δὲ πορθμὸς ἐν φρίκη γελᾷ). Its variant ἀκύμαντος is first attested in Euripides, who uses it of the sand of a race-course, which is “unwashed by the sea” (*Hipp.* 235: ψαμάθοις / ἐπ' ἀκυμάντοις). The cognate adjective ἀκύμων is also used in poetry of the waveless sea, among others by Euripides (*Pindar, fr.* 140b.16 [ed. Maehler]: ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει; Aeschylus, *Ag.* 566: πόντος ... ἀκύμων; Euripides, *Iph. taur.* 1444: ἀκύμονα/ πόντου τίθησι νῶτα; \**Phaeth.* 83 [ed. Diggle]: [ὑπ'] ἀκύμονι πομπᾷ / σιγώντων ἀνέμων). It is not earlier than Plutarch that it is used figuratively of a tranquil life (*Mor.* 465A; *Galb.* 10.4: βίον ἀκύμονα). However, already Euripides uses its variant ἄκυμος in the latter sense (*Herc. fur.* 698: τὸν ἄκυμον / θῆκεν βίοντον βροτοῖς) and it is possible that he was the one who introduced the metaphor of the “waveless life” in poetic language.

<sup>130</sup> See 3 Macc 2:5: πυρὶ καὶ θείῳ κατέφλεξας; cf. LXX Gen 19:24: κύριος ἔβρεξεν ... θεῖον καὶ πῦρ.

<sup>131</sup> LXX Deut 4:24; 9:3: πῦρ καταναλίσκον; LXX Zeph 1:18: ἐν πυρὶ ... καταναλωθήσεται; Wis 16:16: πυρὶ καταναλισκόμενοι.



who had in mind the bipartite penalty section in 3 Macc 3:27–29 and wanted to supply Addition B with a pendant to the penalty section in Addition E.<sup>132</sup>

## 2.3 Conclusion

The ten verbal similarities between 3 Maccabees and GVVL/VL Esther that I examined in this chapter provide evidence of an intertextual connexion between these texts, which seems to operate in both directions.

The author of 3 Maccabees seems to have drawn on verses of the canonical parts of GVVL/VL Esther, which either constitute pluses or differ verbally vis-à-vis their counterparts in the other versions. More specifically, I argued that 3 Macc 1:18–27, which recounts the reaction of the Jerusalemites to King Ptolemy IV Philopator’s threat to enter the Temple, and 3 Macc 4:1–3, which describes the reaction of Jews and gentiles to the publication of Philopator’s anti-Jewish decree, are indebted to the plus in GVVL/VL Esth 4:17 and to GVVL/VL Esth 3:14–4:3, respectively. These verses recount the reaction of the Jews in Susa to Mordecai’s proclamation of a fast, following the publication of King Artaxerxes’ letter ordering the extermination of the Jews of the Persian kingdom, and the reaction of the gentiles in Susa and of the Jews in the rest of the kingdom to the news of the pogrom launched against the latter, respectively (2.2.1; 2.2.2; 2.2.4). Moreover, I suggested that 3 Macc 6:20, which describes the impact that Yahweh’s epiphany had on King Ptolemy IV, may be intertextually connected to the plus in GVVL/VL Esth 4:9, which describes the effect that Mordecai’s urgent appeal concerning the fate of the Jews had on Esther (2.2.3).

The examination of the two verbal similarities shared between the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in GVVL/VL Addition C provided strong evidence suggesting that these prayers are

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<sup>132</sup> It is worth noting that some of the pluses that VL Esther exhibits vis-a-vis the other versions seem to have been included to provide counterparts or parallels to verses found in all or some of the other versions. E.g., the banquet made by the gentiles in VL Esth 3:15 is meant to parallel the feast hosted by the Jews in MT/LXX/AT/VL Esth 8:17 (see 2.2.1); the plea *appare* in the prayer of Esther (VL Esth C:23; AT Esth 4:24) has also been included in the prayer of Mordecai (VL Esth C:7) (see 2.2.6); in the plus in VL Esth 4:9, Esther tears her clothes and cries, just as Mordecai does in MT/LXX/VL Esth 4:1.

intertextually connected. With regard to the first of these similarities, which is shared between 3 Macc 6:9 and GVVL/VL Esth C:7 and C:23, namely, Eleazar's, Mordecai's, and Esther's plea to Yahweh to manifest himself (2.2.6), I consider it more likely that it was GVVL/VL Addition C to Esther that drew on 3 Maccabees rather than vice versa. With regard to the second similarity, namely, the biblical *exempla* listed in 3 Macc 6:6–8 and in the plus in GVVL/VL Esth C:16 (2.2.5), I am reluctant to opine firmly on the direction of dependence. However, I lean toward the possibility that the list of *exempla* in the prayer of Esther in GVVL/VL Addition C was influenced by the similar list in the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees. The single verbal parallel shared between 3 Maccabees and GVVL/VL Addition D to Esther yielded inconclusive evidence concerning the direction of dependence (2.2.7).

The examination of the three verbal similarities shared between 3 Maccabees and GVVL/VL Additions B and E provided strong evidence of an intertextual connexion between these texts. With regard to the similarity shared between LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 6:28 and 7:2 (2.2.8), namely, the recognition on the part of King Artaxerxes and King Ptolemy IV, respectively, of Yahweh as the god who directs the affairs of their kingdoms, I argued that the former verse is indebted to the latter two verses, which, in turn, depend on *Let. Aris.* §§ 15 and 45. I proposed the same direction of dependence regarding the phrase *καθάπερ/καθώς προαιρούμεθα*, which is shared between GVVL/VL Esth E:16, *P.Oxy.* 4443, and 3 Macc 7:2; more specifically, I suggested that this phrase was copied from the letter of the high priest Eleazar to King Ptolemy II in *Let. Aris.* 45 to the second letter of King Ptolemy IV in 3 Macc 7:2, and from there found its way into GVVL/VL Esth E:16 and *P.Oxy.* 4443. In the case of the verbal similarity between LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esth E:24 and 3 Macc 3:29 and 5:43 (2.2.9b), which stipulate the punishments that will befall the places that will disobey the royal orders, I argued that the former verse is indebted to the latter verses. Lastly, with regard to the penalty for providing aid to Jews in hiding, which appears in the plus in GVVL/VL Esth B:7 and in 3 Macc 3:27 (2.2.9a), I suggested a direction of dependence running from the latter to the former verse.

A noteworthy finding with respect to Additions B and E is that their versions in the LXX, the AT, and the GVVL/VL seem to be independently indebted to 3 Maccabees. While the version that bears the closest verbal similarities with 3

Maccabees in the verses that I examined in this chapter is the LXX, both the AT and the GVVl/VL share verbal points of contact with 3 Maccabees which are not shared with the other versions: the two neighbouring verses AT Esth 7:26 [E:12] and 7:27 [E:16] share the phrases τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεταστῆσαι/μεθιστᾶν and μέχρι τοῦ νῦν with the two neighbouring verses 3 Macc 6:24 and 6:28, respectively, and GVVl/VL Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 7:2 share exclusively the phrase καθάπερ/καθώς προαιρούμεθα. One possible explanation for this could be that all three versions of Additions B and E have a common ancestor, from which they derive their verbal similarities with 3 Maccabees. This *Urtext* of the two Additions, heavily influenced by 3 Maccabees, was likely incorporated into the version of the Greek Esther that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with and on the canonical parts of which he had drawn when composing his work.

The examination undertaken in this chapter also showed that 3 Maccabees and GVVl/VL Esther are not only indebted to one another but also to other texts. The plus in GVVl/VL Esth 4:16–17, for instance, on which 3 Macc 1:18–27 has drawn, is itself indebted to LXX Joel 2:15–16 and LXX Jonah 3:7–8, while 3 Macc 1:16–27 has interwoven GVVl/VL Esth 4:16–17 and 2 Macc 3:15–22 (2.2.4). The author of 3 Maccabees was shown to be especially prone to borrowing from a wide range of sources, both biblical and extra-biblical (among others, LXX Daniel, LXX Hosea, 2 Maccabees, *Letter of Aristeas*, Greek poetry, in particular Euripides) and highly adept at integrating his borrowings into his narrative, while also adapting them to fit his elaborate and prolix style and diction.

To sum up, the two-way influence between 3 Maccabees and GVVl/VL Esther that I have posited here operates as follows: 3 Maccabees seems to be acquainted with a Greek version of Esther which, in some verses of its canonical parts, was very close to, if not identical with, the GVVl/VL. GVVl/VL Additions B, C, and E, on the other hand, contain verbal elements that seem to have been borrowed from 3 Maccabees.

## *Chapter 3.*

# Verbal similarities between the canonical parts of LXX/AT Esther and 3 Maccabees

## 3.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I examined ten verbal similarities which are shared between VL Esther (both its canonical and its deuterocanonical parts) and 3 Maccabees. I argued that 3 Maccabees is indebted to four canonical verses of the GVV/VL (3:14; 3:15; 4:3; 4:17), which contain pluses over against or differ verbally from their counterparts in LXX and AT Esther. The conclusion that might be provisionally drawn from this finding is that 3 Maccabees was acquainted with a Greek version of Esther which at least in some verses of its canonical parts closely resembled, if not matched, the GVV/VL rather than the LXX or the AT Esther. If that was, indeed, the case, one would expect the canonical parts of LXX/AT Esther to have no intertextual links with 3 Maccabees, as has already been claimed by some previous scholarship.<sup>1</sup> To test whether the latter assertion holds, I will examine in the following four lexical and phraseological similarities which are shared between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of LXX Esther but not with the latter's counterparts in AT and VL Esther, which in the relevant verses have minuses or differ verbally vis-à-vis LXX Esther (3.2.2; 3.2.4; 3.2.5; 3.2.8), three similarities which are shared between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of LXX and AT Esther but not with the latter's counterparts in VL Esther (3.2.1; 3.2.3; 3.2.6), and a parallel shared between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of LXX/VL Esther (3.2.7).

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<sup>1</sup> See 1.2.

## 3.2 Discussion

### 3.2.1

- LXX Esth 1:5: ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πότον τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ... ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ
- LXX Esth 2:18: καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πότον πᾶσιν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ ὕψωσεν τοὺς γάμους Εσθηρ
- AT Esth 1:5: ἕως ἀνεπληρώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἃς ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πᾶσι τοῖς εὐρεθεῖσιν ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει ... πότον ἐν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ ... ἄγων τὰ σωτήρια αὐτοῦ
- AT Esth 2:18: καὶ ἤγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν γάμον τῆς Εσθηρ ἐπιφανῶς καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀφέσεις πάσαις ταῖς χώραις
- VL Esth 1:5: *[rex] fecit potum his qui erant inventi in Susis thebari*; 2:18: *et fecit rex convivium omnibus amicis suis et omni virtuti suae nuptias Hester*
- 3 Macc 6:30: ὁ βασιλεὺς ... ἐκέλευσεν οἶνους τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χορηγεῖν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ κρίνας αὐτούς, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἔδοξαν τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ πάσῃ σωτήρια ἄγειν
- 3 Macc 7:17: προσέμεινεν αὐτοὺς ὁ στόλος ... ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, [7:18] ἐκεῖ ἐποίησαν πότον σωτήριον τοῦ βασιλέως χορηγήσαντος αὐτοῖς εὐψύχως τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν πάντα ἐκάστῳ ἕως εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν

In LXX Esth 2:18, King Artaxerxes throws a seven-day-long drinking party to celebrate his marriage to Esther. In 3 Macc 6:30, King Ptolemy IV Philopator throws a seven-day-long drinking party to celebrate the deliverance of his Jewish subjects from the mortal danger to which he had subjected them. In both LXX Esth 2:18 and 3 Macc 6:30 occur the noun ὁ βασιλεύς, “the king,” terms related to drinking (πότον/οἶνους τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἐπιτήδεια), and the temporal prepositional phrase ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, “for seven days.” The combination ἐποίησεν πότον ... ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ that LXX Esth 2:18 uses to refer to King Artaxerxes’ drinking party following his marriage to Esther occurs elsewhere

in the Septuagint in the book of Judges with reference to Samson's nuptial drinking party.<sup>2</sup> Outside the Septuagint, it occurs only in *Joseph and Aseneth*, in the description of the drinking party that the Pharaoh threw to celebrate the marriage of the young couple.<sup>3</sup> LXX Esth 1:5 uses an almost identical phrase to refer to the second drinking party that King Artaxerxes gave on the occasion of his marriage to Astin, the difference being that the party in question is a six-day event, not a seven-day one: ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πότον ... ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ.<sup>4</sup> In VL Esther, neither 1:5 nor 2:18 specify the number of days that the royal parties lasted.

In 3 Macc 6:30, the author does not use the combination ποίεω + πότος that we encounter in LXX Esth 1:5 and 2:18. However, this combination turns up in 3 Macc 7:18, where the Jews, during their seven-day stay at Ptolemais, hold a second celebration of their deliverance under the auspices of the king.

While seven-day periods are often mentioned in the Old Testament in relation to religious feasts, wedding feasts, mourning, and fasting,<sup>5</sup> the phraseology used of the two seven-day feasts in 3 Macc 6:30 and 7:17–18 links these verses specifically with LXX Esth 1:5 and 2:18, as well as with LXX Judg<sup>A</sup> 14:10, which describe nuptial feasts.

3 Macc 6:30 and 7:17–18 further exhibit a marked similarity with AT Esth 1:5. In the latter verse, the king hosts a seven-day-long drinking party to celebrate not

<sup>2</sup> LXX Judg<sup>A</sup> 14:10: καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ Σαμψὼν πότον ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ; 14:12: ἐν ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις τοῦ πότου; 14:17: ἐπὶ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς ἦν ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ πότος.

<sup>3</sup> *Jos. Asen.* 21.8: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησε Φαραὼ γάμους αὐτο<ῖ>ς καὶ δεῖπνον μέγα καὶ πότον πολὺν ἐν ἑπτὰ ἡμέραις.

<sup>4</sup> In MT and AT Esth 1:5, this party lasts seven days. Cavalier, *Esther*, 52, 143, argues that the translator of LXX Esther wanted to distinguish Artaxerxes' pagan nuptial feast from the Jewish nuptial feasts, which traditionally lasted seven days. Macchi, *Esther*, 91, suggests that the LXX translator changed "seven" to "six" so that the Jews of Susa would not appear to participate in the king's nuptial celebrations on the Sabbath. However, LXX Esth 1:10 (ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἡδέως γενόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς) leaves no doubt that the party was meant to last seven days, but was interrupted on the last day due to the disturbance caused by Queen Astin's refusal to appear before the king and his guests and the need to convoke the royal council and issue a decree. At 1:5, the translator may have wanted to give the number of days that the party actually lasted (six) rather than the number of days that it was scheduled to last (seven). Besides, at 2:18 the translator makes clear that the drinking party that Artaxerxes gave on the occasion of his marriage to Esther lasted seven days by adding the phrase ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ, which is a plus over against the MT.

<sup>5</sup> See LXX Exod 12:15 (feast of unleavened bread); LXX Lev 23:34 (feast of Tabernacles); LXX Judg<sup>A</sup> 14:10, 12, 17; Tob 11:19 (nuptial feast); LXX Gen 50:10; Jdt 16:24; Sir 22:12 (mourning); 1 Kgdms 31:13; 1 Chr 10:12 (fasting).

his marriage but his deliverance from an unspecified danger, possibly the assassination attempt contrived by the two eunuchs, which is mentioned earlier, in AT Esth A:11–14, or a rebellion that he had recently quelled, as stated in the Second Targum to Esther (1.3). The phrase used at 1:5, ἄγων τὰ σωτήρια αὐτοῦ, “celebrating his deliverance,” has no counterpart in the other versions of Esther. The combination ἄγω + τὰ σωτήρια<sup>6</sup> has a single other instance in the Septuagint, in 3 Macc 6:30 (σωτήρια ἄγειν; cf. 6:31: κώθωνα σωτήριον συστησάμενοι; 7:18: ἐποίησαν πότον σωτήριον), and is very rare outside the Septuagint.<sup>7</sup>

The combination ὁ βασιλεύς + ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι + words denoting drinking (πότος, οἶνοι) + ἄγω τὰ σωτήρια shared between the above-discussed verses suggests an intertextual connexion between LXX and AT Esth 1:5, LXX Esth 2:18, and 3 Macc 6:30 and 7:17–18. The direction of the posited dependence likely runs from the former to the latter verses, because the seven-day drinking party is an element that comes from the Hebrew text of Esther, in which the number seven recurs four times,<sup>8</sup> whereas in 3 Maccabees the number seven holds no particular significance, nor is the “nuptial” terminology at home in it.

LXX Esth 2:18 has one more verbal point of contact with 3 Maccabees, the expression οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν, which will be discussed further down in this chapter, in 3.2.5.

### 3.2.2

- LXX Esth 5:9: καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Αμαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπερχαρής, εὐφραινόμενος ... [5:10] καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ ἴδια...

<sup>6</sup> The term (τὰ) σωτήρια/Σωτήρια refers to thanksgiving sacrifices or festivities (including games) that celebrated or commemorated the deliverance of individuals or communities from various threats and dangers, such as tyranny, enemy attacks, illness, shipwreck, etc. See Pfister, “Soteria,” cols. 1221–1231, and Daniel, *Recherches*, 278–79.

<sup>7</sup> See *IK Priene* 6 [ca. 298 BCE], l. 29: ἄγειν ἑορτὴν Σωτήρ[ια]; *SEG* 50-1195 [280–278 BCE], l. 42: ἡ πόλις ἄγει τὰ Σωτήρια; Josephus, *B.J.* 4.402: κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων, ἣν ἄγουσιν Ἰουδαῖοι σωτήρια; Lucian, *Hermot.* 86: ἄτε καὶ σωτήρια τήμερον ἄξων; cf. Herodian, *Ab excessu divi Marci* 1.10.7: καὶ σωτήρια τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἐπανηγύριζεν; Heliodorus, *Aeth.* 1.22.5: παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν ἦν ἐπὶ σωτηρίοις ἦγονεν.

<sup>8</sup> MT Esth 1:5: seven-day feast; 1:10: seven eunuchs; 1:14: seven officials of Persia and Media; 2:9: seven maids. See Cavalier, *Esther*, 49, 52.

- AT Esth 5:20 [5:9]: καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Αμαν κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, καὶ ἐθαύμασεν, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναλύσας ἡσύχασεν
- VL Esth 5:9: *reversus est autem Aman a cena et trecenti viri cum eo et omnes adoraverunt eum*
- 3 Macc 7:20: ἀνέλυσαν ἀσινεῖς, ἐλεύθεροι, ὑπερχαρεῖς ... ἀνασφζόμενοι τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιταγῇ ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν

In LXX Esth 5:9, Haman, after attending Esther's first banquet, leaves the palace overjoyed (ὑπερχαρήs) and cheerful (εὐφραϊνόμενος). The LXX follows here fairly closely the MT, whereas the AT and the VL omit the reference to Haman's high spirits. The adjective that denotes Haman's great joy, ὑπερχαρήs, has one more instance in the Septuagint, in 3 Macc 7:20, where it is used of the Jews who return to their homes overjoyed at having escaped death.

A search in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae database yields only six instances of the adjective ὑπερχαρήs: two occur in Polybius (*Hist.* 1.44.5; 8.17.2), two in the Septuagint (LXX Esth 5:9; 3 Macc 7:20), one in Josephus, in a passage that paraphrases Manetho (*C. Ap.* 1.243), and one in Polyaeus (*Strat.* 4.20.1). There is also a single epigraphical attestation, in an inscription from Messene (SEG 23-206 [2/3 CE], l. 13). The verb ὑπερχαίρω has a few attestations in Classical Greek literature and then does not reappear until Plutarch. The cognate adjective περιχαρήs has over one hundred instances in Classical and Hellenistic Greek literary texts and occurs, among other places, in 3 Macc 5:44 (περιχαρεῖς ἀναλύσαντες οἱ φίλοι καὶ συγγενεῖς), where it is conjoined with the same verb (ἀναλύω, "to depart") with which ὑπερχαρήs is conjoined in 3 Macc 7:20.<sup>9</sup>

It is not only the rarity of ὑπερχαρήs that makes its occurrence in both LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees not seem to be random. There are also similarities in the immediate context of LXX Esth 5:9 and 3 Macc 7:20, which corroborate the likelihood of a connexion between the two verses: the noun βασιλεὺς in the genitive, verbs that denote departure (LXX Esth 5:9: ἐξῆλθεν; 3 Macc 7:20: ἀνέλυσαν), and words that denote "feast, banquet, drinking party" (LXX Esth 5:5,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 3 Macc 5:21: ἀσμένως πάντες μετὰ χαρᾶς οἱ παρόντες ... εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον ἕκαστος ἀνέλυσεν; 7:13: μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνέλυσαν.



5:8: εἰς τὴν δοχὴν; 5:6: ἐν τῷ πότῳ; 3 Macc 7:18: πότον; 7:20: τῆς συμποσίας), “home” (LXX Esth 5:10: εἰς τὰ ἴδια; 3 Macc 7:20: εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν), and “joy” (LXX Esth 5:9: εὐφραινόμενος; 3 Macc 7:19: εὐφροσύνης), as well as the asyndetic connexion of terms (LXX Esth 5:9: ὑπερχαρῆς, εὐφραινόμενος; 3 Macc 7:20: ἄσινεῖς, ἐλεύθεροι, ὑπερχαρεῖς). Moreover, 3 Macc 7:20 is in close proximity to the afore-discussed verses 7:17–18,<sup>10</sup> which further supports the likelihood that this verse, too, draws on LXX Esther.

### 3.2.3

- LXX Esth 8:16: τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένετο φῶς καὶ εὐφροσύνη [8:17] ... χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, κώθων καὶ εὐφροσύνη
- AT Esth 7:40 [8:16]: καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐγένετο φῶς, πότος, κώθων
- VL Esth 8:16: *Iudaeis vero factum est lumen et alacritas*<sup>11</sup> ... [8:17] *gaudium et voluptas*
- 3 Macc 6:30: ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ πάσῃ σωτήρια ἄγειν [6:31] ... κώθωνα σωτήριον συστησάμενοι ... πλήρεις χαρμονῆς

In LXX Esth 8:17, the publication of King Artaxerxes’ counter-decree gives rise to joy (χαρά) and merriment (εὐφροσύνη), carousal (κώθων) and feasting (εὐφροσύνη)<sup>12</sup> among the Jews. In 3 Macc 6:31 and 7:18, the Jews celebrate their deliverance with a drinking bout in Alexandria (κώθωνα σωτήριον) and another one at Ptolemais (πότον σωτήριον), respectively. The noun κώθων, which occurs in both LXX Esth 8:17/AT Esth 7:40 (but not in GVL/VL Esth 8:16–17) and 3 Macc 6:31, originally designated a kind of drinking vessel<sup>13</sup> and came by extension to be used of a drinking party. Its earliest extant attestations in the latter sense, which is the one exemplified in the Septuagint, occur in fragments of the third-century

<sup>10</sup> See 3.2.1.

<sup>11</sup> MS 130 adds here: *epulatio et convivium*.

<sup>12</sup> εὐφροσύνη, “merriment,” may more specifically denote the joy that comes from the celebration of a banquet or feast, or the banquet itself. See Schmitt Pantel, *Cité au banquet*, 5, 273–75.

<sup>13</sup> See Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 11.66–67 (ed. Kaibel).

BCE writers Chrysippus and Machon transmitted by Atheneaus.<sup>14</sup> In a second-century BCE inscription from Thasos, it denotes a banquet that takes place in the context of the worship of Sarapis.<sup>15</sup> In the Septuagint, it occurs only in LXX Esth 8:17/AT Esth 7:40 and in 3 Macc 6:31. In LXX Esth 8:17, it translates the Hebrew noun מִשְׁתֶּה, “feast, drink, banquet,” which occurs twenty times in MT Esther; in LXX Esther, it is translated as δοχή (1:3; 5:4, 5, 8, 12, 14), πότος (1:5, 9; 2:18; 5:6; 6:14; 7:2), συμπόσιον (7:7), γάμοι (2:18; 9:22), εὐφροσύνη (9:17, 18, 19 [?]), and, only at 8:17, κώθων. Elsewhere in LXX Esther (3:15), we encounter the verb κωθωνίζομαι, “to drink hard,” attested as early as the Middle Comedy poet Eubulus and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*;<sup>16</sup> this verb also occurs in 1 Esd 4:63. κώθων in LXX Esth 8:17 and 3 Macc 6:31 and κωθωνίζομαι in 1 Esd 4:63 are used of Jewish drinking parties, whereas κωθωνίζομαι in LXX Esth 3:15 is used of Artaxerxes’ and Haman’s drinking bout. Outside the Septuagint, κώθων in the sense of “drinking-party, carousal” does not reappear earlier than the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (whose date cannot be pinned down precisely, but which could well be Christian) and Plutarch.<sup>17</sup>

As can be seen, in the sense in which it occurs in LXX/AT Esther and in 3 Maccabees, κώθων is neither very common nor extremely rare outside the Septuagint. At first glance, this weakens the likelihood that its occurrence in the two Septuagint texts is non-fortuitous.<sup>18</sup> However, there are lexical clues that do indeed suggest a connexion between LXX Esth 8:17 and 3 Macc 6:31: in both verses, κώθων designates a drinking feast given by Jews to celebrate their salvation from mortal threat; in the context of both verses occur the nouns εὐφροσύνη (LXX Esth 8:16: φῶς καὶ εὐφροσύνη; 8:17: χαρὰ καὶ εὐφροσύνη ... κώθων καὶ εὐφροσύνη; 3 Macc 6:30: ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ; 6:32: εὐφροσύνης εἰρηνικῆς σημεῖον) and χαρά or a cognate of it (LXX Esth 8:15: ἐχάρησαν; 8:17: χαρά; 3 Macc 6:31: πλήρεις χαρμονῆς); and the verse that immediately precedes 3 Macc 6:31, where κώθων occurs, provides two more points of verbal contact between 3 Maccabees and LXX/AT

<sup>14</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 1.14.34–35 (ed. Kaibel) [Chrysippus]; 13.45.42 (ed. Kaibel) [Machon].

<sup>15</sup> *IG XII Suppl.* 365, l. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Eubulus, fr. 126.2 (ed. Kock); Aristotle, [*Probl.*] 872b28.

<sup>17</sup> *T. Naph.* 2; Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 14.12, 13.

<sup>18</sup> See Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 774 n. 39.

Esther, namely, the seven-day-long drinking bout and the phrase σωτήρια ἄγειν.<sup>19</sup> Determining the direction of dependence in this case is not easy; based on the occurrence in LXX Esther of both κώθων and its cognate verb, which makes this word group more typical of this book than of 3 Maccabees, and the direction of dependence that I posited in 3.2.1 for 3 Macc 6:30, I consider it more likely that 3 Macc 6:31 borrowed κώθων from LXX Esth 8:17 rather than vice versa.

### 3.2.4

- LXX Esth 9:15: καὶ συνήχθησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν Σούσοις τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀδαρ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἄνδρας τριακοσίους
- LXX Esth 9:18: οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ἐν Σούσοις ... ἤγον δὲ καὶ τὴν πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης
- LXX Esth 9:19b: οἱ δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἐν ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν καὶ τὴν πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀδαρ ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνην ἀγαθὴν ἄγουσιν
- AT/VL Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 6:36: τὰς προειρημένας ἡμέρας ἄγειν ἔστησαν εὐφροσύνους
- 3 Macc 7:15: ἐκείνῃ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀνείλον ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, ἦν καὶ ἡγάγον εὐφροσύνην μετὰ χαρᾶς
- 3 Macc 7:19: ἔστησαν καὶ ταύτας ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας ... εὐφροσύνους

The parallel that I will discuss in this section involves LXX Esth 9:15 and 9:19b and 3 Macc 6:36, 7:15, and 7:19. In LXX Esth 9:15, the Jews in Susa kill three hundred of their gentile enemies on the fourteenth of Adar.<sup>20</sup> In 3 Macc 7:15, the Jews kill more than three hundred of their own people, who had become apostates.<sup>21</sup> The day of the killing, in 3 Maccabees, and the day following the killing (the fifteenth of Adar), in LXX Esther (9:18, 19b), give occasion for joyous celebration, which in the

<sup>19</sup> See 3.2.1.

<sup>20</sup> These three hundred men may have been the friends or bodyguards of Haman, who are mentioned only in the VL (5:9; 6:4: *et trecenti viri cum eo*; cf. 3:15). See Schneider, “Esther Revised,” 205, 212.

<sup>21</sup> See Tcherikover, “Third Book of Maccabees,” 23.

former text is designated by the expression ἄγω [τὴν ἡμέραν] εὐφροσύνην μετὰ χαρᾶς (3 Macc 7:15) and in the latter text by the expressions ἄγω [τὴν ἡμέραν] μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης (LXX Esth 9:18) and ἄγω [τὴν ἡμέραν] εὐφροσύνην ἀγαθὴν (LXX Esth 9:19b).

In LXX Esth 9:17–22, the term εὐφροσύνη<sup>22</sup> occurs in three different expressions, which denote the joyous celebration of the days on which the Jews overpowered their gentile enemies: (a) ἄγω τὴν ἡμέραν μετ’ εὐφροσύνης (9:17: καὶ ἦγον αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσεως μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης; 9:18: ἦγον δὲ καὶ τὴν πεντεκαίδεκάτην μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης; 9:19a: ἄγουσιν τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην τοῦ Αἰσὶν ἡμέραν ἀγαθὴν μετ’ εὐφροσύνης), (b) ἄγω ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνης (9:22: ἄγειν ὅλον [τὸν μῆνα] ἀγαθὰς ἡμέρας γάμων καὶ εὐφροσύνης), and (c) ἄγω τὴν ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνην (9:19b: καὶ τὴν πεντεκαίδεκάτην τοῦ Αἰσὶν ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνην<sup>23</sup> ἀγαθὴν ἄγουσιν).<sup>24</sup>

The first expression elsewhere occurs only in 1 Maccabees (4:59: καὶ ἔστησεν Ἰούδας ... ἵνα ἄγωνται αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ ... μετ’ εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς; 13:52: καὶ ἔστησε κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ ἄγειν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην μετ’ εὐφροσύνης) and in 2 Maccabees (10:6: καὶ μετ’ εὐφροσύνης ἦγον ἡμέρας ὀκτώ); the second expression elsewhere occurs only in 1 Maccabees (7:48: καὶ ἦγαγον τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνης μεγάλην); and the third expression is elsewhere found only in 3 Maccabees (6:36; 7:15, 19). Furthermore, LXX Esther shares exclusively with 3 Maccabees and 1 Maccabees the combination ἵστημι + ἄγω + ἡμέρα, “to establish that a day be observed” (LXX Esth 9:21: στήσαι τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἀγαθὰς ἄγειν; 3 Macc 6:36: τὰς προειρημένας ἡμέρας ἄγειν ἔστησαν εὐφροσύνους; 7:19: ἔστησαν καὶ ταύτας ἄγειν τὰς ἡμέρας ... εὐφροσύνους; 1 Macc 4:59: καὶ ἔστησεν Ἰούδας ... ἵνα ἄγωνται αἱ ἡμέραι; 7:49: καὶ ἔστησαν τοῦ ἄγειν κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην; 13:52: καὶ ἔστησε κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ ἄγειν τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην). The occurrence of this phraseology in LXX Esther, in 3 Maccabees, in 1

<sup>22</sup> On this term, see above, n. 12.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that at 9:19b, Codex Vaticanus reads εὐφροσύνην, whereas Codices Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus and the minuscules 311, 318, and 583 read εὐφροσύνης.

<sup>24</sup> LXX Esth 9:19b is a plus vis-à-vis the MT; LXX Esth 9:17 and 9:19 have no counterpart in either the AT or the VL; LXX Esth 9:21 has a counterpart in AT 7:47 (στήσαι τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας εἰς ὕμνους καὶ εὐφροσύνας) and in VL Esth 9:21 (*ponere hos dies bonos celebrare*), and LXX Esth 9:22 in VL Esth 9:22 (*celebrare hos dies nuptiarum et laetitiae*).

Maccabees, and nowhere else within or outside the Septuagint<sup>25</sup> suggests a connexion between these texts.

It is not the place here to discuss the possible intertextual relationship between 1 Maccabees and LXX Esther or between 1 Maccabees and 3 Maccabees.<sup>26</sup> What is noteworthy for the present discussion is that the combination εὐφροσύνη ἡμέρα, “joyous day,” “day of joyous celebration/feasting,” occurs uniquely in the canonical part of LXX Esther and in 3 Maccabees, which strongly suggests that one of the two texts borrowed it from the other. As regards the direction of borrowing, it arguably runs from LXX Esther to 3 Maccabees. If we look at 3 Macc 7:15, we notice that it has two points of verbal contact with LXX Esth 9:15 and 9:19b: the phrase ἀνείλον ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἄνδρας (cf. LXX Esth 9:15: ἀπέκτειναν ἄνδρας τριακοσίους) and the phrase ἦν [ἡμέραν] ἡγαγον εὐφροσύνην (cf. LXX Esth 9:19b: ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνην ἀγαθὴν ἄγουσιν). The number “three hundred” cannot be a borrowing from 3 Maccabees into LXX Esther, as the translator of Esther depends on his Hebrew *Vorlage*, which he accurately translates here. It is more plausible that the author of 3 Maccabees borrowed this number of casualties from LXX Esth 9:15. Corroboration for this comes from the subsequent verses, in which occur the combinations ἐπτά + ἡμέρα (7:17), ποιέω + πότος (7:18),<sup>27</sup> ἄγω + ἡμέρα + εὐφρόσυμος (7:19), and especially the rare adjective ὑπερχαρής, “overjoyed” (7:20),<sup>28</sup> all of which also occur in LXX Esther (at 2:18, 9:19b, and 5:9, respectively). The fact that in 3 Macc 7:15 the author uses the adjective εὐφρόσυμος with the feminine ending -η,<sup>29</sup> although elsewhere he uses it with the feminine ending -ος

<sup>25</sup> Only the expressions ἄγω ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνης/εἰς εὐφροσύνην have a couple of instances in Christian writers.

<sup>26</sup> On the phraseological similarities between 1 and 3 Maccabees, see Kopidakis, Γ' Μακκαβαίων, 22–24. On the strength of these similarities, Kopidakis posits that the author of 3 Maccabees drew on 1 Maccabees.

<sup>27</sup> See 3.2.1.

<sup>28</sup> See 3.2.2.

<sup>29</sup> In 3 Macc 7:15, the type εὐφροσύνην is ambiguous, as it can be either accusative singular of the noun ἡ εὐφροσύνη in the sense of “banquet, feast” (see above, n. 12) or feminine accusative singular of the adjective εὐφρόσυμος, -ος/-η, -ον. The fact that the combination ἄγω εὐφροσύνην is not attested elsewhere (unlike, e.g., the combination ἄγω εὐωχίαν; see above, n. 7) and that in both 6:36 and 7:19 occurs the combination ἄγω + ἡμέρα + εὐφρόσυμος suggests that at 7:15 the type εὐφροσύνην is feminine accusative singular of the adjective εὐφρόσυμος, -ος/-η, -ον, modifying the noun ἡμέραν. In LXX Esth 9:19b (καὶ τὴν πεντεκαίδεκάτην τοῦ Ἀδαρ ἡμέραν εὐφροσύνην ἀγαθὴν ἄγουσιν), εὐφροσύνην is also to be understood as an adjective which, in asyndetic conjunction with ἀγαθὴν (cf. LXX Esth 5:9: ὑπερχαρής, εὐφραϊνόμενος), modifies τὴν ἡμέραν. It cannot be a noun, firstly, because the combination ἄγω εὐφροσύνην ἀγαθὴν is

(6:36; 7:19: ἡμέρας ... εὐφροσύνους), makes the connexion with LXX Esth 9:19b even more likely.<sup>30</sup>

The borrowing by 3 Maccabees of a phrase used in LXX Esther in relation to the celebration of Purim would be all the more explicable if, as some scholars believe, 3 Maccabees was written as a response to the introduction in Egypt of the Greek Esther and the Purim festival endorsed in it, and as a means of promoting a local festival commemorating the deliverance of the Egyptian Jews from persecution.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.2.5

- LXX Esth 2:18: καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πότον ... ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ... καὶ ἄφεσιν ἐποίησεν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ; 3:6: καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ἀφανίσαι πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείαν Ἰουδαίους
- AT Esth 2:18: καὶ ἤγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν γάμον τῆς Εσθηρ ἐπιφανῶς καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀφέσεις πάσαις ταῖς χώραις; 3:5: καὶ ἐζήτει ἀνελεῖν τὸν Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ
- VL Esth 2:18: *remissionem fecit omnibus regionibus*<sup>32</sup>; 3:6: *cogitavit Aman perdere universos Iudaeos qui erant in regno Artaxersis regis*

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unattested, whereas the combinations ἀγαθὴ ἡμέρα and εὐφροσύνη ἡμέρα are elsewhere attested, and secondly, because the ordinal numerals τρεῖσκαίδέκατος, τεσσαρεσκαίδέκατος, and πεντεκαίδέκατος, in combination with the name of a month, nowhere in Esther modify the noun ἡμέρα (see LXX Esth 3:7, 12; B:6; E:20; 8:12; 9:1, 15–18, 21; F:10).

<sup>30</sup> Although the adverb εὐφροσύνως is attested as early as Theognis (1.766), the first extant attestations of the adjective εὐφρόσυνος, -ος/-η, -ον are found in the *Letter of Aristeas* (§ 186: μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς εὐφροσύνου) and in the Septuagint (aside from LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees, it occurs in Jdt 14:9: φωνὴν εὐφρόσυνον). Outside of Jewish-Greek literature, its attestations are not earlier than the first century CE (epigram of Nicarchus II in *Anth. pal.* 5.40, l. 6: ἀκτὴν εὐφρόσυνον; Dioscorides Pedanius, *Mat. med.* 4.127: φύλλον ... εὐφρόσυνον; Antonius Diogenes, *Fr.Pap.Dub.* col. 2, l. 6: ἀν[δρὸς εὐ]φροσύνου). In all the afore-cited instances, when εὐφρόσυνος modifies a feminine noun, it has the ending -ος; it is only in LXX Esth 9:19b and in 3 Macc 7:15 that it occurs with the ending -η. On the feminine endings of the adjectives in -ος in the Septuagint, see Thackeray, *Grammar*, 116.

<sup>31</sup> See Alexander, “3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim,” 337; “Image of the Oriental Monarch,” 93–94; see also 1.2.

<sup>32</sup> MS 130, which in this verse is aligned to the LXX, adds: *his qui erant sub regno eius*. See Haelewyck, *Hester*, 49, 179.

- 3 Macc 7:3: εἰς τὸ τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουδαίους συναθροίσαντας σύστημα κολάσασθαι; 7:12: ὅπως τοὺς παραβεβηκότας τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν νόμον ἐξολεθρεύσωσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τρόπον

In LXX Esth 3:6 and in 3 Macc 7:3 occurs an expression that is not attested anywhere else within or outside the Septuagint: οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουδαῖοι, “the Jews subject to the sovereignty [of the king].” In the former verse, Haman is said to have wanted to annihilate (ἀφανίσει) all the Jews under the rule of King Artaxerxes; in the latter verse, King Ptolemy IV Philopator accuses his *philo*i of having inveigled him into inflicting the death penalty (κολάσασθαι)<sup>33</sup> upon the Jews under his rule. The prepositional phrase ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν is also found in LXX Esth 2:18 and in 3 Macc 7:12: in the former verse, King Artaxerxes, on the occasion of his marriage to Esther, grants a remission to those under his rule (τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ); in the latter verse, King Ptolemy IV allows the Jews to annihilate (ὅπως ... ἐξολεθρεύσωσι) their apostate co-religionists throughout all the land under his rule (κατὰ πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τρόπον).

The LXX translator rendered freely MT Esth 2:18, תּוֹכַח לְמִדְּבָרָא, “to the provinces,” by τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, and more literally MT Esth 3:6, כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים אֲשֶׁר בְּכָל מְלָכוֹת אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ, “all the Jews throughout the whole kingdom of Ahasuerus,” by πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείαν Ἰουδαίους. The corresponding verses in AT Esther do not use the term βασιλεία either in the sense of “kingdom” or in the sense of “rule,” while in VL Esther, only verse 3:6 reads *in regno Artaxersis*, which reflects a Greek text reading ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀρταξέρξου, “in the kingdom of Artaxerxes.” The prepositional phrase ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ occurs often in LXX Esther.<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to say whether GVL Esth 3:6 read ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, which was faithfully rendered by the translator, or ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν, which the translator “smoothed out” to *in regno*. Elsewhere in the Septuagint, the phrase ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν is found only in Dan 4:34c: ἀπέστειλεν ἐπιστολὰς ... πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς οὖσιν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, “[King Nebuchadnezzar] sent letters ... to all the nations that were under his reign.” In extra-Septuagint

<sup>33</sup> That the punishment indicated by κολάσασθαι in 3 Macc 7:3 was death is made clear by the verb ἀναιρέω, “to kill,” that occurs two verses down, in 3 Macc 7:5.

<sup>34</sup> See 1:20; 3:8; 4:13; 8:5, 12, 13; 9:4, 16, 20; 10:3; cf. AT Esth 7:43, 47, 52. In AT Esth 7:30, we also encounter the expression οἱ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουδαῖοι.

literature, this phrase is very rare.<sup>35</sup> The Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions preserve a few instances of the expression οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν (τασσόμενοι),<sup>36</sup> which denotes the subjects of the Ptolemaic kingdom. The verbal similarity between LXX Esth 2:18 (ὁ βασιλεὺς ... ἄφεσιν ἐποίησεν τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ) and *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53 (*prostagma* of Ptolemy Euergetes II, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III [121/120–118 BCE], ll. 1–3: Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφὴ | καὶ βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνὴ [ἄ]φιᾶσ{ε}ι τοὺς ὑ[πὸ] τῇ[ν] | [βασιλῆαν π]άντας) shows that the translator of LXX Esther rendered freely his source text because he wanted to use an expression taken from the chancery language of his time.

The fact that the expression οἱ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν was in use in the Egyptian/Ptolemaic milieu with which were presumably familiar both the translator of LXX Esther and the author of 3 Maccabees does not annul the possibility of an intertextual connexion between LXX Esth 2:18 and 3:6 and 3 Macc 7:3 and 7:12. In both LXX Esth 3:6 and 3 Macc 7:3, the subjects of the king designated by the afore-cited expression are Jews who are threatened with mass annihilation. Moreover, as I showed previously (3.2.1), one of the two verses in LXX Esther where the expression occurs (2:18) bears one more verbal similarity with 3 Maccabees (6:30 and 7:17–18), while, as I will show in the following section (3.2.6), the second verse in which the expression occurs (3:6) precedes a verse which has a verbal point of contact with 3 Maccabees. As for 3 Macc 7:3 and 7:12, they are in close proximity, the first with 3 Macc 7:2, which, as we saw in 2.2.8, has verbal points of contact with LXX/AT/VL Esth E:16, and the second with 3 Macc 7:15, which, as we saw in 3.2.4, has a verbal point of contact with LXX Esth 9:15 and 9:19.

<sup>35</sup> See Isocrates, *Evag.* 43; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 1.60.3; 2.21.5; 18.21.9; 34/35.3.1; Josephus, *A.J.* 10.221.

<sup>36</sup> See *OGIS* 56,A [decree of Canopus; 238 BCE], l. 13: τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῶν βασιλείαν τασσόμενοις; *C. Ord. Ptol.* 45 [between 144 and 141/140 BCE], ll. 7–8: μηθέναι τῶν ὑπὸ | τὴν βασιλείαν τασσόμενων; *C. Ord. Ptol.* 46 [between 144 and 141/140 BCE], ll. 18–19: τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν | τασσόμενων; *C. Ord. Ptol.* 53 [121/120–118 BCE], ll. 2–3: [ἄ]φιᾶσ{ε}ι τοὺς ὑ[πὸ] τῇ[ν] | [βασιλῆαν π]άντας; *UPZ* 1.113 [156 BCE], l. 6: πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν δικαιοδοτεῖσθαι.



### 3.2.6

- LXX Esth 3:7: ὥστε ἀπολέσαι ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὸ γένος Μαρδοχαίου; 3:13: ἀφανίσαι τὸ γένος τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου; B:7: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ βιαίως εἰς τὸν ἄδην κατελθόντες; 8:12: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ
- AT Esth 3:5: ἐζήτει ἀνελεῖν ... πάντα τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ; 3:7: φονεύειν πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους; 3:18: [B:7]: ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸν ἄδην; 8:12: ∅
- VL Esth 3:7: *perdere genus Mardochei*; 3:13: *perire genus Iudaeorum in die primo mense XII*; B:7: *in una die fortiter in infernum introeuntes*; 8:12: ∅
- 3 Macc 4:14: πᾶν τὸ φύλον ... ἀφανίσαι μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας

LXX Esth 3:7 and 3:13 express the same idea using slightly varying terms: the race of Mordecai/the Jews (τὸ γένος Μαρδοχαίου/τῶν Ἰουδαίων) is to be destroyed (ἀπολέσαι/ἀφανίσαι) in a single day (ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ/ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ). This idea is also expressed in 3 Macc 4:14, where the whole race of the Jews (πᾶν τὸ φύλον [sc. τῶν Ἰουδαίων]) living in Egypt is to be destroyed (ἀφανίσαι) within the space of a single day (μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας). The combination of ἀφανίζω and μία ἡμέρα that occurs in LXX Esth 3:13 and 3 Macc 4:14 does not occur anywhere else before the third century CE.<sup>37</sup>

In the canonical parts of AT Esther, the temporal prepositional phrase ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ occurs only at 3:5. It is missing in VL Esther 3:7, while VL Esth 3:13 reads *in die primo mense XII*, “on the first day of the twelfth month.” It is difficult to say whether the GVVl read here, as in LXX Esth 3:13, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μηνὸς δωδεκάτου, “in a single day of the twelfth month,” which the translator misunderstood, or τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ δωδεκάτου (cf. LXX Esth A:1: τῇ μιᾷ τοῦ Νισα, “on the first day of Nisa”; AT Esth A:1: μιᾷ τοῦ μηνὸς Αἰθαρ Νισαν; VL Esth A:1: *principio mensis Nisi*).<sup>38</sup>

Since LXX Esth 3:13 depends on its Hebrew source text, which it renders fairly faithfully, the direction of the intertextual dependence between LXX Esther and 3

<sup>37</sup> Philostratus, *Imag.* 1.26.3: ὥς ἀφανισθεῖεν εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν.

<sup>38</sup> See Motzo, “Versione latina,” 137.

Maccabees—if there is indeed such dependence—is to be taken to run from the former to the latter.

The distinctive prepositional phrase μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας used in 3 Macc 4:14 constitutes a *dis legomenon*: its single other occurrence in ancient Greek literature is found in 2 Macc 7:20, where seven Jewish brothers are executed in a single day by order of King Antiochus IV Epiphanes: ἀπολλυμένους ... μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας.<sup>39</sup> 3 Macc 4:14 may thus be intertextually connected with both LXX Esth 3:13 (conceptually) and 2 Macc 7:20 (verbally).

### 3.2.7

- LXX Esth 4:1: αἴρεται ἔθνος μηδὲν ἡδίκηκός
- MT/AT Esth: ∅
- VL Esth 4:1: *gens perit nihil mali faciens*
- 3 Macc 3:8: οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἑλληνες οὐδὲν ἡδικημένοι; 3:9: μὴ γὰρ οὕτως παροραθήσεσθαι τηλικοῦτο σύστημα μηδὲν ἡγνοηκός

In LXX Esth 4:1, the Greek translator puts into the mouth of Mordecai, who has just been informed of King Artaxerxes' extermination decree, the phrase αἴρεται ἔθνος μηδὲν ἡδίκηκός, "a nation that has done no wrong is being destroyed," which is missing in the MT. This phrase is also absent in the AT but is included in VL Esther (*gens perit nihil mali faciens*) and in Josephus' retelling of the Esther story (A.J. 11.221: μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαν ἔθνος ἀναιρεῖται). Motzo remarks that 3 Maccabees uses a similarly formulated phrase in a similar context: when the news of King Ptolemy IV Philopator's decision to proceed to a mass killing of Jews spread in Alexandria, the Greeks of the city, who had suffered no wrong (3:8: οὐδὲν ἡδικημένοι) from the Jews, express their hope that the Jewish community (3:9: τηλικοῦτο σύστημα),<sup>40</sup> which had committed no wrongdoing (3:9: μηδὲν ἡγνοηκός), will not be shown disregard.<sup>41</sup> In 3 Macc 3:9, one would have expected

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<sup>39</sup> See Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 348.

<sup>40</sup> On the term σύστημα, see Kashner, *Jews*, 229–30.

<sup>41</sup> Motzo, "Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei," 291.

to find the participle ἡδίκηκός, given that in the previous verse occurs the perfect passive participle of the verb ἁδικέω; the author of 3 Maccabees, likely aiming for variation, used the verb ἄγνοέω instead, which denotes “to commit an error through ignorance.” There is an obvious correspondence between ἔθνος/σύστημα and μηδὲν ἡδίκηκός/μηδὲν ἡγνοηκός, which does not seem to be coincidental. Moreover, as I showed in the previous chapter, in the vicinity of VL Esth 4:1, namely in VL Esth 3:14, 3:15, and 4:3,<sup>42</sup> occur parallels with 3 Macc 4:1–3, for which I posited an influence running from the former to the latter.<sup>43</sup> It is thus possible that the author of 3 Maccabees drew either on GVV Esth 4:1 (assuming that it was close to, if not identical with, LXX Esth 4:1)<sup>44</sup> or on LXX Esth 4:1, but rephrased his borrowing, replacing the noun ἔθνος and the participle ἡδίκηκός with synonymous ones.

### 3.2.8

- LXX Esth 7:8: Ἀμαν δὲ ἀκούσας διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ
- AT Esth: ∅
- VL Esth 7:6: *Aman autem audiens verba confusus est et cecidit vultus eius*
- 3 Macc 5:33: ὁ Ἑρμων ... τῇ ὁράσει καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ συνεστάλη

Motzo has pointed out the similarity between LXX Esth 7:8 (διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ) and 3 Macc 5:33 (τῷ προσώπῳ συνεστάλη).<sup>45</sup> In MT Esth 7:8, King Artaxerxes pours out wrathful words on Haman, as he misinterprets the latter’s begging for his life with Esther as an attempted assault on her. When the king finishes speaking, the Hebrew text says that “they covered Haman’s face” (וּפְנֵי הָמָן כָּפְרוּ). This phrase has variously been interpreted as meaning that the

<sup>42</sup> In VL Esther, verses 3:14, 3:15a, and 4:3 are consecutive; they are followed by the prayer of the Jews (H:1–5) and by vv. 3:15b and 4:1.

<sup>43</sup> See 2.2.1; 2.2.2.

<sup>44</sup> That the phrase *gens nihil mali faciens* is a rendering of ἔθνος μηδὲν ἡδίκηκός is likely but not certain. The verb ἁδικέω has a single other instance in LXX Esther, at 1:16: οὐ τὸν βασιλέα μόνον ἡδίκησεν Αστιν. The Latin translator rendered ἡδίκησεν by *nocuit*.

<sup>45</sup> Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 292.

attendants of the king covered Haman's face to show that he was condemned to death or that he had been rendered loathsome in the eyes of the king or that his face was troubled or covered with shame or grew pale or that he lost consciousness.<sup>46</sup>

The LXX renders *כפו הפני המן* by the phrase *διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ*, which has been variously rendered by modern translators as “he covered his face” (or “his face changed”),<sup>47</sup> “détourna le visage,”<sup>48</sup> “wandte er sein Gesicht ab,”<sup>49</sup> “mutò aspetto.”<sup>50</sup> The corresponding verse in AT Esther omits the phrase. VL Esth 7:8 also omits it, yet two verses earlier, at 7:6, when Esther denounces Haman to the king, the Latin translation has a plus vis-à-vis the MT and the LXX: *et cecidit vultus eius* (“and his [sc. Haman's] face fell”). In his version of Esther, Josephus says nothing about Haman's face.<sup>51</sup>

Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v. *διατρέπω*, render the phrase as “the face of Haman was confounded.” For *διατρέπω* in LXX Esth 7:8, as well as in LXX Job 31:34 (*οὐ γὰρ διετράπην πολυοχλίαν πλήθους*), Muraoka, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v. 1b, gives the meaning “to be overawed by; cf. *συγχέω* 2 [to disturb composure or temper of, ‘to upset’].” Although the verb can convey the notions of consternation, bewilderment, and fear,<sup>52</sup> it is rather the meaning “to change (of facial look)” that the last-cited lexicon proposes for LXX Dan 1:10 (*ἐὰν ᾖδὴ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν διατετραμμένον*) that seems to be exemplified in LXX Esth 7:8, with, perhaps, a more specific connotation, namely, “to change colour and turn pale.” In support of this suggestion, the following evidence can be adduced: in his version of Isa 29:22 (“No longer shall Jacob be ashamed, no longer shall his face grow pale” [NRSV]), Symmachus uses the verb *διατρέπομαι* (*οὐδὲ νῦν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ διατραπήσεται*) in lieu of the verb *μεταβάλλω*, “to change,” which is used by the Septuagint translator (*οὐδὲ νῦν τὸ πρόσωπον μεταβαλεῖ Ἰσραηλ*), possibly

<sup>46</sup> See Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 195; Fox, *Character and Ideology*, 283–84.

<sup>47</sup> Jobes, “Esther,” 436.

<sup>48</sup> Cavalier, *Esther*, 206.

<sup>49</sup> De Troyer and Wacker, “Esther: Das Buch Ester,” 610.

<sup>50</sup> Passoni Dell'Acqua, “Ἑσθήρ / Ester,” 1151.

<sup>51</sup> Josephus, *A.J.* 11.266: Ἀμάνου δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καταπλεγέντος καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι φθέγγασθαι δυνηθέντος.

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g., Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon*, s.v.

deeming it a more appropriate Greek equivalent of the Hebrew verb  $\text{וָהָה}$ , “to be or grow white or pale.”<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, in his lexicon, Photius glosses διατραπήναι as “to change colour and grow pale from fear” (διὰ φόβον ἀλλάξαι τὸ χρῶμα καὶ ὠχριάσαι).

The same uncommon construction used in LXX Esth 7:8—second aorist passive verb + πρόσωπον in the dative of respect<sup>54</sup>—also occurs in 3 Macc 5:33, which states that Hermon, the elephant-keeper, τῇ ὁράσει καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ συνεστάλη (literally, “he shrank with regard to his eyes and face”), as soon as King Ptolemy IV Philopator, filled with anger, threatened him with death. It is possible that the phrase συνεστάλη τῷ προσώπῳ was modelled upon the phrase συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ (literally, “he collapsed with regard to his face,” “his face fell”), which is used of Cain’s face in LXX Gen 4:5.<sup>55</sup> This phrase, which translates an idiomatic Hebrew expression for “being sad/depressed,”<sup>56</sup> seems to underlie VL Esth 7:6 (*et cecidit vultus eius*, καὶ συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ) as well as v. 7:8 in the Slavonic translation of Esther, which is thought to reflect an otherwise unknown, literal Greek translation of MT Esther: *i lice Amanovi spade*, “and the face of Haman fell.”<sup>57</sup> However, it should be noted that the combination συστέλλω + πρόσωπον is attested in extra-Septuagint literature.<sup>58</sup>

Both διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ (LXX) and συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ/*cecidit vultus eius/i lice Amanovi spade* (GVVL/VL/Slavonic) may be explanatory

<sup>53</sup> See Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 1.97.15–19, 35. As regards LXX Dan 1:10, the only place in the Septuagint, apart from Esth 7:8, where the combination διατρέπομαι + πρόσωπον occurs, the expression πρόσωπον διατετραμμένον is to be understood as synonymous with ὄψις διαφανής, which occurs three verses further on, at 1:13 (MS 88 reads here ὄψις διατετραμμένη), and which Muraoka, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, s.v. διαφανής, glosses as “morbidly pale face.”

<sup>54</sup> See Muraoka, *Syntax*, 161–62.

<sup>55</sup> The phrase occurs elsewhere in the Septuagint with the noun πρόσωπον in the nominative as subject of the verb: LXX Gen 4:6: ἵνα τί συνέπεσεν τὸ πρόσωπόν σου; 1 Kgdms 1:18: καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς οὐ συνέπεσεν ἔτι; Jdt 6:9: μὴ συμπεσέτω σου τὸ πρόσωπον. This construction places the emphasis on the verb, whereas the construction with the dative on the person. See Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 54. It is worth noting that Symmachus translates 1 Sam [1 Kgdms] 1:18 as καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς οὐ διετράπη, that is, he uses the same combination as LXX Esth 7:8 but in an unmarked construction.

<sup>56</sup> See Gruber, “Tragedy of Cain and Abel,” 90–91.

<sup>57</sup> See Lunt and Taube, “Slavonic Book,” 356–57.

<sup>58</sup> See Lucian, *Dial. meretr.* 13.5: χλωρὰ ἐγένετο ... καὶ συνέστειλε τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ὑπέφριξεν; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 6.6.2: ἀνιαθεὶς [ὁ νοῦς] συνέστειλε τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς τὴν ὄψιν τῆς συμφορᾶς; Julian, *Caes.* 317C (ed. Wright): ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων ἔχων τὰ τε ὄμματα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τι συνεσταλμένον.

renderings of *וּפְנִי הֵמָּן חָפָּר* (MT). The former shares the same construction as *συνεστάλη τῷ προσώπῳ* in 3 Macc 5:33; the verb of the latter shares the same prefix as the verb *συνεστάλη* in 3 Macc 5:33. On the basis of the similarity of context between LXX Esth 7:8 and 3 Macc 5:33 and the fact that in both verses occurs the same marked construction, I cannot rule out the possibility that there is an intertextual connexion between them.<sup>59</sup> However, the fact that the combination *διατρέπω + πρόσωπον* has no attestations outside the Septuagint and the literature related to it, while the combination *συστέλλω + πρόσωπον*, apart from 3 Macc 5:33, has a few instances, albeit late, in pagan Greek literature, leaves open the possibility that 3 Macc 5:33 is intertextually connected to a source other than LXX Esth 7:8.

### 3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I sought to establish whether the canonical parts of LXX/AT Esther have any intertextual connexions with 3 Maccabees, as was found to be the case with the canonical parts of GVV/LV Esther. To this end, I examined seven verbal similarities which are shared between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of LXX or LXX and AT Esther but not with the latter's counterparts in VL Esther, which in the relevant verses have minuses or differ verbally vis-à-vis LXX or LXX and AT Esther. Additionally, I examined one similarity which is shared between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of both LXX and VL Esther.

In 3 Maccabees, the similarities with the canonical parts of LXX/AT Esther are clustered in two passages that recount the two drinking parties that the Jews threw to celebrate their deliverance from mass execution (6:30–31, 36; 7:15–20), whereas in LXX/AT Esther the similarities with 3 Maccabees occur in a passage which recounts the drinking party that King Artaxerxes hosted to celebrate his marriage to Esther (LXX Esth 2:18) or his deliverance from an unspecified danger (AT Esth 1:5), in a passage which recounts Esther's first banquet (LXX Esth 5:9), and in two passages which recount the feasts thrown by the Jews to celebrate their deliverance from mass execution (LXX Esth 8:17; 9:19). I consider that these

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. the rare construction shared between VL Esth 4:9 and 3 Macc 6:20, which I discussed in 2.2.3.

similarities (discussed in 3.2.1–3.2.4) provide evidence of an intertextual relationship between the texts that share them, with 3 Maccabees being the receiving text. The author of the latter book seems to have drawn on the various feast descriptions in LXX Esther when composing the verses that recount the celebration of the deliverance of the Egyptian Jews from mortal danger. He may also have derived from the same source the idea that all the Jews under the rule of the king were to be exterminated in a single day, as the verbal similarities discussed in 3.2.5 and 3.2.6 suggest. Another idea, which is conveyed in similar terms in 3 Macc 3:8 and in both LXX and VL Esth 4:1, namely, that the condemned Jews had not wronged anyone, is also suggestive of an intertextual connexion between the texts that share it (3.2.7). As for the parallel between LXX Esth 7:8 and 3 Macc 5:33, which relates to the change in the facial expression of Haman and Hermon, respectively (3.2.8), I consider that it does not provide very strong evidence for a connexion between the verses that share it.

How are we to explain that 3 Maccabees seems to have drawn on the canonical parts of both LXX and GVVL/VL Esther? One possible explanation is that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with two different versions of Esther, an ancestor of the LXX and an ancestor of the GVVL/VL Esther, which were concurrently in circulation in Egypt. A more likely explanation, considering that the parallels between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of LXX Esther are scattered throughout most of the chapters of LXX Esther, whereas those between 3 Maccabees and the canonical parts of GVVL/VL Esther are clustered in the last verses of chapter 3 and in chapter 4, could be that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with a Greek version of Esther which, in its canonical parts, was close to the LXX but contained a few pluses vis-à-vis the MT, which were subsequently omitted from the LXX but preserved in the GVVL/VL.

## Chapter 4.

# Verbal similarities between the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Addition C to Esther and the prayers of Simon and Eleazar in 3 Maccabees

## 4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2, I examined two verbal parallels (2.2.5; 2.2.6) which are shared between the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in VL Addition C to Esther and the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees. In this chapter, I will try to establish whether the prayers of Simon and Eleazar in 3 Maccabees share parallels not only with the VL but also with the LXX/AT version of the prayers of Esther and Mordecai in Addition C to Esther. Such an investigation is warranted for the reason that there are significant differences between the version of Mordecai's and Esther's prayers in the LXX/AT<sup>1</sup> and the version preserved in the VL.

The VL version of Mordecai's prayer differs completely from the LXX/AT version at C:2 and has pluses over against it at C:7 and C:8, while the LXX/AT version has pluses over against the VL at C:3–5. Apart from the list of biblical *exempla* at C:16, which I discussed in chapter 2,<sup>2</sup> the VL version of Esther's prayer exhibits a few other pluses vis-à-vis the LXX/AT version (at C:14, C:24, and C:30), while the LXX/AT version exhibits a long plus vis-à-vis the VL at C:17–22 and minor pluses at C:14, C:23, and C:25–30. The long plus in VL Esth C:16 is couched in

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<sup>1</sup> The AT version of Mordecai's and Esther's prayers is quite close to the LXX version despite textual differences and minor pluses and minuses. See Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 165, 176–83; Kottsieper, "Zusätze zu Ester," 177–78.

<sup>2</sup> See 2.2.5.



the first person singular like the rest of the VL version of Esther's prayer (except for the *nos/nostrum/nostrorum/nostros* at C:24 and C:30), emphasizing the self-centred concern of the heroine for her salvation, whereas the long plus in LXX/AT Esth C:17–22 is couched in the first person plural, bringing to the fore Esther's concern for and identification with the Jewish community.<sup>3</sup> In addition to these divergences, the order of some verses in the VL version of Esther's prayer differs from that in the LXX/AT version.<sup>4</sup>

In the following, I will discuss eight parallels, six of which are shared between the prayers in LXX/AT (but not in VL) Addition C and those in 3 Maccabees (4.2.1; 4.2.2; 4.2.4; 4.2.5; 4.2.6; 4.2.7), and two that are shared between the prayers in LXX/AT/VL Addition C and those in 3 Maccabees (4.2.3; 4.2.8).<sup>5</sup> One of the eight parallels (4.2.1) will be further discussed in Study 2 (2.6).

## 4.2 Discussion

### 4.2.1

- [prayer of Mordecai] LXX Esth C:2: Κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ πάντων κρατῶν; C:8: καὶ νῦν, κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ βασιλεύς, ὁ θεὸς Ἀβρααμ; [prayer of Esther] C:14: Κύριέ μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν; C:23: κύριε ... βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν; C:29: κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβρααμ
- [prayer of Mordecai] AT Esth 4:13 [C:2]: Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ; [prayer of Esther] 4:19 [C:14]: Κύριε βασιλεῦ

<sup>3</sup> On the interchange between the “I” and “we” parts in the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX and AT Esther, see Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 118, 160, 169.

<sup>4</sup> See Haelewyck, “Relevance,” 467–71; Hester, 89–93.

<sup>5</sup> I will not discuss in detail a few other lexical and phraseological similarities, which are more common, as they occur in other prayers, too, but which should, nevertheless, be taken into account in the overall comparison of the prayers in Addition C to Esther and in 3 Maccabees. See, e.g., LXX Esth C:18/AT Esth 4:22: δίκαιος εἶ, κύριε; VL Esth H:3: justus es; 3 Macc 2:3: δυνάστης δίκαιος εἶ; AT Esth 4:15: πλὴν σοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ; 3 Macc 2:11: πιστὸς εἶ καὶ ἀληθινός; LXX Esth C:10/AT Esth 4:17: ἐπάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου/ἡμῶν; 3 Macc 2:10: εἰσακούσῃ τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν.

- [prayer of Mordecai] VL Esth C:2: *deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob benedictus es*; C:8: *domine rex deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob*; [prayer of Esther] C:14: *deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob benedictus es*
- [prayer of Simon] 3 Macc 2:2: Κύριε κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ... παντοκράτωρ; 2:3: τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν; 2:9: σύ, βασιλεῦ; 2:13: ἅγιε βασιλεῦ; [prayer of Eleazar] 6:2: βασιλεῦ μεγαλοκράτωρ, ὕψιστε παντοκράτωρ θεέ

The prayer of Mordecai in LXX Addition C and the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees begin with the same address to God: κύριε, κύριε βασιλεῦ..., “Lord, lord, king...” This string of vocatives elsewhere occurs only at the beginning of the prayer of Moses in LXX Deut 9:26: κύριε, κύριε βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν.<sup>6</sup> One finds clear traces of the influence of the prayer of Moses on the prayers of Mordecai and Esther: similar to Moses, Mordecai asks Yahweh to not let his people and his inheritance, which he redeemed out of the land of Egypt, be destroyed (LXX Deut 9:26: μὴ ἐξολεθρεύσης τὸν λαόν σου καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν [v.l. μερίδα] σου, ἣν ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου; LXX Esth C:8: φεῖσαι τοῦ λαοῦ σου, ὅτι ἐπιβλέπουσιν ἡμῖν εἰς καταφθοράν καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν ἀπολέσαι τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κληρονομίαν σου· [C:9] μὴ ὑπερίδης τὴν μερίδα σου, ἣν σεαυτῷ ἐλυτρώσω ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου); furthermore, the address to Yahweh as “king of the gods” (βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν) in LXX Deut 9:26 occurs elsewhere in the Septuagint only in the prayer of Esther (C:23: βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν).

Apart from the vocative address κύριε, κύριε βασιλεῦ..., the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees has no distinct verbal points of contact with the prayer of Moses, unless the reference to Yahweh’s mighty power (μέγα κράτος) in the *exemplum* of Pharaoh’s destruction (3 Macc 2:6: σὺ τὸν θρασὺν Φαραῶ καταδουλωσάμενον τὸν λαόν σου τὸν ἅγιον Ἰσραὴλ ποικίλαις καὶ πολλαῖς δοκιμάσας τιμωρίαις ἐγνώρισας τὴν σὴν δυναστείαν, ἐφ’ αἷς ἐγνώρισας τὸ μέγα σου κράτος) is an allusion to LXX Deut 9:26, where a synonymous expression (μεγάλη ἰσχύς) is used twice (τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἣν ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ, οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ).

<sup>6</sup> See Jobes, *Alpha-Text*, 177–78; Corley, “Divine Sovereignty,” 367.

Mordecai and Esther address Yahweh not only as κύριος and βασιλεύς but also as πάντων κρατῶν, “ruler over all things” (LXX Esth C:2), and πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν, “ruler over all dominion” (LXX Esth C:23), respectively. The participial phrase ὁ πάντων κρατῶν is cognate to the compound noun παντοκράτωρ, which is part of the opening formula of Mordecai’s prayer in AT Esth 4:13 [C:2] as well as of the prayers of both Simon (2:2) and Eleazar (6:2). The phrase πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν, which is reminiscent of King Artaxerxes’ calling Yahweh ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατῶν θεός in LXX Esth E:18, finds a counterpart in Simon’s calling Yahweh τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν in 3 Macc 2:3. In extra-biblical literature, ὁ πάντων κρατῶν is attested as a designation of Zeus;<sup>7</sup> as an epithet of Yahweh, it is elsewhere found only in the *Letter of Aristeas* (§ 19: ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα). Yahweh’s designation as ὁ (πάσης ἀρχῆς/τὰ πάντα/τῶν ὅλων) ἐπικρατῶν occurs only in LXX Esther and in 3 Maccabees.

In 3 Macc 2:2, the vocative βασιλεῦ is complemented by the genitive τῶν οὐρανῶν (“king of the heavens”) and is followed by the address δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως (“sovereign of all creation”). This double address occurs elsewhere, albeit with the vocatives in reverse order, only in the prayer of Judith (9:12: δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων, βασιλεῦ πάσης κτίσεώς σου), with which the author of 3 Maccabees seems to have been acquainted.<sup>8</sup>

In VL Esther, the opening verses of the prayers of Esther and Mordecai contain no reference to Yahweh’s kingship;<sup>9</sup> what we find instead is the formula *deus Abraham et deus Isaac et deus Iacob benedictus es*, which reflects a Greek text reading εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ θεὸς Ἀβρααμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαακ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακωβ.<sup>10</sup> The mention of the three patriarchs harks back to Exod 3:15, where Yahweh identifies himself to

<sup>7</sup> Isocrates, *Hel. enc.* 59; IG XI, 4.1234 [Delos; second century BCE], ll. 2–4: Διὶ τῷ πάντων κρατοῦντι | καὶ Μητρὶ Μεγάλῃ τῇ πάντων | κρατούσῃ.

<sup>8</sup> See 4.2.5. For the designation δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως, cf. also VL Esth D:8: *Iudaeorum autem deus et universae creaturae dominus*.

<sup>9</sup> It is only at C:8 that Mordecai addresses God as *domine rex*.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the incipit of the prayer of Esther in the Second Targum to Esther (5.1): “You, Who are the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as well as the God of my ancestor Benjamin” (trans. Grossfeld). In the same prayer occur two of the *exempla* listed in the VL version of the prayer of Esther (see 2.2.5) as well as Esther’s plea to Yahweh to make her “appear in a favourable light in the eyes of the king,” which has a counterpart in VL Esth C:24. That the Second Targum was “the Semitic Vorlage” of VL Esther, as Grossfeld, *Two Targums*, 159 n. 2, surmises, is quite unlikely. It is more plausible that the Targum was acquainted with a version of the prayer of Esther that was close to that in the GVV.

Moses as “the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.”<sup>11</sup> Variants of the latter formula occur in the prayers of David in 1 Chr 29:18, of Elijah in 1 Kgs 18:36, in the Prayer of Manasseh,<sup>12</sup> and in the first benediction (*Avoth*) of the Amidah (“Blessed are you, Lord our God and God of our fathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob”).<sup>13</sup> The formula in VL Esth C:2, which recurs in VL Esth C:14, is close to the latter formula, minus the phrase “Lord our God and God of our fathers,” the latter part of which, however, occurs in the introduction to another prayer in VL Esther, that of the Jews (VL Esth H:1: *et invocabant Iudaei deum patrum suorum*).<sup>14</sup> In LXX Esther, the patriarchal formula is only partially attested in the prayers of Mordecai and Esther, at C:8 and C:29, respectively (κύριε ... ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ). It does not occur in 3 Maccabees, yet two of the three patriarchs are mentioned in the opening lines of the prayer of Eleazar (3 Macc 6:3: Ἀβραάμ σπέρμα ... τέκνα Ἰακωβ; cf. 6:9: τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ γένους; 6:13: Ἰακωβ γένους).

As can be seen in the table below, there are three points of contact between the opening lines of the prayers of Mordecai and Simon—the address κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ, the divine epithet πάντων κρατῶν/παντοκράτωρ, and the reference to Yahweh as creator, which will be discussed in the following section—as well as a point of contact between the prayer of Esther and the prayer of Simon, namely, the address to Yahweh as πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν/τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν, which will be discussed in Study 2.<sup>15</sup> Considering that LXX Esth C:2 (as well as C:8–9 and C:23) is indebted to the prayer of Moses in LXX Deut 9:26, whereas there is no strong evidence that the prayer of Simon is indebted to the same prayer, it is likely that for the opening formula κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ..., 3 Macc 2:2 is indebted to LXX Esth C:2. The rest of the opening formula was supplemented by Jdt 9:12: δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ... βασιλεῦ πάσης κτίσεώς σου. Since the author of the prayer of Simon retained the vocative βασιλεῦ in the same position that it has in

<sup>11</sup> LXX Exod 3:15: Κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν, θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακώβ.

<sup>12</sup> LXX 1 Chr 29:18: κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν; 3 Kgdms 18:36: κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ; Pr Man 1: Κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, τοῦ Ἀβραάμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακωβ.

<sup>13</sup> See van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 38–39.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the prayer of Azariah, which opens with the formula “God of our fathers” (LXX Dan 3:26: εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν), but does not name the three patriarchs until a few verses further on (3:35: διὰ Ἀβραάμ ... καὶ Ἰσαὰκ ... καὶ Ἰσραὴλ).

<sup>15</sup> See Study 2, 2.6.

LXX Esth C:2 (and in LXX Deut 9:26), namely, after the double vocative κύριε, κύριε, he had to reverse the order of the vocatives in Jdt 9:12. This adjustment caused the genitive τῶν οὐρανῶν to modify the vocative βασιλεῦ, and the genitive πάσης τῆς κτίσεως to modify the vocative δέσποτα. In Jdt 9:12, Yahweh is addressed as “creator of the waters” (κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων) but not as creator of the earth and the world as in 3 Macc 2:3, 2:9, and LXX Esth C:3; nor is he addressed as “sovereign” (ἐπικρατῶν) as in 3 Macc 2:3 and LXX Esth C:23. This implies that for the incipit of the prayer of Simon, the author of 3 Maccabees drew on both the prayer of Judith and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX Esther.

LXX Deut 9:26	LXX Esth C:2-3, 8-9, 23	3 Macc 2:2-3, 9	Jdt 9:12
κύριε, κύριε	C:2: κύριε, κύριε,	2:2: κύριε κύριε,	
βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν	βασιλεῦ C:23: βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν	βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν	δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς
		καὶ δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως ...	βασιλεῦ πάσης κτίσεώς σου
	C:2: πάντων κρατῶν	παντοκράτωρ	
	C:3: ὅτι σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν	2:3: σὺ γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα 2:9: κτίσας τὴν ἀπέραντον καὶ ἀμέτρητον γῆν	κτίστα τῶν ὑδάτων
	C:23: καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν	2:3: καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν	
μὴ ἐξολεθρεύσης τὸν λαόν σου καὶ τὴν κληρονομίαν [v.l. μερίδα] σου	C:8: φεῖσαι τοῦ λαοῦ σου C:9: μὴ ὑπερίδης τὴν μερίδα σου,		
ἦν ἐλυτρώσω ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ,	C:9: ἦν σεαυτῷ ἐλυτρώσω		
οὓς ἐξήγαγες ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου	C:9: ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου		

#### 4.2.2

- LXX Esth C:3/AT Esth 4:13 [C:3]: σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶν [AT: τὸ] θαυμαζόμενον ἐν τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανόν
- VL Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 2:3: σὺ γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα; 2:9: σύ, βασιλεῦ, κτίσας τὴν ἀπέραντον καὶ ἀμέτρητον γῆν

Both Mordecai and Simon in their respective prayers invoke Yahweh as creator. More specifically, Mordecai addresses Yahweh as the creator of heaven and earth and of every wondrous thing under heaven, and Simon as the creator of all things, and, in particular, of the boundless and immeasurable earth. The creation language used in LXX Esth C:3/AT Esth 4:13 and in 3 Macc 2:3 and 2:9 is not unique to the prayers of Mordecai and Simon: the vocative σύ followed by ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν occurs in other prayers in the Septuagint;<sup>16</sup> the formula ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα and its variant ὁ πάντων κτίστης elsewhere occur in the prayers of Aseneth in *Jos. Asen.* 12.1 and of Jonathan in 2 Macc 1:24. The similarity between LXX Esth C:3/AT Esth 4:13 and 3 Macc 2:3 and 2:9 is of content rather than of diction, yet the fact that the reference to Yahweh as the creator of the universe follows the shared appellations κύριε, κύριε βασιλεῦ and πάντων κρατῶν/τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν suggests that this commonality may not be coincidental.

#### 4.2.3

- LXX Esth C:5: οὐκ ἐν ὕβρει οὐδὲ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ οὐδὲ ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ προσκυνεῖν τὸν υπερήφανον Ἀμαν; C:7: καὶ οὐ ποιήσω αὐτὰ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ
- AT Esth 4:15 [C:5]: καὶ οὐχ ὅτι ἐν ὕβρει οὐδὲ ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ ἐποίησα τοῦ μὴ προσκυνεῖν τὸν ἀπερίτμητον Ἀμαν; 4:15 [C:7]: καὶ οὐ ποιήσω αὐτὸ ἐν πειρασμῷ
- VL Esth C:7: *et non facio ea in arrogantia nec in intemperazione*

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<sup>16</sup> 4 Kgdms 19:15/Isa 37:16 (prayer of Hezekiah); 2 Esd 19:6 (prayer of Esdras); LXX Jer 39:17 (prayer of Jeremiah); cf. Pr Man 2 (prayer of Manasseh).

- 3 Macc 2:3: τοὺς ὕβρει καὶ ἀγερωχίᾳ τι πράσσοντας κρίνεις

In LXX Esth C:5, Mordecai states that it was not in insolence (ἐν ὕβρει) or arrogance (ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ) or love of glory (ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ) that he refused to do obeisance to the haughty Haman (τὸν ὑπερήφανον Ἀμαν). The AT omits one of the two synonymous nouns (ὑπερηφανία), whereas the VL reflects the first two of the three nouns that occur in the LXX (*arrogantia-intemperatio*<sup>17</sup>/ὕβρις-ὑπερηφανία). The combination ἐν ὕβρει + ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ has a parallel in the synonymous combination ὕβρει + ἀγερωχίᾳ in Simon's prayer in 3 Macc 2:3, where the high priest addresses Yahweh as a just ruler, who judges those who like King Ptolemy IV Philopator and, before him, the Giants, the Sodomites, and the Pharaoh, commit acts of insolence and arrogance. Moreover, both combinations modify verbs that denote "to do," ποιέω and πράσσω, respectively. The former combination has a few instances elsewhere in the Septuagint<sup>18</sup> as well as in extra-biblical Greek literature;<sup>19</sup> the latter combination recurs only once in later literature.<sup>20</sup>

Of the afore-cited nouns, ὕβρις and ὑπερηφανία have a few more instances in 3 Maccabees, in the prayers of Simon and Eleazar, whereas elsewhere in LXX/AT Esther occurs only ὑπερηφανία.<sup>21</sup> The author of 3 Maccabees has a fondness for pairs of nouns, at least one of which denotes insolence; in the prayers of Simon and Eleazar, he uses five such pairs.<sup>22</sup> The pair ὕβρις + ἀγερωχίᾳ is thus at home in 3 Maccabees, which suggests that there is no need to posit here the influence of LXX Esth C:5/GVVL Esth C:7. However, the reference to the insolence of the enemies of the Jews, namely, Haman and King Ptolemy IV, in the prayers of Mordecai and Simon, respectively, right after the commonalities discussed in 4.2.1

<sup>17</sup> Instead of *intemperatione*, MSS 130, 123, and 109 read *in temptatione*, which corresponds to the phrase ἐν πειρασμῷ in AT Esth 4:15. See Haelewyck, *Hester*, 45.

<sup>18</sup> Lev 26:19; Jer 31:29; Prov 8:13.

<sup>19</sup> Demosthenes, *Mid.* 83; *Timocr.* 121; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom.* 6.79.3; Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.3.29.

<sup>20</sup> Philostratus, *Vit. soph.* 1.531.23.

<sup>21</sup> 3 Macc 2:5: τοὺς ὑπερηφανίαν ἐργαζομένους Σοδομίτας; 2:17: ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ γλώσσης; 2:21: ὕβρει καὶ θράσει; 6:12: καθ' ὕβριν; cf. 6:9: μίσυβρι; LXX Esth C:27: σημείον τῆς ὑπερηφανίας; E:12: οὐκ ἐνέγκας τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν.

<sup>22</sup> 3 Macc 2:2: θράσει καὶ σθένει; 2:3: ὕβρει καὶ ἀγερωχίᾳ; 2:4: ῥώμῃ καὶ θράσει; 6:4: ἀνόμῳ θράσει καὶ γλώσση μεγαλορρήμονι; 6:5: κόμπῳ καὶ θράσει.

and 4.2.2, gives some reason to consider that it may after all not be simply fortuitous.

#### 4.2.4

- LXX Esth C:17/AT Esth 4:21 [C:17]: [LXX: καὶ νῦν] ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου [AT: ἐναντίον σου], καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν
- VL Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 2:13: ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν, ἅγιε βασιλεῦ, διὰ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας καταπονούμεθα καὶ ὑπετάγημεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν

Both Esther in LXX Esth C:17/AT Esth 4:21 and Simon in 3 Macc 2:13 express the same idea: the Jews fell into the hands of their enemies because of their sins. Esther specifies that it was Yahweh who inflicted this chastisement upon the Jews because they had sinned before him, whereas Simon does not directly involve Yahweh in the punishment of his people. This Deuteronomistic idea (sin incurring punishment in the form of subjection to enemies) is expressed in similar terms in two other biblical prayers, that of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple (3 Kgdms 8:46: ὅτι ἁμαρτήσονται σοι ... καὶ ἐπάξεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παραδώσεις αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον ἐχθρῶν ... [8:47] ἡμάρτομεν ἠνομήσαμεν ἡδίκησαμεν) and that of Azariah in the fiery furnace (LXX Dan 3:28: ἐποίησας ταῦτα πάντα διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. [3:29] ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν ἐν πᾶσι καὶ ἠνομήσαμεν ... [3:32] καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν).<sup>23</sup>

The wording in LXX Esth C:17/AT Esth 4:21 is very similar to that in LXX Dan 3:28–32 (ἡμάρτομεν/ἡμάρτομεν ... καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν/καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν), whereas 3 Macc 2:13 has fewer points of verbal contact with LXX Dan 3:28–32 (διὰ τὰς ... ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας/διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ... τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν/ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν) and lacks exact verbal similarities with LXX Esth C:17 (διὰ τὰς ... ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας/ἡμάρτομεν ... τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν/τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν). The reference to the Three Youths in the prayer of Eleazar (3 Macc 6:6) and the phrase συντετριμμένων τὰς ψυχὰς in the

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<sup>23</sup> On the influence of the prayer of Solomon on the prayer of Azariah, see Gilbert, “Prière d’Azarias,” 567.



prayer of Simon (3 Macc 2:20), for which the author of 3 Maccabees may be indebted to the prayer of Azariah (LXX Dan 3:39: ἐν ψυχῇ συντετριμμένη), suggests that we cannot exclude an intertextual connexion between 3 Macc 2:13 and LXX Dan 3:28–32. Newman and Corley have further shown that the verses that precede and follow 3 Macc 2:13 contain intertextual allusions to the prayer of Solomon, which makes 3 Kgdms 8:46–47 a possible intertext for 3 Macc 2:13.<sup>24</sup> Whichever was its intertext, 3 Kgdms 8:46, LXX Dan 3:28–32, or LXX Esth C:17, 3 Macc 2:13 seems to have modified and adapted it. LXX Esth C:17, on the other hand, seems to depend on LXX Dan 3:29–32 and not on 3 Macc 2:13.

As can be seen in the table below, aside from the verbal commonality between LXX Esth C:17 and LXX Dan 3:29–32, the prayer of Esther shares further verbal and conceptual points of contact with the prayer of Azariah: both prayers refer to a gentile king who is an enemy of the Jews (LXX Esth C:21: βασιλέα σάρκινον, “a king of flesh and blood”; LXX Dan 3:32: βασιλεῖ ἀδίκῳ καὶ πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, “an unjust king, the most wicked on the whole earth”);<sup>25</sup> both refer to a cessation of sacrifices on the Temple altar, which is foreshadowed in the prayer of Esther (LXX Esth C:20: σβέσαι ... θυσιαστήριόν σου, “to extinguish ... your altar”) and effectuated in the prayer of Azariah (LXX Dan 3:38: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ οὐδὲ ὀλοκαύτωσις οὐδὲ θυσία ... οὐδὲ θυμίαμα, “and at this time there is no burnt offering nor sacrifice ... nor incense”); in both prayers, the Jews are said to be unable to speak, because of their persecution in the former prayer (LXX Esth C:20–21: ἐμφοράζει στόμα αἰνούντων σοι ... καὶ ἀνοῖξαι στόμα ἐθνῶν, “to stop the mouths of those who praise you ... and open the mouths of the gentiles”) and because of their shame in the latter prayer (LXX Dan 3:33: καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα, “and now we cannot open our mouth”); and in both prayers occurs the plea μὴ παραδῶς, “do not surrender...” (LXX Esth C:22; LXX Dan 3:34).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. 3 Kgdms 8:30: εἰσακούση τῆς δεήσεως ... τοῦ λαοῦ σου Ἰσραὴλ; 3 Macc 2:10: εἰσακούση τῆς δεήσεως ἡμῶν; 3 Kgdms 8:39, 43, 49: εἰσακούση ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ἐτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου; 3 Macc 2:15: τὸ μὲν γὰρ οἰκητήριόν [v.l. κατοικητήριον] σου οὐρανὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; 3 Kgdms 8:29, 30, 35, 42: τὸν τόπον τοῦτον [=the Temple]; 3 Macc 2:9, 10, 16: τὸν τόπον τοῦτον. See Newman, *Praying by the Book*, 193–96; Corley, “Divine Sovereignty,” 375–79.

<sup>25</sup> Azariah refers to King Nebuchadnezzar but the author of the prayer probably alludes to King Antiochus IV Epiphanes. See Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 58; Gilbert, “Prière d’Azarias,” 568, 572, 575–76; van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 204; see also 4.2.5.

<b>Prayer of Esther (LXX Addition C)</b>	<b>Prayer of Azariah (LXX Daniel 3)</b>
C:17: καὶ νῦν ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου	3:29: ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν ἐν παῶσι
C:17: καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν	3:31–32: καὶ νῦν... παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν
C:21: θαυμασθῆναι βασιλέα σάρκινον	3:32: καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀδίκῳ καὶ πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν
C:20: ἐμφράξαι στόμα αἰνούντων σοι C:21: καὶ ἀνοῖξαι στόμα ἐθνῶν εἰς ἀρετὰς ματαίων	3:33: καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα
C:22: μὴ παραδῶς, κύριε, τὸ σκῆπτρον σου τοῖς μὴ οὖσιν	3:34: μὴ παραδῶς ἡμᾶς εἰς τέλος
C:20: σβέσαι δόξαν οἴκου σου καὶ θυσιαστήριόν σου	3:38: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ οὐδὲ ὀλοκαύτως οὐδὲ θυσία οὐδὲ προσφορά οὐδὲ θυμίαμα

There is, however, a verbal link between LXX Esth C:17 and 3 Macc 2:13, which bolsters the likelihood of a connexion between them: the formula καὶ νῦν/ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν, “and now”/“and now, behold.” In both verses, this formula introduces a confession of sin, which is preceded by a reference to the “fathers” who received support from Yahweh.<sup>26</sup> LXX Esth C:17 features the standard formula, καὶ νῦν, whereas 3 Macc 2:13 has a rare variant of it, ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν,<sup>27</sup> although in the prayer of Eleazar the author of 3 Maccabees uses the καὶ νῦν (6:9) as well as the simple νῦν (6:12).<sup>28</sup> If LXX Esth C:17 is indebted to LXX Dan 3:29–32, as I suggested above, then it may have borrowed the formula καὶ νῦν from the latter verses, where it is used to mark a relation of cause/sin (LXX Dan 3:29: ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν...) and effect/punishment (LXX Dan 3:31–32: καὶ νῦν πάντα, ὅσα ἡμῖν ἐπήγαγες, ἐν ἀληθινῇ κρίσει ἐποίησας καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν). In LXX Esth C:17, καὶ νῦν marks a different type of relation, namely, a shift from the past (“fathers”) to the present (sin). The use of the variant transition marker ἰδοὺ δὲ

<sup>26</sup> LXX Esth C:16: σύ, κύριε, ἔλαβες ... τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐκ πάντων τῶν προγόνων αὐτῶν εἰς κληρονομίαν αἰώνιον καὶ ἐποίησας αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἐλάλησας. [C:17] καὶ νῦν ἡμάρτομεν...; 3 Macc 2:12: ἐπεὶ δὲ πλεονάκης θλιβέντων τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐβοήθησας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει καὶ ἐρρύσω αὐτοὺς ἐκ μεγάλων κακῶν, [2:13] ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν... διὰ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας...

<sup>27</sup> ἰδοὺ νῦν occurs only in LXX Exod 5:5, 3 Kgdms 12:26, 4 Kgdms 5:22, and 1 Esd 8:87; καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ occurs nineteen times in the LXX.

<sup>28</sup> See 2.2.6.

vũv in 3 Macc 2:13 to mark exactly the same type of shift as in LXX Esth C:17 seems to attest to the dependence of the former verse on the latter.

The reference to the “fathers” in LXX Esth C:16 is missing in VL Esth C:16, where instead we find the list of biblical *exempla* that I discussed in 2.2.5. The subsequent confession of sin introduced by the formula καὶ vũv (LXX Esth C:17–18) is entirely absent in the VL version of Esther’s prayer. The intertextual connexion between LXX Esth C:16–18 and 3 Macc 2:12–13 that I posit here entails that the author of the prayer of Simon was acquainted with the LXX version of Esther’s prayer, not the GVVl version. So, how can we explain the similarities between the LXX version of the prayer of Esther and the prayer of Simon (“fathers” + καὶ vũv + confession of sin) and between the GVVl/VL version of the prayer of Esther and the prayer of Eleazar (list of *exempla* followed by καὶ vũv/*et nunc*, a divine appellation in the vocative, and a verb in the imperative + ἐπιφάνηθι/*appear*)?<sup>29</sup> There are two possibilities:

- a) The author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with two variant versions of Esther’s prayer, the LXX, upon which he drew when composing the prayer of Simon, and the GVVl, upon which he drew when composing the prayer of Eleazar.
- b) The author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with and drew upon the LXX version of Esther’s prayer when composing the prayer of Simon. The GVVl version of Esther’s prayer is posterior to the LXX version and to 3 Maccabees and relies on the prayer of Eleazar for the *exempla*, the plea ἐπιφάνηθι/*appear*, and the other commonalities mentioned above.

Given my discussion in 2.2.5 and 2.2.6, I consider the second possibility to be the most likely.

#### 4.2.5

- LXX Esth C:19–21/AT Esth 4:22 [C:19–21]: ἔθηκαν [AT: ἐπέθηκαν] τὰς χειρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς χειρας τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν ... σβέσαι δόξαν οἴκου

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<sup>29</sup> See 2.2.5, 2.2.6, 4.2.1, and the tables in Appendix 4.

σου καὶ θυσιαστήριόν [AT: θυσιαστηρίου] σου ... καὶ θαυμασθῆναι βασιλέα  
σάρκινον εἰς [AT: τὸν] αἰῶνα

- VL Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 2:14: ὁ θρασὺς καὶ βέβηλος οὗτος ἐπιτηδεύει καθυβρίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ  
τῆς γῆς ἀναδεδειγμένον τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς δόξης σου ἅγιον τόπον

Both Esther and Simon in their respective prayers refer to a gentile attempt against the Jerusalem Temple. Esther claims that the enemies of the Jews (Haman is primarily meant, but also King Artaxerxes, who is presumably behind the designation “king of flesh and blood” [C:21: βασιλεὺς σάρκινος]), promised to their idols to quench the glory (σβέσαι δόξαν) of Yahweh’s house (οἴκου σου) and altar (θυσιαστήριόν σου). Simon states that King Ptolemy IV Philopator seeks to insult the holy place (ἅγιον τόπον), which is consecrated to the name of Yahweh’s glory (τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς δόξης σου). Simon’s reference to the Temple is unsurprising in this context, as his prayer arose out of a threat posed by Philopator to the holy place; this threat is first uttered in the narrative that precedes the text of the prayer (3 Macc 1:8–29) and is repeated later in the book (3 Macc 5:43). Esther’s reference, on the other hand, is unanticipated, as the Jerusalem Temple and the purported Persian threat against it and its altar are nowhere else mentioned in the Greek versions of Esther or in the Masoretic Text. Some scholars have taken this as evidence of the dependence of LXX Addition C to Esther on 3 Maccabees.<sup>30</sup>

Moore points out that the concern that Esther shows for Jerusalem and its Temple “was quite justified in the Hellenistic period.”<sup>31</sup> Indeed, a similar concern is voiced in a few other prayers contained in deuterocanonical books or parts of books, such as the pre-battle prayer of Judas Maccabeus and his men at Massepha in 1 Maccabees 3, the prayer of Azariah in the Additions to Daniel, and the prayer of Judith in Judith 9. In the first two of these prayers, which reflect the suppression

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<sup>30</sup> See Motzo, “Rifacimento greco di Ester e III Maccabei,” 289–91, who, after pointing out the similarities between LXX Esth C:19–21 and two passages in 3 Maccabees outside the prayer of Simon, namely, 4:16, where Philopator organizes banquets at which he praises the idols, and 5:43, where he threatens to destroy Judaea, burn the Temple, and make it empty of those who offer sacrifices there, concludes: “Riesce impossibile pensare a una dipendenza di questi vari passi del *III Macc.* dal rifacimento di Ester” (p. 291); cf. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 204.

<sup>31</sup> Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 211; cf. Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 770 n. 24.

of the Jewish religion in Judaea under King Antiochus IV Epiphanes,<sup>32</sup> the Temple is said to have undergone profanation (1 Macc 3:51: καὶ τὰ ἅγιά σου καταπεπάτηνται καὶ βεβήλωνται) and its cult to have been suppressed (LXX Dan 3:38: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ... οὐδὲ ὀλοκαύτωσις οὐδὲ θυσία οὐδὲ προσφορά οὐδὲ θυμίαμα οὐδὲ τόπος τοῦ καρπῶσαι ἐνώπιόν σου). In the prayer of Judith, which likely also reflects the persecution of the Jewish religion in the time of Antiochus IV,<sup>33</sup> the Assyrians are said to have deliberated the profanation of the Temple, the tabernacle, and the altar (Jdt 9:8: ἐβουλεύσαντο γὰρ βεβηλῶσαι τὰ ἅγιά σου, μιᾶναι τὸ σκῆνωμα τῆς καταπαύσεως τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς δόξης σου, καταβαλεῖν σιδήρῳ κέρας θυσιαστηρίου σου). In contrast to LXX/AT Esther, in Judith the concern for the Temple is expressed not only in the prayer of the heroine but throughout the book.<sup>34</sup>

The prayer of Esther has often been compared to that of Judith.<sup>35</sup> Some scholars have even suggested that the latter influenced the former.<sup>36</sup> The two prayers share indeed similarities of content and diction. The verbal similarities, in particular, are not few, although some of them are not especially distinctive or exclusive: both prayers mention the altar (LXX Esth C:20: σβέσαι ... θυσιαστήριόν σου; Jdt 9:8: καταβαλεῖν ... κέρας θυσιαστηρίου σου), both invoke Yahweh as king (LXX Esth C:14: Κύριέ μου ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν; C:23: βασιλεὺς τῶν θεῶν; Jdt 9:12: βασιλεὺ πάσης κτίσεώς σου) and helper, indeed as the sole helper and defender of the Jews (LXX Esth C:14: μὴ ἐχούσῃ βοηθὸν εἰ μὴ σέ; C:25: μὴ ἐχούσῃ εἰ μὴ σέ; Jdt 9:4: ἐπεκαλέσαντό σε εἰς βοηθόν; 9:11: ἐλαττόνων εἶ βοηθός; 9:14: οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος ὑπερασπίζων τοῦ γένους Ἰσραὴλ εἰ μὴ σύ); both refer to those who are in despair (LXX Esth C:30: φωνὴν ἀπηλπισμένων; Jdt 9:11: ἀπηλπισμένων σωτήρ) and both employ the word “glory” in connexion with Yahweh and his Temple (LXX Esth C:20: σβέσαι δόξαν οἴκου σου; Jdt 9:8: τὸ σκῆνωμα τῆς καταπαύσεως τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς δόξης σου), and the imperatives “hear” (LXX Esth C:30; Jdt 9:4, 12: εἰσάκουσον) and “give speech” (LXX Esth C:24; Jdt 9:13: δὸς λόγον).

<sup>32</sup> On the dating of the prayer of Azariah to the Maccabean period, see Gilbert, “Prière d’Azarias,” 568, 572, 575–76, and van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 184, 186, 199, 202, 204, 210.

<sup>33</sup> See Delcor, “Livres de Judith,” 168–74, 176; Gera, *Judith*, 39–40, 171, 316.

<sup>34</sup> See Jdt 4:2, 11–15; 8:21, 24; 9:1; 16:18–20.

<sup>35</sup> See Moore, *Judith*, 195–97; Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 135–36; Marböck, “Gebet der Ester,” 90–91; Gera, *Judith*, 299–300.

<sup>36</sup> See Gera, *Judith*, 12, 43–44, 55–56, 300.

Another prayer in Judith, that of the Jerusalemites, whose content is recounted in indirect speech at 4:12, presents notable similarities with the prayer of the Jews in VL Esth H:1–5, which is given in direct speech. The Jerusalemites entreat Yahweh not to give their infants for plunder (μὴ δοῦναι εἰς διαρπαγὴν τὰ νήπια αὐτῶν) and their women for pillage (καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας εἰς προνομίην),<sup>37</sup> and the cities of their inheritance to destruction (καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτῶν εἰς ἀφανισμόν), and the sanctuary to profanation and disgrace (καὶ τὰ ἅγια εἰς βεβήλωσιν καὶ ὀνειδισμόν).<sup>38</sup> In VL Esth H:4, the prayer of the Jews reads as follows: *et nunc deus non des filios tuos in captivitatem neque uxores nostras in violationem neque in perditionem qui factus es nobis propitius ab Egypto et usque nunc*, “and now, God, do not give your children over to captivity, nor our wives to rape, nor to destruction, you who have been made gracious toward us from Egypt until now.”<sup>39</sup> The Greek *Vorlage* of this verse seems to have drawn on a text that was close to that in Jdt 4:12 as well as on LXX Num 14:19: ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένου ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τοῦ νῦν.

The prayer of Simon, which has also been compared to that of Judith,<sup>40</sup> shares with the latter a few distinctive combinations of words: 3 Macc 2:2: βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως; Jdt 9:12: δέσποτα τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς ... βασιλεῦ πάσης κτίσεώς σου; 3 Macc 2:14: τὸν ... ἀναδεδειγμένον τῷ ὀνόματι τῆς δόξης σου ἅγιον τόπον; Jdt 9:8: τὸ σκῆνωμα τῆς καταπαύσεως τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς δόξης σου; 3 Macc 2:18: τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ; Jdt 9:13: οἴκου ἡγιασμένου σου.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the description of the warforce of Pharaoh and Sennacherib in

<sup>37</sup> προνομίη in this context is likely a euphemism for rape. See Gera, *Judith*, 186.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. LXX Esth 7:4: ἐπράθημεν γὰρ ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὁ λαός μου εἰς ἀπώλειαν καὶ διαρπαγὴν καὶ δουλείαν, ἡμεῖς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἡμῶν εἰς παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας; Jdt 9:4: καὶ ἔδωκας γυναῖκας αὐτῶν εἰς προνομίην καὶ θυγατέρας αὐτῶν εἰς αἰχμαλωσίαν; Tob<sup>GI</sup> 3:4: καὶ ἔδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς διαρπαγὴν καὶ αἰχμαλωσίαν καὶ θάνατον καὶ παραβολὴν ὀνειδισμοῦ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.

<sup>39</sup> Trans. Bellmann and Portier-Young, “Old Latin Book of Esther,” 277.

<sup>40</sup> See Newman, *Praying by the Book*, 157 n. 4, 159; Corley, “Divine Sovereignty,” 364; Gera, *Judith*, 55.

<sup>41</sup> The prayer of Simon uses both the combination ἡ δόξα τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, “the glory of your name” (2:9), and the combination τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου, “the name of your glory” (2:14). For the former, it is likely indebted to LXX Ps 78, which laments a desecration of the Temple. In verse 9 of this psalm, the psalmist asks Yahweh to rescue his people for the sake of the glory of his name (ἐνεκα τῆς δόξης τοῦ ὀνόματός σου); in the previous verse, the psalmist asks Yahweh to let his compassion speedily preoccupy his people (ταχύ προκαταλάβετωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοί σου). In his prayer, Simon quotes verbatim the latter phrase (2:20). See Newman, *Praying by the Book*, 196–97; Corley, “Divine Sovereignty,” 379, 382. For the combination τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου, 3 Macc 2:14 may have been indebted to Jdt 9:8, as the context of both verses speaks of a potential

the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees exhibits notable similarities with the description of the military forces of the Assyrians in the prayer of Judith: in both Jdt 9:7 and 3 Macc 6:4–5 occur the verb πληθύνω, “to increase in number,” conjoined with a term denoting armed forces (Jdt 9:7: Ἀσσύριοι ἐπληθύνθησαν ἐν δυνάμει αὐτῶν; 3 Macc 6:4: Φαραω πληθύνοντα ἄρμασι), the semantically cognate verbs ὑψοῦμαι and ἐπαίρομαι that denote “to be exalted” (Jdt 9:7: ὑψώθησαν ἐφ’ ἵπῳ καὶ ἀναβάτη; 3 Macc 6:4: ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει), and the rare verbs γαυριάω/γαυρώω, “to pride oneself on,” conjoined with terms denoting armed forces (Jdt 9:7: ἐγαυρίασαν ἐν βραχίονι πεζῶν; 3 Macc 6:5: τὸν ἀναριθμήτοις δυνάμεσι γαυρωθέντα). Lastly, the prayer of the Jews at the hippodrome of Alexandria, which is reported in indirect speech in 3 Macc 5:7–8, shares exclusively with the prayers of Judith (the one discussed above and the shorter one that the heroine says prior to killing Holofernes) the combination θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως, “god of all power” (3 Macc 5:7: τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα ἐλεήμονα θεόν; cf. 5:51: τὸν τῆς ἀπάσης δυνάμεως δυνάστην; 7:9: τὸν πάσης δεσπόζοντα δυνάμεως θεόν; Jdt 9:14: ὁ θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ κράτους; 13:4: κύριε ὁ θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως).

It is thus likely that both the author of the prayer of Esther and the author of the prayers of Simon and Eleazar knew the prayer of Judith. Considering that LXX Esth C:19–21/AT Esth 4:22 have a single point of verbal contact with 3 Macc 2:14 (the noun δόξα) but two points with Jdt 9:8 (δόξα and θυσιαστήριον), it is also likely that, for the reference to the Temple, the prayer of Esther is indebted to the prayer of Judith rather than to the prayer of Simon.

Moore points out that verses C:17–23 are absent in VL Esther and in Josephus’ version of Esther. He argues that they “were not originally a part of Addition C” and that they “were added early rather than late, that is, possibly before Josephus’ day rather than afterward.”<sup>42</sup> Cavalier also maintains that these verses are not authentic and suggests that they are likely borrowed from another text.<sup>43</sup>

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desecration of the Temple (3 Macc 2:14: καθυβρίσαι τὸν ... ἅγιον τόπον; Jdt 9:8: βεβηλῶσαι τὰ ἁγία σου).

<sup>42</sup> Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah*, 163, 213–14. Josephus’ omission is not so significant, since he summarizes Esther’s prayer in less than seventy words (A.J. 11.232–233), omitting many elements that occur in the LXX version and adding others that do not occur in it, e.g. Esther’s plea to be made not only eloquent but also beautiful in order to persuade the king.

<sup>43</sup> Cavalier, *Esther*, 182.

However, even if the author/redactor of Esther's prayer in the LXX borrowed the reference to the Temple from another text, such as Judith's prayer, for example, he seems to have added details—the Jews honouring the gods of the gentiles (C:18: ἐδοξάσαμεν τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν), the suppression of the Torah (C:20: ἐξᾶραι ὁρισμὸν στόματός σου), the glorification of an earthly king (C:21: θαυματοῦν βασιλέα σάρκινον)—that point to a specific *Sitz im Leben*, that of King Antiochus IV Epiphanes' persecution of the Jewish religion in Judea between 167 and 164 BCE (in which case the pagan “king of flesh and blood” mentioned in LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22 is to be identified, like King Nebuchadnezzar in Judith and the “unjust king, the most wicked on the whole earth” in the prayer of Azariah [LXX Dan 3:32], with Antiochus IV).<sup>44</sup> If verses C:19–21 do indeed echo the desecration of the Temple in the time of Antiochus IV, it is reasonable to assume that they are part of an early compositional layer of the prayer of Esther, dating from not long after the Maccabean period.<sup>45</sup> If GVV/VL Addition C to Esther contains the original version of the prayer of Esther, dating to 120–100 BCE at the latest, and LXX Addition C a later version, dating to 78/77 BCE, as some scholars have suggested,<sup>46</sup> it would seem odd that the earlier version, which was closer to the Maccabean events, did not include the reference to the Temple and its desecration by Antiochus IV, whereas the later version did.

#### 4.2.6

- LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22 [C:21]: ἀνοῖξαι στόμα [AT: στόματα] ἐθνῶν [AT: ἐχθρῶν] εἰς ἀρετὰς ματαίων
- VL Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 6:11: μὴ τοῖς ματαίοις οἱ ματαιόφρονες εὐλογησάτωσαν

The substantivised neuter plural of the adjective μάταιος, “vain,” occurs seventeen times in the Septuagint as a designation of the pagan idols and the gods

<sup>44</sup> See 1 Macc 1:41–64. Marböck, “Gebet der Ester,” 87 n. 54, suggests that in GVV/VL Esth C:23/AT Esth 4:24 [C:23] Esther asks Yahweh to manifest himself (ἐπιφάνηθι) so as to counteract King Antiochus IV, who designated himself as God Manifest (θεὸς ἐπιφανής).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 118, 122, 160, 170–71, who argues that the verses in question originated in a *Volksklagelied* dating from 168/7–165/4 BCE.

<sup>46</sup> See 1.1.



that they represent.<sup>47</sup> Two of these instances are found in the prayers of Esther and Eleazar. In LXX Esth C:20–21/AT Esth 4:22, Esther presents through an antithesis one of the dangers that loom over her people: the enemies of the Jews intend to stop the mouth (ἐμφράξαι στόμα) of those who praise (αἰνούντων) Yahweh (σοι) and open the mouth (ἀνοῖξαι στόμα [AT: στόματα]) of the gentiles (ἐθνῶν [AT: ἔχθρῶν]) for the praise of vanities, i.e., idols (εἰς ἄρετὰς ματαίων). Similarly, in 3 Macc 6:11, Eleazar exhorts Yahweh not to let the vain-minded (ματαιόφρονες, a neologism probably coined by the author of 3 Maccabees), i.e., the idolatrous gentiles, praise (εὐλογησάτωσαν) vanities (ματαίοις), i.e., idols, for the destruction of his beloved ones, i.e., the Jews. This verse harks back to 6:6, in the same prayer, where the Three Youths are said to have given their lives to the fire so as not to worship “empty things” (εἰς τὸ μὴ λατρεῦσαι τοῖς κενοῖς), i.e., the golden statue constructed by Nebuchadnezzar, and to 4:16, where King Ptolemy IV Philopator organizes banquets in front of all the idols (ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν εἰδώλων) and with a mind led far astray from the truth (πεπλανημένη πόρρω τῆς ἀληθείας φρενί) and a profane mouth (βεβήλω στόματι) praises (ἐπαινῶν) things that are deaf and unable to speak to or help those who worship them (τὰ κωφὰ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενα αὐτοῖς λαλεῖν ἢ ἀρήγειν). There are verbal and conceptual correspondences both between 3 Macc 4:16 and 6:11 (πεπλανημένη φρενί–ματαιόφρονες, ἐπαινῶν–εὐλογησάτωσαν, εἰδῶλων/κωφὰ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενα λαλεῖν–ματαίοις) and between these verses and LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22 (βεβήλω στόματι–στόμα/στόματα ἐθνῶν/ἐχθρῶν, ἐπαινῶν–εὐλογησάτωσαν–εἰς ἄρετὰς, εἰδῶλων–κωφὰ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενα λαλεῖν–ματαίοις–ματαίων).

In LXX Esther, the terms τὰ εἴδωλα and τὰ μάταια occur only in the prayer of Esther (C:19, 21); no reference to heathen gods and their idols is made in the canonical parts of this version.<sup>48</sup> 3 Maccabees, apart from the common term εἴδωλον (3 Macc 4:16; 90x in the LXX), employs three other, more rare terms to designate the pagan idols: τὰ προσοχθίσματα, “the objects of offence” (2:18), τὰ

<sup>47</sup> See Lev 17:7; 3 Kgdms 16:2, 13, 26; 4 Kgdms 17:15; 2 Chr 11:15; Hos 5:11; 6:8; Amos 2:4; Jonah 2:9; Zech 11:17; Isa 2:20; Jer 2:5; 8:19; 10:15.

<sup>48</sup> AT Esth 3:7 contains a plus vis-à-vis the other versions, which states that Haman “went to his gods” (ἐπορεύθη Ἀμαν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ), that is, he visited the temple where the idols of his gods were erected, in order to learn the day on which the Jews should be exterminated. The phrase ἔθηκαν/ἐπέθηκαν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν in LXX Esth C:19/AT Esth 4:22 is best understood in light of this plus in the canonical part of AT Esther. On the meaning of the latter phrase, see Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 170.

κενά, “the empty things” (6:6), and τὰ μάταια, “the vanities” (6:11). All three happen to occur in the prayers of Simon and Eleazar. The first occurs ten times in the Septuagint; the combination οἶκος τῶν προσοχθισμάτων, “house of idols,” attested in the prayer of Simon, is likely drawn from 3 Kgdms 16:32, its only other instance in the Septuagint. The second does not occur anywhere else in the Septuagint in the specific sense in which it is used in 3 Macc 6:6. The third term, τὰ μάταια, conjoined with a word denoting praise, elsewhere occurs only in the prayer of Esther.

The term ἀρετή in the sense of “praise,” in which it is used in LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22, is very rare in the Septuagint. Apart from the prayer of Esther, it occurs only in Isaiah (42:8, 12; 43:21; 63:7).<sup>49</sup> In both Esther and Isaiah it occurs in the plural, ἀρεταί. The author of the prayer of Esther likely alludes to LXX Isa 42:8: τὴν δόξαν μου ἐτέρῳ οὐ δώσω οὐδὲ τὰς ἀρετάς μου τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, “I will not give my glory to another, neither my praise to the carved images.” The use of the very distinctive term ἀρετή in this context links LXX Isa 42:8 with LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22, although the author of the prayer of Esther uses the term τὰ μάταια instead of τὰ γλυπτά to designate the idols. 3 Macc 6:6, on the other hand, has no verbal links with LXX Isa 42:8. If there is an intertextual connexion between LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22 and 3 Macc 6:6, it is more likely that the direction of influence runs from the former, which shares a verbal (ἀρετή) and a conceptual (“idols,” τὰ μάταια/τὰ γλυπτά) link with LXX Isa 42:8, to the latter, which shares conceptual links with LXX Isa 42:8 and a verbal (τὰ μάταια) and a conceptual link (“praise,” ἀρετάς/εὐλογησάτωσαν) with LXX Esth C:21/AT Esth 4:22.

#### 4.2.7

- LXX Esth C:22: καὶ μὴ καταγελασάτωσαν ἐν τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ στρέψον τὴν βουλήν αὐτῶν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς παραδειγμάτισον

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<sup>49</sup> See Hatch, *Essays*, 40–41.

- AT Esth 4:23 [C:22]: καὶ μὴ χαρείησαν ἐπὶ τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν· στρέψον τὰς βουλὰς αὐτῶν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, τὸν δὲ ἀρξάμενον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς εἰς κακὰ παραδειγματίσων
- VL Esth: ∅
- 3 Macc 2:5: παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις καταστήσας; 2:14: ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καταπτώσει; 2:17: μὴ ἐκδικήσης ἡμᾶς ... ἵνα μὴ καυχῶνται οἱ παράνομοι ἐν θυμῷ αὐτῶν μηδὲ ἀγαλλιάσωνται ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ γλώσσης αὐτῶν; 5:7–8: τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον ... ἐπεκαλέσαντο δεόμενοι τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν μεταστρέψαι βουλήν ἀνοσίαν

In LXX Esth C:22/AT Esth 4:23, Esther asks Yahweh not to let the gentile enemies of the Jews jeer (LXX: μὴ καταγελασάτωσαν)/rejoice (AT: μὴ χαρείησαν) at the downfall (ἐν/ἐπὶ τῇ πτώσει) of her people, to turn their plot against them (στρέψον τὴν βουλήν/τὰς βουλὰς αὐτῶν ἐπ’ αὐτούς), and to punish in an exemplary manner (παραδειγματίσων) the person who initiated the attack against the Jews, namely, Haman. This threefold petition has verbal and conceptual points of contact with the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees. The first verbal point of contact is the prepositional phrase ἐν τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν, “in our downfall,” which has a counterpart in 3 Macc 2:14: ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καταπτώσει (cf. 2:20: τῶν καταπεπτωκότων). The second verbal point of contact is the verb παραδειγματίζω, “to punish as an example,”<sup>50</sup> which has a parallel in 3 Macc 2:5, where Simon invokes the Sodomites, whom Yahweh punished as an example for future generations; instead of παραδειγματίζω, the author of 3 Maccabees uses the periphrasis παράδειγμα καθίστημι. There is also a conceptual point of contact between LXX Esth C:22/AT Esth 4:23 and 3 Macc 2:17, as both verses express the idea of *Schadenfreude*: in the former, Yahweh is asked not to let the gentiles prevail lest they jeer (LXX: μὴ καταγελασάτωσαν)/rejoice (AT: μὴ χαρείησαν) at the downfall of the Jews; in the latter, Yahweh is asked not to punish the Jews lest the gentiles boast (ἵνα μὴ καυχῶνται) and rejoice (μηδὲ ἀγαλλιάσωνται) at the

<sup>50</sup> Cf. VL Esth C:22: *surgentes autem supra partem tuam deus palam facito*; Milik, “Modèles araméens,” 338, suggests emending *palam* to *pa<rabo>lam*; *parabolam facito* would reflect the παραδειγματίσων in LXX Esth C:22/AT Esth 4:23.

profanation of the Temple.<sup>51</sup> Lastly, there is a verbal point of contact between the clause στρέψον τὴν βουλήν/τὰς βουλὰς αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς in LXX Esth C:22/AT Esth 4:23 and the participial phrase δεόμενοι τὴν κατ' αὐτῶν μεταστρέψαι βουλήν ἄνοσίαν in the prayer that the Jews say at the hippodrome of Alexandria, in 3 Macc 5:7–8. In this prayer, which is given in indirect discourse, the Jews ask Yahweh to avert the impious design contrived against them by King Ptolemy Philopator. In both verses, the noun βουλή is used of an evil design against the Jews. By using the verb στρέφω, modified by the prepositional phrase ἐπ' αὐτούς, Esther calls for a tit-for-tat retribution of this evil design. While in 3 Macc 5:8 the compound verb μεταστρέφω does not suggest any such retribution, Philopator's evil design to have the Jews trampled down by elephants eventually turns against him, as the elephants turn upon his armed forces (3 Macc 6:21: ἀπέστρεψαν τὰ θηρία ἐπὶ τὰς συνεπομένας ἐνόπλους δυνάμεις).

It is noteworthy that the similarities discussed in 4.2.4, 4.2.5, and 4.2.7, namely, the confession of sin, the reference to the threat against the Temple, and the reference to the downfall of the Jews, which gives rise to *Schadenfreude* on the part of the gentiles, appear in the same order in the prayer of Esther (C:17; C:19–21; C:22) and the prayer of Simon (2:13; 2:14; 2:17).<sup>52</sup>

#### 4.2.8

- LXX Esth C:10/AT Esth 4:17 [C:10]: μὴ ἀφανίσης στόμα αἰνούντων σοι [AT: ὑμνούντων σε]; C:20/AT Esth 4:22 [C:20]: ἐμφράξαι στόμα αἰνούντων σοι [AT: σε]; C:24/AT Esth 4:25 [C:24]: δὸς λόγον εὐρυθμον εἰς τὸ στόμα μου
- VL Esth C:10: *et ne extermines os benedictum te*; C:24: *et verbum concinnum in os meum ... da*
- 3 Macc 2:20: δὸς αἰνέσεις ἐν τῷ στόματι τῶν καταπεπτωκότων

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Jdt 4:12 (prayer of the Jerusalemites): μὴ δοῦναι ... τὰ ἅγια εἰς βεβήλωσιν καὶ ὀνειδισμόν ἐπίχαρμα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν; LXX Ps 24:2; 43:14; 2 Bar. 5:1.

<sup>52</sup> See the table in Appendix 4a.

The noun στόμα, “mouth,” occurs five times in the prayers of Mordecai and Esther: in LXX Esth C:10, at the end of his prayer, Mordecai asks Yahweh not to silence the mouth of those who praise him (μὴ ἀφανίσης στόμα αἰνούντων σοι); at C:20–21, Esther expresses her fear that the gentile enemies of the Jews intend to abolish the ordinance of Yahweh’s mouth (ἐξῆραι ὄρισμὸν στόματός σου), i.e., the Torah, block up the mouth of those who praise him (ἐμφράξαι στόμα αἰνούντων σοι), and open the mouth of the gentiles for the praise of idols (ἀνοῖξαι στόμα ἐθνῶν εἰς ἀρετὰς ματαίων);<sup>53</sup> lastly, at C:24, Esther asks Yahweh to put graceful speech in her mouth (δὸς λόγον εὐρύθμον εἰς τὸ στόμα μου) when she has her audience with the king. Simon, on his part, concludes his prayer by practically making the same request that Mordecai makes at the end of his prayer (C:10): he asks Yahweh to put praises in the mouth of those who are downfallen (3 Macc 2:20: δὸς αἰνέσεις ἐν τῷ στόματι τῶν καταπεπτωκότων), namely, he asks him not to allow to happen what Mordecai and Esther fear in their prayers (C:10: μὴ ἀφανίσης στόμα αἰνούντων σοι; C:20: ἐμφράξαι στόμα αἰνούντων σοι).

Esther’s petitionary phrase at C:24 was likely modelled after that of Judith’s in Jdt 9:13. Prior to her expedition at Holophernes’ camp, Judith asks Yahweh to make her “word and deceit” (δὸς λόγον μου καὶ ἀπάτην)—or “deceitful word,” if we take λόγον καὶ ἀπάτην to be a hendiadys—bring wound and bruise (εἰς τραῦμα καὶ μώλωπα) on those who threaten his covenant, his Temple, and the homes of his people. Both Esther’s and Judith’s pleas are introduced by the phrase δὸς λόγον, “give speech/words,” and in both cases, the success of the endeavours that the two heroines have undertaken depends on the persuasiveness of the speech/words that they will utter before Artaxerxes and Holophernes, respectively.

The phrase δὸς αἰνέσεις ἐν τῷ στόματι in 3 Macc 2:20 seems to have merged the combinations δὸς ... εἰς τὸ στόμα from Esther’s prayer (C:24) and στόμα αἰνούντων (a metonymy for αἶνεσις) from Mordecai’s and Esther’s prayers (C:10; C:20). This phrase has admittedly a psalmic tinge<sup>54</sup> and is preceded by an implicit quotation

<sup>53</sup> Cf. LXX Dan 3:33 (prayer of Azariah): καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. LXX Ps 33:2: διὰ παντὸς ἡ αἶνεσις αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στόματί μου; 50:17: τὸ στόμα μου ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν αἶνεσίν σου; 70:8: πληρωθήτω τὸ στόμα μου αἰνέσεως; 144:21: αἶνεσιν κυρίου λαλήσει τὸ στόμα μου.

of LXX Ps 78:8: ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοὶ σου.<sup>55</sup> However, the fact that it is placed at the very end of Simon's prayer, similarly to the phrase μὴ ἀφανίσῃς στόμα αἰνούντων σοι, which is placed at the very end of Mordecai's prayer, makes the connexion between 3 Macc 2:20 and LXX Esth C:10, C:20, and C:24 likely.

### 4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, my aim was to establish whether an intertextual relationship exists between the prayers of Simon and Eleazar in 3 Maccabees and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Esther. This investigation was prompted by two considerations. Firstly, there are significant differences between the version of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Esther and that in VL Esther. Secondly, there are notable similarities between the prayer of Eleazar and the VL version of the prayer of Esther. To address this issue, I examined five parallels shared between the prayer of Simon and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Addition C (4.2.1; 4.2.2; 4.2.4; 4.2.5; 4.2.7), one parallel shared between the prayer of Eleazar and the prayer of Esther in LXX/AT Addition C (4.2.6), and two parallels shared between the prayer of Simon and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT/VL Addition C (4.2.3; 4.2.8).

Strong evidence supporting an intertextual connexion between the prayers in LXX/AT Addition C and those in 3 Maccabees emerges from the phraseological similarities discussed in 4.2.1. There, I showed that the opening line of Mordecai's prayer is indebted to LXX Deut 9:26 (prayer of Moses), whereas the opening lines of Simon's prayer have combined verbal elements drawn from the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Addition C to Esther and from the prayer of Judith in Judith 9.

Regarding the parallels discussed in 4.2.4 and 4.2.5, I suggested that the prayer of Esther is verbally indebted to sources other than the prayers in 3 Maccabees: for the confession of sin in LXX Esth C:17/AT Esth 4:21, it seems to be indebted to the prayer of Azariah in LXX Daniel 3, while for the reference to the threat against

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<sup>55</sup> See above, n. 41.

the Jerusalem Temple in LXX Esth C:19–21/AT Esth 4:22, it seems to be indebted to the prayer of Judith in Judith 9. This implies that if an intertextual connexion exists between the relevant verses of Esther's and Simon's prayers, as I consider it likely, it is more plausible that the influence flows from the prayer of Esther to the prayer of Simon rather than vice versa. For the parallels discussed in 4.2.7 (the downfall of the Jews giving rise to *Schadenfreude* among the gentiles) and 4.2.8 (a plea to Yahweh to aid those who sing his praise), I also suggested a direction of influence running from the prayers in LXX/AT Esther to the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees.

Between the two prayers in 3 Maccabees, the prayer of Simon exhibits the most commonalities with the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Esther. The prayer of Eleazar shares a single notable verbal similarity with the prayer of Esther in LXX/AT Esther, which involves a reference to the idol-praising gentiles (4.2.6). In this case as well, I consider likely the existence of an intertextual connexion between the two prayers, with the dependence lying on the side of 3 Maccabees.

Certain verbal and thematic elements shared between the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX/AT Esther and the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees also appear in other biblical prayers, particularly in those of Azariah and Judith. However, when considering their cumulative occurrence and the fact that they follow the same sequence in the prayer of Simon and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther (as can be seen in the table in Appendix 4a), it appears likely that the author of 3 Maccabees structured Simon's prayer to a great extent based on the two prayers in LXX/AT Esther. The absence of exact verbal correspondences between these prayers is to be attributed to the tendency of the author of 3 Maccabees to modify his borrowings and adapt them to his own diction and style.

In conclusion, the author of 3 Maccabees seems to have been acquainted with and drawn upon the LXX version of Esther's prayer (which I consider to have been the earliest version of the prayer, probably of Palestinian origin, as a possible allusion to the Maccabean events [LXX Esth C:19–21] indicates, and slightly posterior to the prayers of Azariah and Judith) rather than the GVL version, which I consider to have been chronologically posterior to the LXX version and to 3 Maccabees. With respect to the GVL version, I propose the following scenario (see the table in Appendix 4b).

The redactor of GVVL Esther restructured the LXX version of the prayer of Esther, largely influenced by the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees. For the patriarchal formula in the opening line of the prayer, he took his cue from the mention of two of the three Patriarchs in the opening lines of the prayer of Eleazar. For the list of biblical *exempla* that he introduced in the prayer, he took as his model the similar list that occurs in the prayer of Eleazar. He may in fact have reproduced the original *Beispielreihe*, found in a liturgical composition, which the author of 3 Maccabees customized to suit the needs of his prayer.

To mark the shift from the *exempla* to the rest of Esther's prayer, he used the same transition formula as the author of 3 Maccabees, namely, καὶ νῦν followed by a divine appellation in the vocative and a verb in the imperative. Instead of the imperative ἐπιφάνηθι that follows the transition formula in the prayer of Eleazar, he used the imperative βοήθησον (cf. LXX Esth C:25), which is reflected in the type *subveni* in VL Esth C:25. For the sake of emphasis, he placed the imperative ἐπιφάνηθι at the very end of the prayer of Esther, in the phrase ἐπιφάνηθι, κύριε, γνώσθητι, κύριε (VL Esth C:23: *appare domine cognoscere domine*). LXX Esth C:23 preserves the original reading of this phrase, μνήσθητι, κύριε, γνώσθητι, which harks back to LXX Exod 2:24–25. The redactor of the GVVL version of the prayer of Esther replaced the imperative μνήσθητι with the imperative ἐπιφάνηθι under the influence of the prayer of Eleazar (3 Macc 6:9), as well as of the other three prayers in 3 Maccabees, all of which include a reference to a divine epiphany (3 Macc 2:9; 5:8, 51).

The influence of the prayer of Eleazar can also be seen in GVVL/VL Esth C:30. While LXX Esth C:30/AT Esth 4:29 read ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν πονηρευομένων, “save us from the hand of those who act wickedly,” the VL reads *nos autem libera de manu inimicorum nostrorum*, “but free us from the hand of our enemies.” The participle τῶν πονηρευομένων was turned to ἐχθρῶν, reflected in the type *inimicorum*, under the influence of 3 Macc 6:10: ῥυσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν χειρὸς.<sup>56</sup> It is also likely that the redactor of GVVL Esther added an extra prayer, that of the Jews (H:1–5), under the influence of the two prayers of the Jews in 3

<sup>56</sup> Elsewhere in the Septuagint, the expression ἐκ χειρὸς πονηρευομένων occurs only in Jer 20:13 and the expression ῥύομαι ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν in Judg<sup>a</sup> 8:34, in 2 Esd 8:31, and in Pss 17:1 and 30:16.



Maccabees and the prayer of the Jerusalemites in Judith, which are given in indirect speech.

## Chapter 5.

# Conclusion

The investigation that I conducted in this study aimed to establish the nature of the intertextual relationship between 3 Maccabees and the three versions of Greek Esther that we know of either directly or indirectly: the Septuagint [LXX], the Alpha Text [AT], and the Greek *Vorlage* of the *Vetus Latina* of Esther [GVVL/VL]. More specifically, it sought to assess the existence and direction of dependence between 3 Maccabees and both the canonical and the deuterocanonical parts of the aforementioned Greek versions of Esther by examining the verbal similarities that these texts share. Below, I summarize the findings of this investigation.

3 Maccabees has points of verbal contact with the canonical parts of both GVVL/VL and LXX Esther. In the canonical parts of GVVL/VL Esther, the points of verbal contact that are most suggestive of an intertextual connexion with 3 Maccabees are clustered in two passages, 3:14–4:3 and 4:17, both of which contain pluses vis-à-vis LXX Esther. These passages describe the reaction of Jews and gentiles in Susa after the publication of King Artaxerxes' anti-Jewish decree and the turmoil caused among the Jews in Susa by Mordecai's proclamation of a fast, respectively. In the canonical parts of LXX Esther, the most notable points of verbal contact with 3 Maccabees occur at 2:18, 5:9, 8:17, and 9:19, which contain pluses vis-à-vis GVVL/VL Esther. These verses describe Artaxerxes' nuptial feast (2:18) and the feasts thrown by the Jews after being saved from mass extermination (8:17; 9:19).

In 3 Maccabees, which, I argue, is the receiving text in the posited intertextual relationship with the canonical parts of Greek Esther, the points of verbal contact with GVVL/VL Esther are clustered in two passages, 1:18–27 and 4:1–3. These passages recount the commotion of the Jerusalemites in response to the threat posed against the Temple by King Ptolemy IV Philopator, and the reaction of Jews and gentiles in Egypt at the announcement of the aforementioned king's anti-Jewish

decree, respectively. The most prominent points of verbal contact that 3 Maccabees shares with the canonical parts of LXX Esther are also clustered in two passages, 6:30–6:31 and 7:15–7:20, which recount the feasts that the Egyptian Jews held when they were delivered from mass execution.

In short, to depict two scenes of Jewish communal distress, the author of 3 Maccabees seems to have drawn on two analogous scenes occurring in the canonical parts of GVVl/VL Esther, while to depict two Jewish celebratory feasts, he seems to have drawn on three accounts of feast celebrations given in the canonical parts of LXX Esther.

The dependence of 3 Maccabees on the canonical parts of both GVVl/VL and LXX Esther can be best explained by positing that its author was acquainted with a Greek version of Esther which, in its canonical parts, was close to the LXX but contained a few pluses that were later omitted from the LXX but preserved in the GVVl/VL. Another, less likely possibility is that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with two variant Greek versions of Esther, the GVVl/VL and the LXX, both of which were in circulation at the same time in Egypt.

3 Maccabees has points of verbal contact not only with the canonical parts of the Greek Esther, but also with both LXX and GVVl/VL Additions B and E to Esther.

LXX Esth E:16, where King Artaxerxes acknowledges that the Jews are the children of the most high God who directs the Persian kingdom for him, has close verbal similarities with 3 Macc 3:26 (King Ptolemy IV Philopator's letter condemning the Jews to extermination), 6:28 (Philopator's oral appeal to his *philo*i to liberate the Jews incarcerated in the hippodrome of Alexandria), and 7:2 (*formula valetudinis* in Philopator's letter to his subordinate officials confirming the liberation of the Jews). GVVl/VL Esth E:16 has a plus vis-à-vis LXX/AT Esth E:16, the phrase καθάπερ προαιρούμεθα/*sicut volumus*, which links it to 3 Macc 7:2. It is noteworthy that of the four variant versions of E:16 that we know of (LXX, AT, VL, and P.Oxy. 4443), three have different verbal points of contact with 3 Macc 3:26, 6:28, and 7:2. Since it is unlikely that three different verses of 3 Maccabees drew verbal elements from three different versions of Esther, we have to posit that the original version of E:16 was indebted to the aforementioned verses of 3 Maccabees and that each of the versions derived from it retained one or two of the verbal elements that the original version borrowed from 3 Maccabees. 3 Macc 6:28 and

7:2 derived the verbal elements that they share with LXX and GVVL/VL Esth E:16 from §§ 15 and 45 of the *Letter of Aristeas*, which contain the Greek courtier Aristeas' oral appeal to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus to liberate the enslaved Jews in Egypt, and the good wishes of the Jewish community that the high priest Eleazar sends to King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in his letter to him, respectively. Thus, LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esth E:16 is the outcome of an intricate intertextual relationship that involves mainly epistolary texts dealing with the liberation of enslaved or condemned Jews.

Moreover, both LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esth E:24 and GVVL/VL Esth B:7 have points of verbal contact with 3 Macc 3:27–29. The latter verses, which serve as the conclusion of King Ptolemy IV Philopator's condemnation letter, prescribe severe penalties for the persons and the places that might provide shelter to the condemned Jews. The penalty clause concerning the places (3 Macc 3:29) has close correspondences with a similar penalty clause in King Artaxerxes' second letter in LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esther (E:24), while the penalty clause concerning the persons (3 Macc 3:27–28) exhibits similarities with the penalty section at the end of King Artaxerxes' first letter in GVVL/VL Esther (B:7); the latter section occurs only in GVVL/VL Esther. With regard to the penalty section in LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esth E:24, I argued that the author of Addition E is indebted to 3 Macc 3:29 as well as to 3 Macc 5:43, where Philopator threatens to destroy Judaea and the Jerusalem Temple. With regard to the penalty section in GVVL/VL Esth B:7, I consider it more likely that it is a later addition inspired by 3 Macc 3:27–29 and GVVL/VL Esth E:24 rather than that both GVVL/VL Addition B and GVVL/VL Addition E were originally supplemented with penalty sections, the former of which was for some reason discarded by LXX/AT Addition B.

The most ambiguous and puzzling intertextual relationship between the Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees involves the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in the former book and the prayers of Simon and Eleazar in the latter. The GVVL/VL and the LXX versions of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in Addition C to Esther differ significantly from one another. 3 Maccabees has verbal and conceptual similarities with both the GVVL/VL and the LXX versions. The prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees shares quite a few verbal and conceptual similarities with the LXX version of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther, most of which have no counterparts in the GVVL/VL version of these prayers. These similarities, taken

cumulatively, suggest an intertextual connexion between the prayers that share them. That the dependence in this case is on the side of 3 Maccabees is most evident from the opening lines of the prayer of Simon, which combine verbal elements borrowed from both the prayers of Mordecai and Esther and the prayer of Judith in Judith 9. As for the prayer of Eleazar, it shares three notable parallels with the GVVL/VL version of the prayer of Esther: the *exempla* of Daniel, the Three Youths, and Jonah (GVVL/VL Esth C:16; 3 Macc 6:6–8), the transition formula καὶ νῦν/*et nunc* followed by a divine appellation in the vocative and a verb in the imperative (GVVL/VL Esth C:25; 3 Macc 6:9), and the plea to Yahweh to appear/manifest himself (GVVL/VL Esth C:23; 3 Macc 6:9). These parallels suggest an intertextual connexion between the two prayers. Both the *exempla* and the plea fit better in the prayer of Eleazar and its context than in the GVVL/VL version of the prayer of Esther. This supports the idea of the former prayer's priority over the latter.

The most likely explanation for the suggested intertextual connexion of the prayers of Simon and Eleazar with both the GVVL/VL and the LXX versions of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther is that the author of 3 Maccabees was acquainted with the LXX version of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther and structured the prayer of Simon after them, and that, at a later stage, the redactor of the GVVL/VL Esther restructured and recomposed the LXX version of the prayer of Esther under the influence of the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees.

Lastly, 3 Maccabees has a single point of verbal contact with GVVL/VL Addition D to Esther. GVVL/VL Esth D:8 and 3 Macc 6:22 use quite similar phrasing to describe King Artaxerxes' and King Ptolemy IV's shift from anger to pity as a result of divine intervention. While I consider the intertextual connexion between these verses probable, I am uncertain about the direction of dependence.

Although my investigation concentrated on the points of verbal contact that exist between 3 Maccabees and the LXX and the GVVL/VL versions of Esther, it also identified a few instances of verbal correspondence between 3 Maccabees and AT Esther. These instances involve AT Esth 1:5 and 3 Macc 6:30,<sup>1</sup> AT Esth 4:24 [C:23] and 3 Macc 6:9,<sup>2</sup> AT Esth 7:26 [E:12] and 3 Macc 6:24,<sup>3</sup> and AT Esth 7:27 [E:16] and 3

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<sup>1</sup> See 3.2.1.

<sup>2</sup> See 2.2.6.

<sup>3</sup> See 2.2.8 n. 98.

Macc 6:28.<sup>4</sup> Especially the last two parallels, which occur in neighbouring verses in the second letter of King Artaxerxes in AT Addition E to Esther and in King Ptolemy IV's harangue to his *philoï* in 3 Maccabees, suggest that the composer of the former text had direct knowledge of the latter text, or that the AT version of Addition E derived these verbal elements that originate in 3 Maccabees from the *Urtext* of Addition E, whose existence I previously postulated.

The investigation outlined above also revealed that the intertextual relationship between 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther occasionally involves other biblical/Septuagint or extra-biblical/extra-Septuagint texts as well. Characteristic examples of multiple intertextuality are the following: the parallel between GVVL/VL Esth 4:16–17 and 3 Macc 1:16–27, which also involves LXX Joel 2:15–16 and LXX Jonah 3:7–8, to which the former verses are indebted, and 2 Macc 3:15–22, to which the latter verses are indebted;<sup>5</sup> the aforementioned parallel between LXX/AT/GVVL/VL Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 3:26, 6:28, 7:2, which also involves LXX Hos 1:10 [2:1] and *Let. Aris.* §§ 15 and 45;<sup>6</sup> and the parallels between the prayer of Esther in LXX Esther and the prayers of Simon and Eleazar in 3 Maccabees with the prayer of Azariah in Daniel 3 and the prayer of Judith in Judith 9.<sup>7</sup>

Disentangling the intertextual threads that connect the various texts that I discussed in this study proved to be an especially challenging task. Despite my efforts to apply a set of established criteria that have been used in similar previous studies, I often encountered uncertainty when assessing the existence and/or the direction of an intertextual relationship. Hence, the conclusions in the form of a four-stage scenario that I will present in the following are only tentative.

1. The author of 3 Maccabees seems to have been acquainted with a Greek version of Esther which, in its canonical parts, was close to the LXX but was supplemented with a few pluses, the most notable of which were those preserved in GVVL/VL Esth 3:15 and GVVL/VL Esth 4:17. This version of Esther included the prayers of Mordecai and Esther, as we know

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<sup>4</sup> See 2.2.8.

<sup>5</sup> See 2.2.4.

<sup>6</sup> See 2.2.8.

<sup>7</sup> See 4.2.4; 4.2.5.

them from LXX Addition C, but not yet Additions B and E, that is, the letters of King Artaxerxes.

2. The author of 3 Maccabees composed his narrative by drawing thematic, structural, and verbal elements from the above-mentioned version of Esther. He structured the prayer of Simon following the pattern of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther. For the *Beispielreihen* in his two prayers, he may have drawn on one or more liturgical compositions, from which he selected the biblical *exempla* that best suited the context of his prayers. He also composed the two royal letters of King Ptolemy IV Philopator, drawing upon, among other sources, the *Letter of Aristeas*.
3. The publication of 3 Maccabees had an impact on the version of Esther that had served as its model. This version was soon supplemented with the two letters of King Artaxerxes, which were heavily indebted to the two letters of King Ptolemy IV Philopator and on other parts of 3 Maccabees. From the original version of Additions B and E that was incorporated in the aforementioned version of Esther emerged the versions that we find in the LXX, the AT, and the GVV/VL; although very close to one another, these versions occasionally derive different verbal elements from their *Urtext*, and through it from 3 Maccabees, as can be seen, for instance, from E:16.
4. The GVV/VL emerged as a variant Greek version of Esther, which drew more elements from 3 Maccabees, especially in the prayer of Esther in Addition C. The redactor of the GVV/VL extensively reworked the LXX version of Addition C, including in it, under the influence of 3 Maccabees, a *Beispielreihe* which partially overlaps with that in the prayer of Eleazar, and the plea to Yahweh to appear/manifest himself. The plus in GVV/VL Esth B:7 may also have been added at this stage rather than at stage (3).

STUDY 2: GREEK ESTHER, 3 MACCABEES,  
AND THE *LETTER OF ARISTEAS*





# 1. Introduction

The two Septuagint books that 3 Maccabees is considered to be most akin to are 2 Maccabees and Esther. Outside the Septuagint, 3 Maccabees is often discussed in connexion with another literary product of Alexandrian Judaism, the pseudepigraphical [*Letter of*] *Aristeas to Philocrates* (Ἀριστέας Φιλοκράτει; hereafter *Letter of Aristeas*). The anonymous Jewish author of this work, who adopts the persona of Aristeas, a Greek courtier of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284–246 BCE), relates the circumstances under which the Hebrew Pentateuch was translated into Greek in Alexandria by seventy-two Jerusalemite scholars at the initiative of the aforementioned king. Aristeas purports to be writing during the reign of Ptolemy II, yet the *Letter* is thought most likely to have been written more than a century later, in the second half of the second century BCE.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars who have drawn comparisons between the *Letter of Aristeas* and 3 Maccabees often highlight the thematic similarities that these books have in common (both feature a Ptolemaic monarch as their central character, to whom the Jews are loyal; both exalt the Jewish way of life, the Jerusalem Temple, and the god of the Jews, whose protective action is recognized even by the gentile rulers; both describe royal feasts, embed official documents in their narratives, etc.),<sup>2</sup> but also underline the seemingly contrastive views on the Jewish-gentile relations that the two books offer: the former presents an image of harmonious and

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<sup>1</sup> See Wright, *Letter of Aristeas*, 21–30, esp. 28. More recently, White in White and Keddle, *Jewish Fictional Letters*, 29–30 n. 117, 37–38, has departed from the consensus on the late second-century BCE dating of the book and has instead argued in favour of “a date in the later first century BCE (or perhaps a bit later, down to the time of Philo).” For a comprehensive list of the dates that have been proposed for the composition of the *Letter of Aristeas* (ranging from ca. 200 BCE to ca. 70 CE), see Parente, “Lettera di Aristeas,” 182–85 n. 3; see also White in White and Keddle, *Jewish Fictional Letters*, 36–37.

<sup>2</sup> See Emmet, “Third Book of Maccabees,” 157; Tracy “III Maccabees,” 244; Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, 141–68; Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Terzo libro dei Maccabei,” 592–93; Knöppler, 3. *Makkabäerbuch*, 800–801.

respectful co-existence between Jews and gentiles, whereas the latter brings to the fore the conflicts that pose a threat to such co-existence.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to the thematic commonalities, the two books share undeniable affinities in language and style, which are usually attributed to the common milieu in which these books arose. In his 1913 “Introduction” to his translation of 3 Maccabees, Emmet drew a list of thirty-two noteworthy words, phrases, and formulae which are common to both books; these verbal similarities, he argues, attest to a connexion “of school and thought” rather than of “direct literary indebtedness” between them.<sup>4</sup> Emmet’s assertion was endorsed by subsequent scholars such as Meecham, Tramontano, Tcherikover, Anderson, Wright, Knöppler, and Keddie and Flexsenhar.<sup>5</sup> Other scholars are not altogether dismissive of the possibility that the author of one of the two books was acquainted with the other book. Hadas has detected points of contact between King Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ *prostagma* in *Let. Aris.* §§ 22–25 and King Ptolemy IV Philopator’s circular letters in 3 Macc 3:12–29 and 7:1–9, which “seem closer than could be accounted for by the fact that both books follow correct chancellery usage,”<sup>6</sup> and has argued for the chronological priority of the former over the latter.<sup>7</sup> Earlier, Tramontano had considered the possibility of literary dependence between these documents and had even entertained the idea that they could have come from the same hand.<sup>8</sup> To Emmet’s aforementioned list, Kopidakis has added a few more verbal parallels, which he asserts provide evidence for 3 Maccabees’ dependence on the *Letter of Aristeas*.<sup>9</sup> Johnson asserts that “direct contact” between 3 Maccabees, the *Letter of Aristeas*, 2 Maccabees, Esther, and Daniel “is

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<sup>3</sup> See Tracy “III Maccabees,” 244–46; Hadas, *Aristeas*, 32–38; Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Terzo libro dei Maccabei,” 592. For a different perspective, see Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, 167–68.

<sup>4</sup> See Emmet, “Third Book of Maccabees,” 157–58; Emmet’s list is reproduced in Meecham, *Letter of Aristeas*, 323–24.

<sup>5</sup> See Meecham, *Letter of Aristeas*, 324; Tramontano, *Lettera di Aristeas*, 100\*–101\*; Tcherikover, “Third Book of Maccabees,” 17–18; Anderson, “3 Maccabees,” 515–16; Wright, *Letter of Aristeas*, 60–62; Knöppler, *3. Makkabäerbuch*, 801 with n. 75; Keddie and Flexsenhar in Keddie and White, *Jewish Fictional Letters*, 344–45.

<sup>6</sup> Hadas, *Aristeas*, 105; *Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Hadas, *Aristeas*, 32–38, 105; *Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees*, 8–10.

<sup>8</sup> Tramontano, *Lettera di Aristeas*, 47–48.

<sup>9</sup> Kopidakis, *Γ' Μακκαβαίων*, 17, 19, 27–29.

certain”; what cannot be ascertained due to insufficient evidence is the direction in which the dependence runs.<sup>10</sup>

A much less touched upon issue is the relationship between the *Letter of Aristeas* and the Greek Esther. To my knowledge, only Kottsieper has drawn attention to some close parallels between Additions B and E to Esther and the *Letter of Aristeas* and dated these texts to the same period, namely, the last decade of the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (126–116 BCE).<sup>11</sup>

The present study seeks to reexamine the question of the relationship between 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas*, while also including the Greek Esther in the discussion. As its starting point, it takes the verbal parallel between *Let. Aris.* § 15, 3 Macc 7:2, and LXX/AT/VL Esth E:16 that I examined in the preceding study within this book (hereafter Study 1) and for which I suggested a dependence running from the *Letter of Aristeas* to 3 Maccabees and, from there, to Addition E to Esther.<sup>12</sup> The questions that I aim to address in this study are the following: are there additional verbal parallels that bolster the hypothesis of a sequential intertextual relationship among the three aforementioned books? If so, what is the direction of dependence that these parallels indicate? Which version of the Greek Esther (LXX, AT, GVV) and which specific portions of it (canonical parts, Additions) are engaged in the suggested intertextual relationship? Is there an intertextual connexion between the Greek Esther and the *Letter of Aristeas* unmediated by 3 Maccabees?

In what follows, I will examine seven verbal parallels which are shared between the Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas* (2.1–2.3; 2.5–2.8), and one parallel which is shared only between the Greek Esther and the *Letter of Aristeas* (2.4). Four of the parallels which are shared between the three books (2.1; 2.3; 2.5; 2.8) also involve a fourth intertext, namely, the Second Book of Maccabees (hereafter 2 Maccabees), the relationship of which to the other books will also be investigated in this study.

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<sup>10</sup> Johnson, *Historical Fictions*, 136, 141. In a subsequent publication (“3 Maccabees,” 294), Johnson, echoing Emmet, adopts a more cautious stance, asserting that, despite 3 Maccabees’ thematic and linguistic similarities with the *Letter of Aristeas*, “direct influence in either direction cannot be proven. 3 Maccabees may most profitably be read as a product of the same late Hellenistic thought-world that yielded 2 Maccabees, the Greek translations of Daniel and Esther, and (outside the Septuagint) the *Letter of Aristeas*.”

<sup>11</sup> Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 124, 153–55, 194.

<sup>12</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.8.

To identify the verbal parallels that I will be examining, I had recourse to concordances generated by the Accordance Bible software (LXX Göttingen with Apparatus–Esther module for the LXX and the AT Esther, and Greek OT Pseudepigrapha module for 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas*). The comparison of the concordances yielded four lists of non-trivial verbal parallels: those shared between the Greek Esther and 3 Maccabees, those shared between 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas*, those shared between the Greek Esther and the *Letter of Aristeas* and, lastly, those shared between all the aforementioned texts. The first of these lists was discussed in Study 1; the second list overlaps to a large extent with the one drawn by Emmet and supplemented by Kopidakis;<sup>13</sup> as regards the third list, I have found very few noteworthy verbal parallels shared between the Greek Esther and the *Letter of Aristeas*, apart from those that these texts share with 3 Maccabees;<sup>14</sup> the fourth list is the one that I will deal with in this study. In the following discussion, I have adhered to the same methodological principles that I adopted in Study 1.<sup>15</sup> To better follow the discussion, I encourage the reader to consult the table in Appendix 5.

## 2. Examination of the verbal parallels shared between the Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas*

### 2.1

- LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 [B:2]: ἐβουλήθην — μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαιρόμενος, ἐπεικέστερον δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος αἰεὶ διεξάγων — τοὺς

<sup>13</sup> I add here a few more verbal similarities shared between 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas*, which have not been cited by Emmet and Kopidakis: ὁ βασιλεὺς ... χαρᾷ πεπληρωμένος (3 Macc 4:16; *Lett. Aris.* §§ 178, 261); θεῖον πρόσταγμα (3 Macc 7:11; *Lett. Aris.* § 279); ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως πρόθεσις (3 Macc 2:26; 5:29; *Lett. Aris.* § 9; elsewhere in the LXX only in 2 Macc 3:8); καθὼς προειρήκαμεν (3 Macc 6:35; *Lett. Aris.* § 307); προσαγγέλλειν τῷ βασιλεῖ (3 Macc 5:10; *Lett. Aris.* § 173); ὁ χαριζόμενος (used of Yahweh: 3 Macc 5:11; *Lett. Aris.* § 196).

<sup>14</sup> Aside from the parallel that I discuss in 2.4, cf. the following: ταπεινός + ὑψώω (LXX Esth A:10; *Lett. Aris.* § 263); ἰλαρός + πρόσωπον (LXX Esth D:5; *Lett. Aris.* § 19); ἐκτίθημι + πρόσταγμα (LXX Esth 8:14, 17; *Lett. Aris.* § 20).

<sup>15</sup> See Study 1, 1.5.

τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀκυμάτων [AT: ἀταράχους] διὰ παντὸς καταστῆσαι βίους ... ἀνανεώσασθαι τε τὴν ... εἰρήνην

- VL Esth B:2: *scribo igitur non audacia potestatis utens sed clementius et domesticè agens qui subiecti sunt execrabilis per omne stratum vitae*
- 3 Macc 3:15: ἡγησάμεθα μὴ βία δόρατος, ἐπιεικείᾳ δὲ καὶ πολλῇ φιλάνθρωπίᾳ τιθηνήσασθαι τὰ κατοικοῦντα Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἔθνη
- 3 Macc 3:21: ἐβουλήθημεν καὶ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέων καταξιώσαι καὶ μετόχους τῶν αἰεὶ ἱερέων καταστῆσαι
- 2 Macc 11:23: βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀταράχους ὄντας
- *Let. Aris.* § 290: καθὼς σὺ βασιλεὺς μέγας ὑπάρχεις, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πλούτῳ προσχών, ὅσον ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ φιλάνθρωπίᾳ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερῆρκας
- *Let. Aris.* § 291: τί μέγιστόν ἐστι βασιλείας; ... τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεστάναι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους<sup>16</sup>

In LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15, King Artaxerxes puts forth the principles that govern his politics. He contends that he is not elated (ἐπαιρόμενος) by the insolence of power (τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας) but always acts (ἀεὶ διεξάγων) with great moderation (ἐπιεικέστερον) and with mildness (καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος), motivated by the desire (ἐβουλήθη) to make the lives of his subjects (τοὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ... βίους) forever waveless/untroubled (ἀκυμάτων [AT: ἀταράχους] διὰ παντός).

In 3 Macc 3:15, King Ptolemy IV Philopator puts forward his policy towards the nations inhabiting Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. He claims that he is trying to “foster” them (τιθηνήσασθαι) not by the force of the spear (μὴ βία δόρατος) but with moderation (ἐπιεικείᾳ) and much benevolence (καὶ πολλῇ φιλάνθρωπίᾳ).

In *Let. Aris.* § 290, one of the Jewish translators of the Torah tells King Ptolemy II Philadelphus that he is a great king, not so much because he excels (προσχών)

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<sup>16</sup> For the Greek text of the *Letter of Aristeas*, I use the edition of Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*.

in the glory of his sovereignty and wealth (τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ πλούτῳ), but rather because he has surpassed all men (πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερῆρκας) in moderation (ἐπιεικεῖα) and benevolence (φιλανθρωπία).

There is a similarity between the construction featured in LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 and that in 3 Macc 3:15: aside from the obvious correspondence between the phrases μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας and μὴ βία δόρατος, both of which follow aorist verbs, ἐβουλήθην and ἡγησάμεθα, respectively, and between ἐπιεικέστερον δέ and ἐπιεικεῖα δέ, there is a subtle chiasmic analogy between ἐπιεικέστερον and πολλῇ φιλανθρωπία, as the comparative adverb in LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 has an elative sense (“with great moderation,” μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιεικειάς/πολλῇ ἐπιεικεῖα). Furthermore, 3 Macc 3:15 shares a verbal parallel with *Let. Aris.* § 290, the combination ἐπιεικεῖα καὶ φιλανθρωπία.<sup>17</sup> There is thus a connexion between LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15, 3 Macc 3:15, and *Let. Aris.* § 290, as in all three passages the policy of a king—Artaxerxes, Ptolemy IV Philopator, and Ptolemy II Philadelphus, respectively—is defined first by a quality that the king does not endorse (μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας/μὴ βία δόρατος/οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς) and then by a pair of qualities that the king does endorse and embody, one of which in all three texts is ἐπιείκεια (ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος/ἐπιεικεῖα δὲ καὶ πολλῇ φιλανθρωπία/ἐπιεικεῖα καὶ φιλανθρωπία). In LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15, the adverb ἐπιεικέστερον is conjoined with a prepositional phrase that contains the noun ἡπιότης instead of the noun φιλανθρωπία that we find in 3 Macc 3:15 and in *Let. Aris.* § 290; however, φιλανθρωπία is a quality that King Artaxerxes claims to possess, too, as we will see further below, in the discussion of LXX Esth E:11/AT Esth 7:25.<sup>18</sup>

For the participial phrase μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαίρόμενος, LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 may be indebted to 3 Maccabees, as elsewhere in the Septuagint

<sup>17</sup> The combination ἐπιείκεια + φιλανθρωπία is not attested in any authentic Hellenistic royal document. However, it occurs in a few literary texts, where reference is made to the qualities of a king: Polybius, *Hist.* 5.10.1: Φίλιππος ... οὐ τοσοῦτον ἤνυσεν διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ὅσον διὰ τῆς ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας τῶν τρόπων; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. hist.* 33.17.3: ὁ Ἀρσάκης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιείκειαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ζηλώσας. The combinations ἐπιεικῆς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος and ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως occur in a few Hellenistic and Roman honorary decrees: SEG 26-1817 [Cyrenaica; end of second/first half of first century BCE], ll. 11-14: ἐπιεικῇ μὲν | [καὶ] φιλάνθρωπον τὰν ποτὶ τὸς ὄχλους | [καὶ] πόλιας ποιούμενος συναναστροφὴν; *Herakleia Salbake* 22 [Imperial], l. 8: ζῶντα καλῶς καὶ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπ[ω].

<sup>18</sup> See 2.5.

the combination ἐπαίρομαι + θράσος occurs only in this book, at 2:21 (τὸν ὕβρει καὶ θράσει μεγάλως ἐπηρμένον) and 6:4 (ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει), where it is also used of a king, Ptolemy IV Philopator and the Pharaoh of the Exodus, respectively. Outside the Septuagint, it occurs in Thucydides (*Hist.* 1.120.5: θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος), in Diodorus Siculus (*Bibl. hist.* 2.34.4: τοὺς ἐπηρμένους τῷ θράσει), in Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. rom.* 8.91.1: θράσει ἐπαρθέντες), in Philo (*Virt.* 1.2: θράσει μὲν γὰρ ἐπαιρόμενοί τινες), and in Josephus (*A.J.* 18.12: οἱ θράσει ἐπαιρόμενοι). Out of the fourteen instances of the noun θράσος in the Septuagint, seven are found in 3 Maccabees, which often uses it in the dative in conjunction with another noun (2:2: θράσει καὶ σθένει πεφρυαγμένον; 2:4: ρώμῃ καὶ θράσει πεποιθότες; 6:4: ἀνόμῳ θράσει καὶ γλώσση μεγαλορρήμονι; 6:5: κόμπῳ καὶ θράσει). The noun with which it is paired at 6:5, κόμπος, “boast,” appears only once more in the Septuagint, in Addition E to Esther, where it is paired with the same verb (ἐπαίρομαι) as θράσος in Addition B (E:4: κόμπους ἐπαρθέντες); this combination, distinctly poetic, is elsewhere unattested.

The main verb of LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15, βούλομαι in the first person singular of the aorist passive,<sup>19</sup> used to express the royal will, also occurs in a few other royal documents to be found in the Septuagint and in the *Letter of Aristeas*. It occurs in the first of the two letters of King Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Maccabees (3:21: ἐβουλήθημεν καὶ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέων καταξιῶσαι καὶ μετόχους τῶν αἰὲ ἱερέων καταστήσαι), in the *formula valetudinis* of King Antiochus IV’s letter to the Judeans and in his son’s, Antiochus V’s, letter to Lysias in 2 Maccabees (11:28: εἰ ἔρρωσθε, εἴη ἅν, ὡς βουλόμεθα; 11:23: βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀταράχους ὄντας), in King Antiochus VII Sidetes’ letter to the high priest Simon Maccabeus in 1 Maccabees (15:3: βούλομαι δὲ ἀντιποιήσασθαι τῆς βασιλείας; 15:4: βούλομαι δὲ ἐκβῆναι κατὰ τὴν χώραν), and in King Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ letter to the high priest Eleazar in the *Letter of Aristeas* (§ 38: βουλομένων δ’ ἡμῶν καὶ τούτοις χαρίζεσθαι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις). In the letters of Artaxerxes and Antiochus VII, the verb is in the singular, whereas in the other letters, it is in the plural of majesty. Out of the aforementioned letters, the ones in

<sup>19</sup> GVV L Esth B:2 seems to have read γράφω (*scribo*) in lieu of ἐβουλήθην.



Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas* are fictitious, whereas the rest are considered to be authentic.<sup>20</sup>

βούλομαι, expressing the will of a royal person, has also instances in authentic Hellenistic royal documents preserved on papyrus and on stone. In the *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées*, it occurs in only two documents, a fragmentary *prostagma* attributed to King Ptolemy IV Philopator<sup>21</sup> and a letter of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II.<sup>22</sup> In Welles' *Royal Correspondence*, it occurs in fourteen letters, nine of which were issued by Seleucid kings, two by Attalid kings, two by rulers of minor kingdoms of Asia Minor, and one by an unknown Hellenistic king.<sup>23</sup>

In its instances in the above-cited royal documents, βούλομαι occurs in the present tense except for four instances in authentic documents, in which it appears in the imperfect (ἡβουλόμεθα),<sup>24</sup> and two instances in fictitious letters (LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 and 3 Macc 3:21), in which it appears in the aorist passive (ἐβουλήθην/ἐβουλήθημεν). In both LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 and 3 Macc 3:21, it is not only used in a marked tense, namely, the aorist passive, but it also governs two infinitives, one of which is the same (καταστῆσαι).

Notable is also the use of βούλομαι in 2 Macc 11:23, where King Antiochus V expresses, in non-identical but closely similar terms (ἐβουλήθην/βουλόμενοι, τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων/τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας, ἀκυμάτους [AT ἀταράχους]/ἀταράχους), the same desire as King Artaxerxes in LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15, namely, that the subjects of his kingdom be undisturbed. Additional evidence for the acquaintance of the author of Additions B and E with the royal letters embedded in 2 Maccabees comes from the similarity between the formula ἔαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νομίμοις ('to allow the Jews to live

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<sup>20</sup> See Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 141 and 146.

<sup>21</sup> *C. Ord. Ptol.* 82 [216 BCE], l. 12: [Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα Ἀρσινόη] θεοὶ Φιλοπάτορες βουλόμενοι τηρεῖσθαι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ...].

<sup>22</sup> *C. Ord. Ptol.* 60 [115 BCE], l. 13: ἐρρώμεθα, [εἰ δ' ἔρρωσαι καὶ τὰλλα κατὰ λόγον ἐστίν, εἴη ἂν ὡς βουλόμεθα]. See also *SEG* 36-756 [letter of King Ptolemy II; 256 BCE], l. 21: βουλόμενοι.

<sup>23</sup> *RC* 5, l. 12; 12, l. 12; 15, l. 25; 25, l. 49; 31, l. 20; 36, l. 2; 44, l. 9; 45, l. 10; 52, l. 27; 61, l. 2; 63, l. 3; 64, l. 8; 71, l. 2; 72, l. 3. I only cite the instances in which βούλομαι is used to express the will of the royal person who writes the letter. The verb also occurs in Hellenistic royal letters not included in Welles' corpus: *SEG* 54-1353 [letter of King Antiochus III; 209 BCE], l. 29; *IK Estremo oriente* 278 [letter of King Antiochus III; 193 BCE], l. 2; *IG IX,1* 78 [letter of King Philip V; 208 BCE], ll. 12-13; *IG XII,3* 91 [letter of King Philip V; ca. 200 BCE], l. 8; *SEG* 47-1745 [letter of King Eumenes II; 187-159 BCE], l. 41.

<sup>24</sup> *RC* 25, l. 49; 44, l. 9; *SEG* 54-1353; *IG XII,3* 91 (see preceding note).

according to their own customs”) in LXX Esth E:19 and the formula χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δαπανήμασι καὶ νόμοις (“that the Jews use their own foods and laws”) in 2 Macc 11:31, in King Antiochus IV’s amnesty decree, which the author of 2 Maccabees quotes right after the aforementioned letter of Antiochus V. De Troyer maintains that “LXX Esther clearly makes use” of the letters of Antiochus IV and Antiochus V in 2 Maccabees and that these letters “constitute a primary source of inspiration for the LXX translator of Esther”, who, according to this scholar, is the same as the author of Addition E.<sup>25</sup>

Another possible intertext of LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 is *Let. Aris.* § 291, where one of the Jewish translators tells Ptolemy II that a king’s major concern should be that his subjects enjoy continual peace (τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεστάναι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους): the phrase διὰ παντὸς καταστήσαι in LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 corresponds to διὰ παντὸς ... καθεστάναι in *Let. Aris.* § 291, τοὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ... βίους corresponds to τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους, and the poetic adjective ἀκυμάτους corresponds to the prepositional phrase ἐν εἰρήνῃ. If an intertextual connexion between LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 and *Let. Aris.* § 291 exists, it could serve as evidence of direct contact between the *Letter of Aristeas* and Addition B to Esther, unmediated by 3 Maccabees. Given the close proximity of *Let. Aris.* § 291 to *Let. Aris.* § 290, which, as we saw, has points of verbal contact with 3 Macc 3:15, it could alternatively suggest that Addition B was written by the author of 3 Maccabees, who was acquainted with *Let. Aris.* §§ 290–291.

To sum up: LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 is likely indebted to 3 Macc 2:21 and/or 6:4 for the combination ἐπαίρομαι + θράσος, and to 3:21 for the passive aorist ἐβουλήθη.

LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 is likely indebted to 3 Macc 3:15 for the construction μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας ... ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος. The combination ἐπιεικέστερον καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος seems to be an adaptation of the combination ἐπιεικεῖα καὶ φιλανθρωπία, which occurs in both 3 Macc 3:15 and *Let. Aris.* § 290. 3 Macc 3:15 is likely indebted to *Let. Aris.* § 290 for the latter combination.

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<sup>25</sup> De Troyer, *End of the Alpha Text*, 237–38, 276, 392, 398.

For the phrase τοὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀκυμάτους [AT: ἀταράχους] διὰ παντὸς καταστῆσαι βίου, LXX Esth B:2/AT Esth 3:15 may be indebted either to 2 Macc 11:23 or to *Let. Aris.* § 291.

It appears, then, that King Artaxerxes’ “enlightened” political credo in Addition B to Esther, which is so at odds with his political praxis, is but a replica of that of King Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Maccabees, which, in turn, was modelled after that of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the *Letter of Aristeas*.<sup>26</sup>

## 2.2

- LXX Esth B:6: προστετάχαμεν οὖν τοὺς σημαινομένους ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὑπὸ Αμαν ... πάντας σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι ὁλορίζει ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μαχαίραις ἄνευ παντὸς οἴκτου καὶ φειδοῦς
- AT Esth 3:18 [B:6]: προστετάχαμεν οὖν ὑμῖν τοὺς σημαινομένους ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ὑπὸ Αμαν ... ὁλορίζους ἀπολέσαι σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μαχαίραις ἄνευ παντὸς οἴκτου καὶ φειδοῦς
- VL Esth B:6: *addimus*<sup>27</sup> *eos qui significati sunt nobis ab Aman ... omnes cum mulieribus et filiis perire a radice inimicorum gladiis qui legibus non parent non miserentes neque parcentes*
- 3 Macc 3:25: προστετάχαμεν ἅμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τήνδε αὐθωρὶ τοὺς ἐννεμομένους σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ... ἀποστεῖλαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ... εἰς ἀνήκεστον καὶ δυσκλεῆ πρέποντα δυσμενέσι φόνον
- 3 Macc 7:7: δικαίως ἀπολελύκαμεν [τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουδαίους] πάσης καθ’ ὄντινοῦν αἰτίας τρόπον [7:8] καὶ προστετάχαμεν ἐκάστῳ πάντας εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιστρέφειν ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See also 2.5.

<sup>27</sup> *addi<di>mus*, “we have added,” reflects a reading προστεθηκαμεν, which may have been a corruption of προστετάχαμεν. See Hanhart, *Esther*, 22.

<sup>28</sup> Instead of τρόπῳ, Codex Vaticanus reads here τόπῳ, which is a much preferable reading, considering that the noun τρόπος occurs earlier in the same verse (καθ’ ὄντινοῦν τρόπον) and that the prepositional phrase ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ (“in every place”) corresponds to πανταχῇ (“everywhere”) in *Let. Aris.* § 24.

- *Let. Aris.* § 24: πᾶσιν οὖν ἀνθρώποις τὸ δίκαιον ἀπονέμειν ὁμολογούμενοι ... καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἐκζητοῦντες τὸ καλῶς ἔχον πρὸς τε τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὴν κατὰ πάντων εὐσέβειαν, προστετάχαμεν ὅσα τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐστι σωματῶν ἐν οἰκεταῖς πανταχῇ καθ’ ὄντινον τρόπον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ... ἀπολύειν

LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 has a counterpart in 3 Macc 3:25. In both verses, a gentile king, Artaxerxes in the former and Ptolemy IV Philopator in the latter, orders (προστετάχαμεν) that the people designated in the letters (ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις/τὴν ἐπιστολήν) sent throughout his kingdom, namely, the Jews, should be put to death together with their wives and children (σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι/σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ... ἀποστεῖλαι ... εἰς ... φόνον).

In both LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 and 3 Macc 3:25 occurs the *pluralis maiestatis* προστετάχαμεν, “we have ordered,” which has one more instance in the Septuagint, in 3 Macc 7:8, in the second letter of Philopator. Elsewhere in Jewish-Greek literature, we find it only in *Let. Aris.* § 24, in the *prostagma* by which King Ptolemy II Philadelphus liberated the Jews who had been taken as captives in Egypt by his father, King Ptolemy I.

προστάσσω, verb of “supreme authority,”<sup>29</sup> is typical of the Ptolemaic *prostagmata*, either it occurs in the stereotypic genitive absolute formula βασιλέως προστάξαντος/βασιλέως καὶ βασιλίσσης or βασιλέων προσταζάντων in the prescript of a non-epistolary *prostagma*,<sup>30</sup> or in the third person singular perfect, or the first or third person plural perfect, in the main body of an epistolary *prostagma*—the perfect tense emphasizing, as Pelletier notes, the irrevocability of the royal order.<sup>31</sup> The first person plural perfect προστετάχαμεν, used by a single royal person employing the plural of majesty, is quite rare, as it occurs in only a couple of authentic Ptolemaic documents.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 61, 280.

<sup>30</sup> See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 41–42, 280.

<sup>31</sup> See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 61, 281; Schmidt, *Untersuchungen*, 61–62.

<sup>32</sup> See *C. Ord. Ptol.* 33, l. 7 [letter of Ptolemy VI Philometor to Apollonius; 163 BCE] and 64, l. 7 [*prostagma* of Ptolemy Alexander I; 96 BCE]. The first person plural perfect of *προστάσσω* also occurs in *C. Ord. Ptol.* 47, l. 30; 50, ll. [16], [20]; 57, l. 3; 59, l. 6; 76, l. 24, and 82, l. [15]; however, these letters and *prostagmata* are issued by a king and one or two queens who have joint kingship. The first person singular of the perfect and the pluperfect of the same verb have been restored by

The use of this verb in the *prostagma* of King Ptolemy II in the *Letter of Aristeas* and in the circular letters of King Ptolemy IV in 3 Maccabees is unremarkable, as all three documents are purported to have emanated from the Ptolemaic chancery. Conversely, the use of the same verb in one of the two letters of King Artaxerxes in Addition B to Esther is remarkable, as the Persian king appears to be employing a typically Ptolemaic formula.<sup>33</sup> This indicates either that the author of Addition B was of Egyptian origin and acquainted with the Ptolemaic chancery language or that he deliberately modelled his text after an authentic or fictitious Ptolemaic document. Moreover, it suggests that Addition B was written before the end of the Ptolemaic period. In his paraphrase of Artaxerxes' first letter, Josephus replaces the term προστετάχαμεν occurring in his source text with κελεύω, followed by βούλομαι, verbs typical of the Roman edicts of his time.<sup>34</sup>

Noteworthy in LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 is the prepositional construction ἄνευ + πᾶς + two genitive nouns, which is featured in the phrase ἀπολέσαι ... ἄνευ παντὸς οἴκου καὶ φειδοῦς, “to destroy ... without any pity or sparing.” Elsewhere in the Septuagint, this construction occurs only in 3 Maccabees (7:5: ἄνευ πάσης ἀνακρίσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνελεῖν; 7:12: ἄνευ πάσης βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπισκέψεως;<sup>35</sup> cf. 4:5: ἀπάσης αἰδοῦς ἄνευ). Outside the Septuagint, this construction is extremely rare.<sup>36</sup> Noteworthy in LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 is also the combination οἶκτος + φειδώ. Outside of Addition B to Esther, 3 Maccabees is the only Septuagint text in which occur a number of word pairs that couple οἶκτος with another noun.<sup>37</sup> As for the phrase ἄνευ οἴκου, “without pity,” it is not found

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Welles in two Attalid royal letters, RC 51 [letter of an Attalid king; second century BCE], ll. 21–22: [προσ]ετᾶχειν, and RC 54 [letter of Attalus, brother of Eumenes II, to Amlada; ca. 160 BCE], ll. 12–13: [προσ]τᾶχα, respectively. The Seleucid royal letters employ the *pluralis maiestatis* συντετάχαμεν instead. See RC 5, l. 15 [letter of Seleucus I; 288/7 BCE]; 11, l. 24 [letter of Antiochus I; ca. 275 BCE]; 18, l. 19 [letter of Antiochus II; 254/3 BCE]; SEG 39-1283, l. 7 [letter of Antiochus III; 213 BCE]; see also Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 281–82.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. another Ptolemaic formula that Artaxerxes uses in AT Esth 7:19: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Γινέσθω. See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 285.

<sup>34</sup> Josephus, *AJ*. 11.218–219. See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 61–62, 279–88.

<sup>35</sup> Codex Alexandrinus and L<sup>1</sup>-311 read καὶ ἐπισκέψεως.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Plb. 4.38.9: ἄνευ πάσης κακοπαθείας καὶ κινδύνου; *P.Polit.Iud.* 9 [Herakleopolis; 132 BCE], ll. 17–18: ἄνευ πάσης κ[ρ]ίσεως καὶ καταστάσεως; *P.Tebt.* 2.386 [12 BCE], ll. 22–23: ἄνευ πάσης[ς] ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησολογίας<ς>.

<sup>37</sup> 3 Macc 1:4: μετὰ οἴκου καὶ δακρύων; 5:49: εἰς οἶκτον καὶ γόους; 6:22: εἰς οἶκτον καὶ δάκρυα.

anywhere else in ancient Greek literature. However, 3 Macc 4:4 uses the very rare poetic adjective ἄνοικτος, “pitiless,” which expresses the same meaning.<sup>38</sup>

Aside from the connexion between 3 Macc 3:25 and LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18, there is a strong connexion between 3 Macc 7:7–8 and *Let. Aris.* § 24: in both passages co-occur the first person plural perfect of the verb of command προστάσσω (προσπετάχαμεν), the verb ἀπολύω, “to release” (ἀπολελύκαμεν/ἀπολύειν), the prepositional phrase καθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον, “in whatsoever manner,” terms denoting “justice” (δικαίως/τὸ δίκαιον), and, if we adopt the reading τόπῳ of Codex Vaticanus in 3 Macc 7:8, adverbials denoting “in every place,” “everywhere” (ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ/πανταχῇ).

The prepositional phrase καθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον is worth special notice, as it is attested only once in Classical Greek literature<sup>39</sup> and is extremely rare in the extant literature of the Hellenistic period. Outside of the two aforementioned texts, it occurs only in 2 Macc 14:3 (καθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ σωτηρία) and in the fourth book of Philodemus’ *On Music* (fr. 13.7 [ed. Delattre]: καθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρό[πον]). It is, however, attested in half a dozen Ptolemaic royal *prostagma* and letters,<sup>40</sup> including one issued by King Ptolemy II Philadelphus,<sup>41</sup> which suggests that Ptolemy II’s *prostagma* in the *Letter of Aristeas* draws on authentic documents. However, in the second of the two *prostagma* of Philadelphus preserved in the Papyrus Rainer (PER 24.552=C. Ord. Ptol. 21 and 22), which has been proposed as a possible source of the fictitious *prostagma* of Philadelphus in *Let. Aris.* §§ 22–25 due

<sup>38</sup> The syntagm ἀπολέσαι ὀλορίζεῖ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν μαχαίραις ἄνευ παντὸς οἴκτου καὶ φειδοῦς seems to contain an allusion to LXX Job 4:7 (ὀλόρριζοι ἀπώλοντο; cf. LXX Prov 15:6: ὀλόρριζοι ἐκ γῆς ὀλοῦνται) and possibly a reminiscence of LXX Jer 21:7 (δῶσω τὸν Σεδεκίαν βασιλέα Ιουδα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν λαὸν ... εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν αὐτῶν ... καὶ κατακόψουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν στόματι μαχαίρας· οὐ φείσομαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐ μὴ οἰκτιρήσω αὐτούς; cf. ib. 13:14: καὶ οὐ φείσομαι καὶ οὐκ οἰκτιρήσω ἀπὸ διαφθορᾶς αὐτῶν).

<sup>39</sup> In Demosthenes, 2 *Onet.* 8: κατ’ οὐδ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον.

<sup>40</sup> See C. Ord. Ptol. 17, l. 16; 47, ll. 32–33; 53, ll. 31, 100, 143, 161; 54, l. 4; 76, ll. 33–34; 83, l. 27. As Schmidt, *Untersuchungen*, 63, remarks, καθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον is “eine stereotype Wendung der Prostagmata” attested from the third to the late first centuries BCE. Outside of Egypt, the phrase is attested in only a small number of inscriptions. Cf. Darmezine, *Affranchissements* 27, 10 [Boiotia; late third century BCE], ll. 4–5: εἴ ἄλλο τι ἀδικ[εῖ] | [κ]αθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον; SEG 44-1151 [Arykanda; Hellenistic], ll. 5–6: καθ’ ὅντιν οὖν τρόπον; SEG 53-659 [Maroneia; 41/42 or 46 CE], frg. A, ll. 33–34: κα[θ’ ὅν]τιν οὖν τρόπον.

<sup>41</sup> See C. Ord. Ptol. 17, l. 16; cf. C. Ord. Ptol. 5, l. 9; 8, l. 5; 18, l. 9, also from the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, where τρόπῳ ὥντιν οὖν is used instead. See Schmidt, *Untersuchungen*, 63.

to its many similarities with it,<sup>42</sup> we do not encounter the phrase καθ' ὄντινόν τῶν but instead the phrase κατ' ἄλλον τῶν.<sup>43</sup>

The above observations lead to the following conclusions:

The “liberation letter” of King Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Maccabees is modelled after the “liberation *prostagma*” of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the *Letter of Aristeas*.

3 Macc 7:7–8 is indebted to *Let. Aris.* § 24 for the *pluralis maiestatis* προστετάχαμεν as well as for other words and expressions. If Philopator's second letter in 3 Maccabees is indebted to *Let. Aris.* § 24 for the type προστετάχαμεν, then his first letter, in which the same type occurs at 3:25, is likewise indebted to *Let. Aris.* § 24.

The intertextual connexion between 3 Macc 3:25 and LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 suggests that the latter verse is indebted to the former for the type προστετάχαμεν, since LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 has no intertextual links with *Let. Aris.* § 24.

The fact that LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18 displays a construction such as ἄνευ + πᾶς + two genitive nouns, which is characteristic of 3 Maccabees but does not occur in 3 Macc 3:25, suggests that the author of Addition B to Esther was well acquainted with the style of 3 Maccabees and did not just borrow individual lexical items from this book but also some of the constructions and the stylistic features that its author had a liking for.<sup>44</sup> Another possible explanation for this “osmosis”

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<sup>42</sup> See Westermann, “Enslaved Persons,” 19–23, and Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 42–49; see also Study 1, 2.2.9a.

<sup>43</sup> See Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 43, 46.

<sup>44</sup> E.g., πρὸς τό + infinitive (LXX Esth B:4; B:5; 3 Macc 4:11), διὰ τό + infinitive (LXX Esth E:18; 3 Macc 1:11; 5:30), ἐπὶ τοσούτων ... ὥστε (LXX Esth E:11; 3 Macc 2:26; 3:1), οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καὶ (LXX Esth E:4; E:24; 3 Macc 1:29; 2:26; 3:1; 3:23), constructions with ἥ (LXX Esth E:24; 3 Macc 4:3) and with μή + dative + genitive (LXX Esth B:2; 3 Macc 3:15), antithetical constructions introduced by ἀντί + genitive (LXX Esth E:21; 3 Macc 4:6; 4:8; 6:31). Be it noted that most of these constructions are not infrequent in the Septuagint and the extra-Septuagint literature. Cf. also the adverb πυκνότερον used with an elative sense (LXX Esth E:2; 3 Macc 4:12; 7:3), the adverbials μετέπειτα (LXX Esth B:7; 3 Macc 3:24) and τὸ σύνολον (LXX Esth E:24; 3 Macc 3:29; 4:3; 4:11; 7:8; 7:9; 7:21), the use of synonymous expressions (LXX Esth B:3: ἄγω ἐπὶ πέρας; 3 Macc 3:14; 5:19: ἄγω ἐπὶ τέλος; LXX Esth B:5: ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ ... κείμενον; 3 Macc 7:9: ἀντικείμενον; LXX Esth B:6: ἄνευ οἴκτου; 3 Macc 4:4: ἀνοικτος; LXX Esth E:4: κόμπους ἐπαρθέντες; 3 Macc 6:4–5: ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει ... κόμπῳ καὶ θράσει), the ample use of hyperbaton, the use of the *figura etymologica* (LXX Esth E:6: παραλογισμῷ παραλογισαμένων; 3 Macc 6:11: τοῖς ματαίοις οἱ ματαιόφρονες), and the use of triads (LXX Esth B:3; E:13; E:15–16; 3 Macc 3:20; 3:22), on which see Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, xlv–xlvii.

would be that Additions B and E to Esther were composed by the same author who wrote 3 Maccabees.

## 2.3

- LXX Esth B:5: διειληφότες οὖν τόδε τὸ ἔθνος μονώτατον ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ παντὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον διαγωγὴν νόμων ξενίζουσιν παραλλάσσον καὶ δυσνοοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν τὰ χερίστα συντελοῦν κακὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυγχάνειν
- AT Esth 3:17 [B:5]: διειληφότες οὖν μονώτατον τὸ ἔθνος ἐναντίᾳ παραγωγῇ παντὸς κείμενον τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῶν νόμων ξενίζουσιν παραγωγὴν καὶ δυσνοοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις προστάγμασιν ἀεὶ τὰ χερίστα συντελεῖν κακὰ πρὸς τὸ μηδέποτε κατατίθεσθαι τῇ ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατευθυνομένη μοναρχίᾳ
- VL Esth B:5: *dispersum hoc genus singulare contra eos estote propter quod regnum firmum non contingere*
- 3 Macc 3:26: διειλήφαμεν εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον τελείως ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ καὶ τῇ βελτίστῃ διαθέσει κατασταθήσεσθαι
- 2 Macc 14:6: οἱ λεγόμενοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων Ασιδαῖοι ... στασιάζουσιν οὐκ ἔωντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν
- *Let. Aris.* § 25: διειλήφαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν συμφέρειν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦτ' ἐπιτελεσθῆναι
- *Let. Aris.* § 37: διειληφότες εὐσεβῶς τοῦτο πράξαι

Lumbroso asserts that in the Alexandrian chancery the verb διαλαμβάνω was “le terme consacré” for the king’s deliberating upon a *prostagma* that was to be issued.<sup>45</sup> His assertion is based on the instances of this verb in King Ptolemy II Philadelphus’ *prostagma* ordering the liberation of the Jewish slaves in Egypt and in his letter to the high priest Eleazar included in the *Letter of Aristeas* (§§ 25 and

<sup>45</sup> Lumbroso, *Recherches*, 180 n. 4. Cf. Meecham, *Letter of Aristeas*, 75. On the verb διαλαμβάνω, see Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 325, and Pelletier, *Flavius Josèphe*, 59–60.



37, respectively).<sup>46</sup> However, in the *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées*, the verb is attested only once, in a copy of a letter that King Ptolemy V Epiphanes addresses to the ἐπιστάτες φυλακιδῶν; in this letter, it is used in reference not to the king but to the letter's addressees.<sup>47</sup> Likewise, in Welles' *Royal Correspondence*, it occurs only once, in a letter of King Eumenes II to the guild of Dionysiac artists, where again it is not used in reference to the king.<sup>48</sup> The only royal documents in which διαλαμβάνω is used of a king are, in fact, of contested authenticity or fictitious: King Philip of Macedon's letter to Athens,<sup>49</sup> King Ptolemy II Philadelphus' liberation *prostagma* and his letter to Eleazar in the *Letter of Aristeeas*, King Artaxerxes' condemnation letter in LXX/AT Addition B to Esther, and King Ptolemy IV Philopator's condemnation letter in 3 Maccabees. What the four last-mentioned royal documents have in common is that διαλαμβάνω occurs in them in the perfect tense (διελήφαμεν/διεληφότες) and that the king who is the subject of the verb in each letter uses the *pluralis maiestatis*; moreover, in three of the four texts, διαλαμβάνω is used in close proximity to the term τὰ πράγματα, "the affairs or interests" of the king, while two of the texts (LXX Esth B:5 and 3 Macc 3:26) share, in addition, a reference to the kingdom's stability (εὐστάθεια).

In LXX Esth B:5, King Artaxerxes refers to the Jews as "this nation (τόδε τὸ ἔθνος) which all alone (μονώτατον) stands in opposition (ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ κείμενον) to all men (παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ) continually (διὰ παντός)." The combination of the rare superlative μονώτατος and the noun ἔθνος elsewhere occurs only in the condemnation letter of Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Maccabees, where the king states that the Jews stand all alone among the nations in their stiff-necked attitude towards the kings and their own benefactors (3:19: μονώτατοι τῶν ἐθνῶν βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέταις ὑψαυχενοῦντες). The segment ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ παντὶ διὰ παντός ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον exhibits similarities with a segment of verse 7:9 in the liberation letter of Philopator in 3 Maccabees, where

<sup>46</sup> διαλαμβάνω also occurs in *Let. Aris.* §§ 93, 189, 210, 215, 239, 273.

<sup>47</sup> *C. Ord. Ptol.* 31 [184/3 BCE], ll. 21–23: καὶ καθόλου προσέχετε | [τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσ]τεταγμένοις διαλαμβάνοντες διότι προσ[ε]γχεθ[η]σ[ο]μεθ[α] τοῖς παρὰ τ[α]ῦτ[α] πράσσουσι.

<sup>48</sup> *RC* 53 [197–159 BCE], II B, ll. 5–7: τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιοῦτων συγχώρησιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς διεληφότων ἀν[ι]ήκειν.

<sup>49</sup> Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci*, p. 465, l. 6: διαλήψομαι τῶν περὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς. The subject of διαλήψομαι is King Philip. διαλαμβάνω also occurs in the fictitious letter of King Antigonos Gonatas to Zeno (Hercher, *Epistolographi graeci*, p. 107, l. 7: διεληφώς τοῦτο διότι οὐχ ἐνός ἐμοῦ παιδευτῆς ἔσῃ, πάντων δὲ Μακεδόνων συλλήβδην), but its subject there is Zeno.

the king writes to his officials that if they harm the Jews they will have the most high God as their adversary (θεὸν ὑψιστον ἀντικείμενον ἡμῖν ... ἔξομεν) in everything (κατὰ πᾶν) and at all time (διὰ παντός). In both segments occurs a compound word with the prefix ἀντι- expressing opposition; in LXX Esth B:5, the compound is part of a prepositional phrase that modifies the participle κείμενος (ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ ... κείμενον), whereas in 3 Macc 7:9 the compound has the participle κείμενος as its second member (ἀντικείμενον). Moreover, both segments feature a juxtaposition of different types of πᾶς (παντὶ διὰ παντός ἀνθρώπῳ/κατὰ πᾶν ... διὰ παντός), which gives emphasis and produces assonance. This stylistic feature occurs more than once in 3 Maccabees.<sup>50</sup> The prepositional phrase διὰ παντός is common to both segments.

LXX Esth B:5 has one more verbal point of contact with Philopator's condemnation letter in 3 Maccabees, the very rare verb δυσνοέω, "to be ill-disposed," which is the antonym of the more common verb εὐνοέω. In both LXX Esth B:5 (ἔθνος ... δυσνοοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν) and 3 Macc 3:24 (τούτους κατὰ πάντα δυσνοεῖν ἡμῖν τρόπον), δυσνοέω is used of the Jews, who are said to be ill-affected towards a gentile king, Artaxerxes and Ptolemy IV, respectively, and his government. The first instances of δυσνοέω in extant ancient Greek literature are found in these two Septuagint texts and in Philodemus' *Rhetoric*.<sup>51</sup> The next time we meet with it is in Plutarch (*Cic.* 38; *Mor.* 205D). Its cognate noun (δύσνοια) and adjective (δύσνους) are both Classical, although extremely rare; δύσνοια, "ill-will," is attested in the *Letter of Aristeas* (§ 270).

The δυσνοοῦν ἔθνος in LXX Esth B:5, namely, the Jews, is designated in LXX Esth B:4 as the δυσμενής λαός, "the hostile people," and in LXX Esth B:7 as οἱ πάλοι καὶ νῦν δυσμενεῖς, "those who have long been hostile and remain so." In the Septuagint, the adjective δυσμενής, "hostile," is used of the Jews only in Addition B to Esther and in 3 Macc 3:7 (δυσμενεῖς δὲ εἶναι καὶ μέγα τι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐναντιούμενους) and 3:25 (δυσκλεῇ πρόποντα δυσμενεῖσι φόνον). The author of 3 Maccabees, whose fondness for compounds in δυσ- comes second only to that of

<sup>50</sup> Cf. 6:26: κατὰ πάντα διαφέροντας πάντων ἐθνῶν; 7:7–8: ἀπολελύκαμεν πάσης ... αἰτίας ... καὶ προστετάχαμεν ἐκάστῳ πάντας εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἐπιστρέφειν ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ; 7:12: ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἄδειαν πάντων, ὅπως ... ἐξολοθρεύσωσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τόπον ... ἄνευ πάσης βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας; 7:22: πάντα τὰ ἑαυτῶν πάντες ἐκομίσαντο. See Denniston, *Greek Prose Style*, 133.

<sup>51</sup> Philodemus, *Rhet.* 4,4, col. 5, l. 5 (ed. Sudhaus): δυσνοηθ[ε]ίς.

the author of 2 Maccabees,<sup>52</sup> also uses the cognate noun δυσμένεια at 3:19 to refer to the hostility that the Jews are accused of having manifested toward King Ptolemy IV when he visited Jerusalem (τὴν δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν ἔκδηλον καθιστάντες) and at 7:4 to refer to the hostility that the Jews, according to King Ptolemy IV, show towards all nations (δι' ἣν ἔχουσιν οὗτοι πρὸς τὰ πάντα ἔθνη δυσμένειαν).

As for the phrase τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα, which designates the affairs or interests of the king,<sup>53</sup> although in the Septuagint it appears only in LXX Esth B:5 and in 3 Macc 6:28 (εὐστάθειαν παρέχει [ὁ θεὸς] τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν), it is not infrequent in authentic Hellenistic royal letters. The expression δυσνοεῖν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν, “to be ill-disposed to our interests [sc. the interests of the king],” which occurs in LXX Esth B:5, is unattested in Hellenistic royal correspondence.<sup>54</sup> The opposite formula, εὐνοεῖν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν, is also unattested; however, the expressions εὐνους εἰμί/εὐνοῖαν ἔχω εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα occur in a couple of Hellenistic royal letters.<sup>55</sup>

Lastly, 3 Macc 3:26 has a close parallel in LXX Esth B:7. In both verses, King Ptolemy IV and King Artaxerxes, respectively, express the conviction that the extermination of the Jews will secure completely (3 Macc 3:26: τελείως/LXX Esth B:7: διὰ τέλους) in the future (3 Macc 3:26: εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον/LXX Esth B:7: εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον) the stability of the affairs of the state (3 Macc 3:26: ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ καὶ τῇ βελτίστῃ διαθέσει κατασταθήσονται/LXX Esth B:7: ὅπως ... εὐσταθῇ καὶ ἀτάραχα παρέχωσιν ἡμῖν διὰ τέλους τὰ πράγματα). That the Jews have a destabilizing role in the Ptolemaic and the Persian kingdom, respectively, is also stated in 3 Macc 7:4 (προφερόμενοι [οἱ φίλοι] μήποτε εὐσταθήσιν τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν) and in LXX Esth B:5 (πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυγχάνειν). In all these verses, the idea of political stability is conveyed

<sup>52</sup> 3 Maccabees uses ten different compounds formed with the prefix δυσ-, which occur sixteen times in the book; 2 Maccabees uses fifteen such compounds, which occur twenty-six times in the book.

<sup>53</sup> See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 182.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. a similar expression in RC 73 [letter of Mithridates the Great to Leonippus; 88/87 BCE], ll. 3–4: ἐπεὶ Χα[ιρ]ήμω[ν Πυ]θοδώρου ἐκχθρότατα κα[ὶ] | πολεμιώτα[τα] πρ[ὸς] τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα δια[κείμε]νός.

<sup>55</sup> RC 12 [letter of Antiochus I to Meleager; ca. 275 BCE], ll. 10–11: ὁρῶντες οὖν αὐτὸν | εὖνουν ὄντα καὶ πρόθυμον εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγμ[α]τα; SEG 47-1745 [letter of Eumenes II to Tyriaion; 187–159 BCE], ll. 8–9: δι' ἣν εἰς τὰ ἡμέτερα πρά[γ]ματα ἔχετε εὖνοϊαν.

by the cognate terms εὐστάθεια, εὐσταθής, and εὐσταθέω. The first of these terms, εὐστάθεια, apart from 3 Macc 3:26, occurs in 3 Macc 6:28, where King Ptolemy IV, having undergone a spectacular conversion, orders the liberation of the captive Jews and acknowledges that it is Yahweh, the almighty, living God of Heaven, who grants stability to his government (ἀπολύσατε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ ζῶντος, ὃς ... εὐστάθειαν παρέχει τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν). I have elsewhere shown that this verse depends on *Let. Aris.* § 15.<sup>56</sup> The noun εὐστάθεια appears only once in the *Letter of Aristeas*, in § 216, where one of the Jewish translators tells King Ptolemy II that the εὐστάθεια—the term here denotes the mental tranquillity—that he enjoys is due to the fact that God directs every thought and action that is turned upon the most beautiful things, either we are awake or asleep (θεὸς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμὸν καὶ πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τρεπομένην κατευθύνει ... διὸ καὶ περὶ σὲ διὰ παντός ἐστιν εὐστάθεια). Although εὐστάθεια is not used here as a political term as in 3 Macc 6:28, it is associated with God as in the latter verse.

Commentators have further drawn attention to the phraseological similarity between LXX Esth B:5 (πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυγχάνειν) and a line from the wicked high priest Alcimus' speech to King Demetrius I in 2 Macc 14:6: οὐκ ἔωντες [sc. οἱ Αἰσιδαῖοι] τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν.<sup>57</sup> In both verses, the Jews, either in general (in LXX Esth B:5) or a specific group among them (the Hasideans led by Judas Maccabeus in 2 Macc 14:6), are presented as a destabilizing force within a gentile kingdom. εὐστάθεια and its cognate verb are used of the political stability of a kingdom, country, or city in a small number of mainly epigraphical texts,<sup>58</sup> whereas the periphrasis εὐσταθείας τυγχάνω used with respect to a kingdom (βασιλεία) is elsewhere unattested. LXX Esth B:5 may therefore be intertextually connected with 2 Macc 14:6.

<sup>56</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.8.

<sup>57</sup> See Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 69–70; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 472.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *OGIS* 56, A [Tanis, 238 BCE], ll. 19–20: οἱ θεοὶ δεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς εὐσταθοῦσαν τὴν βασιλείαν; *I. Aeg. Thrace* E205 [Maroneia, mid-second–early first century BCE], l. 30: αἱ πόλεις εὐστάθησαν; *BGU* 8.1764 [Herakleopolite, 64–44 BCE], l. 14: πρὸς τὸ τὸν Ἡρα(κλεο)πο(λίτην) εὐσταθεῖν; *IscM* I 54 [Istros, ca. mid-first century BCE], ll. 37–38: συνέβη τὴν τε πόλιν εὐσταθεῖν καὶ τοὺς πολεῖτας σῶ[ζ]εσθαι; *OGIS* 669 [Hibis, 68 CE], l. 4: τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ διάγουσαν; *IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 94 [Olbia, Roman period], ll. 9–11: ὑπὲρ | εὐσταθείας τῆς πόλεως | καὶ εἰρήνης; *IG* XII,2 59 [Mytilene, n.d.], l. 16: τὰς πάτριδος ἀσφαλήα δὲ καὶ εὐσταθῆα. Cf. also LXX Jer 30:9: ἔθνος εὐσταθοῦν; Wis 6:24: εὐστάθεια δήμου.

As can be seen, there are several points of verbal contact between LXX Esth B:4, B:5, and B:7 (Artaxerxes' condemnation letter) and 3 Macc 3:19, 3:24, 3:25, 3:26 (Ptolemy IV's condemnation letter) and a single point of verbal contact between LXX Esth B:5, 3 Macc 3:26, and *Let. Aris.* § 25 (Ptolemy II's liberation *prostagma*). With regard to the latter, we notice that *Let. Aris.* § 25 and 3 Macc 3:26 share the same type of the verb διαλαμβάνω, namely, the first person plural of the perfect active indicative, διειλήφαμεν, whereas in LXX Esth B:5 occurs the perfect participle of the verb, διειληφότες. This difference can be explained as follows. As shown in the table below, in the letter of Artaxerxes first comes the causal participle διειληφότες (B:5), which introduces the rationale underlying the decision taken by the king, then the verb of command προστετάχαμεν (B:6), which introduces the decision of the king, and lastly a purpose clause introduced by ὅπως, which sets forth the aim that the king seeks to achieve through his decision (B:7). In the *prostagma* of Ptolemy II and the letter of Ptolemy IV, on the other hand, the προστετάχαμεν clause precedes the διειλήφαμεν clause. In the former, the rationale of the king's decision is given in paragraphs 23 (νομίζομεν γάρ) and 24 (ὁμολογούμενοι ... καὶ ... ἐκζητοῦντες), and in the latter at 3:24 (πεπεισμένοι ... καὶ προνοούμενοι); in both the *prostagma* and the letter, the διειλήφαμεν clause contains the political purpose served by the royal order,<sup>59</sup> not its rationale as in LXX Esth B:5.

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. the similar clause in Ptolemy II's letter to Eleazar in *Let. Aris.* 39, which is introduced by οἴομεθα γάρ instead of by διειλήφαμεν.

<b>Addition B to Esther</b>	<b>3 Maccabees</b>	<b>Letter of Aristeas</b>
Letter of Artaxerxes	Letter of Ptolemy IV	<i>Prostagma</i> of Ptolemy II
B:5: διειληφότες οὖν τόδε τὸ ἔθνος ... δυσνοοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν	3:24: διὸ καὶ τεκμηρίοις καλῶς πεπεισμένοι τούτους ... δυσνοεῖν ἡμῖν ... καὶ προνοοῦμενοι ...	§ 23: νομίζομεν γὰρ ... § 24: ὁμολογοῦμενοι ...  § 24: καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἐκζητοῦντες ...
B:6: προστετάχαμεν οὖν ... ἀπολέσαι	3:25: προστετάχαμεν ... ἀποστεῖλαι ... εἰς φόνον	§ 24: προστετάχαμεν ... ἀπολύειν
B:7: ὅπως οἱ ... δυσμενεῖς ... εὐσταθῇ ... παρέχωσιν ἡμῖν ... τὰ πράγματα	3:26: διειλήφαμεν ... ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ ... κατασταθήσεσθαι	§ 25: διειλήφαμεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῖν συμφέρειν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι

The commonalities shared between 3 Macc 3:25–26 and *Let. Aris.* §§ 24–25 provide evidence of the close intertextual connexion that links these passages, whereas the inverted order of the διειληφότες-προσ τετάχαμεν clauses in LXX Esth B:5–6 indicates the latter verses’ dependence on 3 Macc 3:25–26,<sup>60</sup> with which they have points of contact (τὴν ἐπιστολὴν/ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις; ἀπολέσαι/ἀποστεῖλαι εἰς φόνον; σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις) that they do not share with *Let. Aris.* §§ 24–25. The transposition of the verb διειλήφαμεν from the clause expressing the purpose of the royal decision in 3 Macc 3:26 and *Let. Aris.* § 25 to the motivation/rationale clause in LXX Esth B:5 led to its being turned into a participle, given that the motivation/rationale for the royal decisions in Hellenistic royal letters is commonly expressed through participial constructions.<sup>61</sup> Direct influence from *Let. Aris.* § 37 (διειληφότες εὐσεβῶς τοῦτο πράττειν) cannot be excluded either.

Conclusively, we can say that LXX Esth B:5 seems to have conflated words and phrases borrowed from 3 Macc 3:19 (μονώτατοι τῶν ἐθνῶν), 3:24 (δυσνοεῖν), 3:26 (διειλήφαμεν), and 7:9 (ἀντικείμενον, διὰ παντός), and possibly also from 2 Macc 14:6 (οὐκ ἔωντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν). LXX Esth B:6–7 rely on 3 Macc 3:25–26. For διειλήφαμεν, 3 Macc 3:26 is indebted to *Let. Aris.* § 25.

<sup>60</sup> On inversion as a criterion of literary dependence, see Study 1, 1.5.

<sup>61</sup> See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, xliii; Ceccarelli, “Letters and Decrees,” 158.

## 2.4

- LXX Esth E:17: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε μὴ προσχρησάμενοι τοῖς ὑπὸ Ἀμαν Ἀμαδάθου ἀποσταλεῖσιν γράμμασιν
- AT Esth 7:28 [E:17]: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσατε μὴ προσέχοντες τοῖς προαπεσταλμένοις ὑμῖν ὑπὸ Ἀμαν γράμμασιν
- VL Esth E:17: *bene igitur facietis non adtendentes his quae ab Aman litteris scripta sunt*
- *Let. Aris.* § 39: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας σπουδῆς ἀξίως ἐπιλεξάμενος ἄνδρας καλῶς βεβιωκότας...

We saw previously (2.2) that in Artaxerxes' condemnation letter, the royal command is conveyed by the verb προστετάχαμεν, "we have ordered" (LXX Esth B:6/AT Esth 3:18). We also saw that the same verb is used in both the condemnation and the liberation letter of King Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Macc 3:25 and 7:8, respectively, as well as in King Ptolemy II Philadelphus' liberation *prostagma* in *Let. Aris.* § 24. However, in his second letter, which countermands the order given in the first, Artaxerxes does not use the verb προστετάχαμεν but the formula καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε + participle, "you will then do well to..."

This *Höflichkeitsformel* and its variants are very common in private correspondence<sup>62</sup> but not so common in authentic Hellenistic royal letters<sup>63</sup> or in authentic or fictitious letters preserved in literary sources.

<sup>62</sup> See Steen, "Clichés épistolaires," 138–43; Buzón, *Briefe*, 19–21, 59–65, 108–12, 168–68, 241–42.

<sup>63</sup> In Welles' *Royal Correspondence*, it occurs only in the royal letters 38, l. 6 [letter of Antiochus III (or Zeuxis) to Amyzon; 203 BCE], 49, ll. 5–6 [letter of Eumenes II to a Carian city; 182 BCE], 50, ll. 12–13 [letter of Eumenes II to Cos; 182 BCE], and 63, ll. 10–11 [letter of Orophernes to Priene; ca. 157 BCE]. The more polite formula with the verb in the optative, καλῶς ἂν ποιήσατε, common in the third century BCE, occurs in a letter of the Seleucid *strategos* Meleager to Ilion [RC 13, l. 13; 275 BCE]. Other Seleucid high officials also use the formulae καλῶς ἂν ποιήσατε or καλῶς ποιήσετε in their letters to cities: Olympichos in his letter to Mylasa [*Labraunda* 40, l. 23; ca. 235 BCE] and Thraseas in his letter to Arsinoe [SEG 39-1426, ll. 6–7, 12; 238–221 BCE]. The formula εὖ οὖν ποιήσεις/ποιήσετε occurs in a letter of Queen Laodike III to Iasos [*Iasos* 93, ll. 18–19; 195–190 BCE], in a letter of King Seleucus IV to Heliodorus [SEG 57-1838, E, ll. 10–11; 178 BCE], in a letter of the *strategos* Zeuxis to Herakleia [SEG 37-859, D, l. 9; 196–193 BCE], and in the letter of King Antiochus V to Lysias in 2 Macc 11:26. In Ptolemaic royal letters, the formula καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις occurs only in *C. Ord. Ptol.* 49, l. 7 and 52, l. 16 [letters of Ptolemy Euergetes II, Cleopatra II, and Cleopatra III; 135 and 124–116 BCE, respectively] and 60, l. 15 [letter of Cleopatra III and Ptolemy Soter II; 115 BCE].

Elsewhere in the Septuagint, it occurs in 2 Macc 2:16 (καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε), in the letter of the people of Jerusalem and Judas Maccabeus to Aristobulus and the Jews in Egypt, and in 1 Macc 12:18 (καὶ νῦν καλῶς ποιήσετε) and 12:22 (καὶ νῦν ... καλῶς ποιήσετε), in the letters of Jonathan Maccabeus to the Spartans and of the Spartan king Areios to Onias, respectively. In extra-Septuagint Jewish-Greek literature, we find it in a fictitious letter sent by King Souron of Tyre to Solomon (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.34.3: καλῶς ποιήσεις)<sup>64</sup> and twice in the *Letter of Aristeas*: King Ptolemy II Philadelphus uses it in his courteous letter to the high priest Eleazar (§ 39: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις), and Eleazar uses it in his reply to the king (§ 46: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις).

In the second letter of Artaxerxes, this chancery “please” formula,<sup>65</sup> used in lieu of the expected προστετάχαμεν, sounds incongruously mild, considering that the king issues an imperative order, the contravention of which will cause a veritable holocaust (LXX Esth E:24: πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ἢ χώρα ... ἥτις κατὰ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃ, δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται). The formula occurs not only in the LXX but also in the AT (καλῶς οὖν ποιήσατε) and the VL (*bene igitur facietis*). In his paraphrase of Addition E, Josephus uses the formula ποιήσετε καλῶς (A.J. 11.280) but has it followed by stronger expressions of the royal will (A.J. 11.280; 11.282: βούλομαι; 11.281: κελεύω), which have no counterparts in the other versions of Esther.

Given its scarce attestations in authentic Hellenistic royal documents, which could have served as models to the author of Addition E, it is quite possible that the formula καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε was borrowed from a fictitious royal letter like that of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus to Eleazar in the *Letter of Aristeas*. This possibility is corroborated by the fact that Artaxerxes’ letter in Addition E and Ptolemy II’s letter in the *Letter of Aristeas* share additional points of verbal contact: both kings refer to their φιλανθρωπία (LXX Esth E:11: ἧς ἔχομεν πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος φιλανθρωπίας; *Let. Aris.* § 36: φιλανθρωπότερον ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς πᾶσι) and both

<sup>64</sup> Eusebius’ source (via Alexander Polyhistor) is the second-century BCE Jewish historian Eupolemus. See Doering, *Ancient Jewish Letters*, 232–41.

<sup>65</sup> See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 71, 201, 259. Steen, “Clichés épistolaires,” 131, calls it “[une] expression d’urbanité impérative ... un tour périphrastique qui change l’impératif en une demande polie.” Cf. Buzón, *Briefe*, 19: “Es handelt sich dabei um eine Umschreibung des Imperativs... Der Imperativ ... wird vom Absender als zu stark empfunden und deswegen vermieden.” See also ib. 167–68.



refer to Yahweh as “the most great God,” who shows concern for their respective kingdoms (LXX Esth E:16: τοῦ μεγίστου ζῶντος θεοῦ, τοῦ κατευθύνοντος ἡμῖν ... τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει; *Let. Aris.* § 37: τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ... ὃς ἡμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ δόξῃ κρατίστη ... διατετήρηκεν).<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the participle διειληφότες, which, as we saw in 2.3, occurs in LXX Esth B:5/AT Esth 3:17, also occurs in *Let. Aris.* § 37.

If that is the case, then we can posit the existence of a direct contact between LXX Esth E:17 and *Let. Aris.* § 39, unmediated by 3 Maccabees, where the formula καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε does not occur.

## 2.5

- LXX Esth E:11: [Αμαν Αμαδάθου Μακεδῶν] ἔτυχεν ἧς ἔχομεν πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος φιланθρωπίας
- AT Esth 7:25 [E:11]: ἔτυχε τῆς ἐξ ἡμῶν πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος φιланθρωπίας
- VL Esth E:11: *obtinuit eis quam habemus apud omnem gentem humanitatem*
- 3 Macc 3:15: ἡγησάμεθα μὴ βία δόρατος, ἐπεικεία δὲ καὶ πολλῇ φιλανθρωπία τιθηνήσασθαι τὰ κατοικοῦντα Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἔθνη
- 3 Macc 3:18: δι’ ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φιλανθρωπίαν
- 3 Macc 3:20: ἡμεῖς δὲ ... τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι φιλανθρώπως ἀπαντήσαντες
- 2 Macc 14:9: καθ’ ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐαπάντητον φιλανθρωπίαν
- *Let. Aris.* § 36: καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν βασιλείαν φιλανθρωπότερον ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς πᾶσι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς σοῖς πολίταις [sc. the Jews]

A common element in all the passages quoted above is the reference to a king’s φιλανθρωπία (benevolence, humanity, clemency, kindliness).<sup>67</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Kottsieper, “Zusätze zu Ester,” 194.

<sup>67</sup> On the semantic range and the semantic evolution of this term, see Spicq, “Philanthropie hellénistique.”

In LXX Esth E:11/AT Esth 7:25, King Artaxerxes states that he showed Haman the same *φιλανθρωπία* that he shows towards every nation.

In *Let. Aris.* § 36 and in 3 Macc 3:15, 3:18, and 3:20, King Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his grandson, King Ptolemy IV Philopator, respectively, showcase in their written missives the *φιλανθρωπία* that they extend to all people and nations, including the Jews.

In 2 Macc 14:9, the ex-high priest Alcimus flatteringly praises the Seleucid king Demetrius I Soter for the affable *φιλανθρωπία* that he shows to all.

In authentic Hellenistic royal letters, it is rare for a king to flauntingly refer to his *φιλανθρωπία*,<sup>68</sup> and especially to present it as an all-encompassing, universal benevolence, whereas it is rather common to see this royal virtue referenced in petitions addressed to a king or in honorary decrees for kings.<sup>69</sup>

In *Let. Aris.* § 36, King Ptolemy II Philadelphus' reference to his *φιλανθρωπία* rings true and aligns well with the context of his letter to Eleazar, in which he enumerates the benefactions that he bestowed upon the Jews. Conversely, in the condemnation letter of Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Maccabees, the thrice-repeated reference to the king's *φιλανθρωπία* (3:15, 18, 20) sounds perversely ironic, as the king further down in his letter orders the mass destruction of the Egyptian Jews. The same can be said of King Artaxerxes' letter in Addition E to Esther, where the king, who had previously approved a pogrom against the Jews and then ordered the execution of his 'Macedonian' vizier along with his family, reminds his addressees of his *φιλανθρωπία* towards all nations. Similarly, King Antiochus IV Epiphanes, another persecutor of the Jews, in his deathbed letter—a forged

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<sup>68</sup> Cf. Rigsby, *Asyria* 12 [letter of a Spartocid (?) king to Kos; 242 BCE], ll. 30–33: [τοιαύτης] *φιλανθρωπίας* ἡμεῖν προὔπαρχ[ούσης] πρὸς γε τοὺς το[ι]αύτην συγγένειαν καὶ [τη]λικ[αύτην] ἀ]ναγκαιότητα | ἀναμνησκό[ν]τα[ς]; RC 25 [letter of King Ziaelas to Cos; ca. 240 BCE], ll. 8–9: *φιλανθρωπεῖν* τῇ πόλει; ib. ll. 30–33: *πειρασόμεθα* καὶ ἰδῖαι ἐκάστωι καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσι *φιλανθρωπεῖν* καθ' ὅσον | ἡμεῖς δυνατοὶ ἐσμέν; RC 31 [letter of King Antiochus III to Magnesia; 205 BCE], ll. 16–18: *ἔχοντες οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς* π[ε]ρὶ | τοῦ δήμου τὴν *φιλανθρωποτάτην* διάλ[η]ψιν; cf. RC 32, ll. 15–17; Josephus, *A.J.* 12.152 [letter of King Antiochus III to Zeuxis]: τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν *τυγχάνοντες* *φιλανθρωπίας*. On the *φιλανθρωπία* as an essential virtue of the Hellenistic monarch, see Spicq, "Philanthropie hellénistique," 181–88. Hellenistic royal documents contain, of course, frequent references to specific benefactions, known as *φιλόδοξα* or *φιλανθρωπία*, which the kings bestow on individuals or collective entities as tangible proofs of their liberality and benevolence. See Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, 373; Schubart, "Hellenistische Königsideal," 10–11; Lenger, "Notion de 'bienfait'," 485–99; Spicq, "Philanthropie hellénistique," 186–88; Gray, "Polis becomes Humane?," 143.

<sup>69</sup> See Lenger, "Notion de 'bienfait'," 484–85; Spicq, "Philanthropie hellénistique," 185–86; Gray, "Polis becomes Humane?," 144 n. 40.

document embedded in 2 Maccabees—expresses his conviction that his son and successor will continue his “humane” policy towards the Jews (9:27: πέπεισμαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως παρακολουθοῦντα τῇ ἐμῇ προαιρέσει συμπεριενεχθήσεσθαι ὑμῖν). These three kings stand in stark contrast to the ideal monarch of *Let. Aris.* § 208, for whom the virtue of φιλανθρωπία entails showing mercy and avoiding the rash infliction of punishments and tortures (οὔτε εὐκόπως δεῖ κολάζειν, οὔτε αἰκίαις περιβάλλειν· γινώσκων ὅτι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ζῆν ἐν ὀδύναις τε καὶ τιμωρίαις καθέστηκεν. Ἐπινοῶν οὖν ἕκαστα πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον τραπήσῃ).

In *Let. Aris.* § 36 and in 3 Macc 3:20, the clauses that exhibit similarities commence with the royal “we” (ἡμεῖς) and the antithetical conjunction δέ<sup>70</sup> and use the same verb (ἀπαντῶμεν/ἀπαντήσαντες) construed with the same object (τοῖς πᾶσι/τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι) and adverb (φιλανθρωπότερον/φιλανθρώπως).<sup>71</sup> 3 Macc 3:18 is verbally almost identical with 2 Macc 14:9,<sup>72</sup> which is further connected to 3 Macc 3:20 and *Let. Aris.* § 36 through the rare verbal adjective εὐαπάντητος, “affable,” a cognate of the verb ἀπαντάω. 3 Macc 3:18 seems to have drawn on 2 Macc 14:9, and 3 Macc 3:20 on *Let. Aris.* § 36. LXX Esth E:11, in turn, likely conflated the adjacent verses 3 Macc 3:18 (ἧς ἔχομεν ... φιλανθρωπίας/δι’ ἣν ἔχομεν ... φιλανθρωπίαν) and 3:20 (πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος/τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι). One would, in fact, have expected LXX Esth E:11 to have drawn only on 3 Macc 3:18 and read ἧς ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φιλανθρωπίας instead of πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος φιλανθρωπίας, since the subject of the verb ἔτυχεν is not a nation, e.g., the Macedonians, but a person, namely, Haman, who is said to be a Macedonian.

## 2.6

- LXX Esth C:2: κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ πάντων κρατῶν
- AT Esth 4:13 [C:2]: δέσποτα παντοκράτορ; VL Esth C:2: ø

<sup>70</sup> Cf. 3 Macc 7:6 and LXX Esth E:15.

<sup>71</sup> The comparative φιλανθρωπότερον is to be understood here as elative (“in a very benevolent manner”) rather than as lacking the second term of the comparison (φιλανθρωπότερον τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν). See Meecham, *Letter of Aristeas*, 129–30, contra Tramontano, *Lettera di Aristeas*, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. 3 Macc 7:6: καθ’ ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπιείκειαν.

- LXX Esth C:23: βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν; AT/VL Esth C:23: ∅
- LXX Esth E:18: τὴν καταξίαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος θεοῦ διὰ τάχους ἀποδόντος αὐτῷ κρίσιν
- AT Esth 7:28 [E:18]: ἀποδεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὴν καταξίαν δίκην τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος ἀεὶ κριτοῦ
- VL Esth E:18: *digne omnia considerantis et continentis dei per celeritatem illi reddentis iudicium*
- 3 Macc 2:3: σὺ γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν
- *Let. Aris.* § 19: τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα
- *Let. Aris.* § 157: μνημονεύειν τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεοῦ καὶ συντηροῦντος

LXX Esther uses both the simplex κρατέω and the compound ἐπικρατέω to designate Yahweh’s power and dominion over all things. The present participles of these verbs occur in the prayers of Mordecai (LXX Esth C:2) and Esther (LXX Esth C:23), respectively. The present participle of ἐπικρατέω also occurs in the second letter of Artaxerxes (LXX Esth E:18) as a modifier of God. In LXX Esth C:2, the participle κρατῶν is construed with the neuter genitive plural of πᾶς (πάντων), whereas in LXX Esth E:18, the participle ἐπικρατῶν is construed with the neuter accusative plural of the same pronominal adjective (τὰ πάντα).<sup>73</sup> The only other instance of the participle ἐπικρατῶν in the Septuagint as an attributive modifier of Yahweh is found in the prayer of the high priest Simon in 3 Macc 2:3, where it is construed with the neuter genitive plural of ὅλος (τῶν ὅλων). Apart from LXX Esth C:2, the present participle of κρατέω is used in relation to Yahweh in *Let. Aris.* § 19, where it is construed with the neuter accusative plural of πᾶς (τὰ πάντα), and in *Let. Aris.* § 157, where it is used adjectivally.<sup>74</sup> In pagan Greek literature, ὁ πάντων κρατῶν is attested as a designation of Zeus.<sup>75</sup> In *Let. Aris.* § 16,

<sup>73</sup> Cf. the similar construction of the verb δεσποτεύω, “to have authority/control over,” in 3 Macc 5:28: τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ.

<sup>74</sup> On the construction of κρατέω and ἐπικρατέω, see Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 117, 119–22.

<sup>75</sup> See Isocrates, *Hel. enc.* 59: Ζεὺς ὁ κρατῶν πάντων; *IG XI*, 4.1234 [Delos; second century BCE], ll. 2–4: Διὶ τῷ πάντων κρατοῦντι | καὶ Μητρὶ Μεγάλῃ τῇ πάντων | κρατούσῃ. Of similar origin is the

Aristeas identifies Yahweh with Zeus; therefore, it is not surprising that three paragraphs further on he uses a designation for the god of the Jews that was originally assigned to the supreme god of the Greeks.

As can be seen in the table below, the opening lines of the prayers of Simon and Eleazar in 3 Maccabees and of Mordecai in LXX Esther share a number of verbal and conceptual points of contact: Yahweh is addressed with a series of vocatives (κύριε κύριε, βασιλεῦ) and is invoked both as the creator of all things (3 Macc 2:3: ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα; LXX Esth C:3: σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν) and as the almighty ruler/master of all things (3 Macc 2:2, 6:2: παντοκράτωρ; 2:2: δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως; 6:2: τὴν πᾶσαν διακυβερνῶν ... κτίσιν; 2:3: τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν; LXX Esth C:2: πάντων κρατῶν; C:4: κύριος εἶ πάντων). In LXX Esther, the periphrastic designations πάντων κρατῶν and τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατῶν serve as substitutes for the noun παντοκράτωρ, which has no instances in this book,<sup>76</sup> whereas 3 Maccabees uses both παντοκράτωρ (6x) and a number of periphrastic expressions to denote Yahweh's *potentia absoluta* (2:3: τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν; 5:7: πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα; 5:28: τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ; 7:9: τὸν πάσης δεσπόζοντα δυνάμεως).

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epithet παγκρατῆς, which occurs in a prayer context in 2 Macc 3:22: ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν παγκρατῆ κύριον.

<sup>76</sup> In AT Esther, παντοκράτωρ occurs twice, at 4:13 [C:2] and at 7:30.

3 Maccabees (prayer of Simon)		LXX Esther (prayer of Mordecai)	
2:2: κύριε κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ δέσποτα πάσης τῆς κτίσεως	2:2: παντοκράτωρ	C:2: κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ	C:2: πάντων κρατῶν
2:3: ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα	2:3: τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν	C:3: σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν	C:4: κύριος εἶ πάντων
3 Maccabees (prayer of Eleazar)		LXX Esther (prayer of Esther)	
6:2: τὴν πᾶσαν διακυβερνῶν ... κτίσιν	6:2: παντοκράτωρ	C:23: βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν	C:23: πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν
3 Maccabees (prayer of the Jews)		LXX Esther (letter of Artaxerxes)	
5:7: πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα	5:7: τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον		E:18: τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος θεοῦ
3 Maccabees (author's comment)	3 Maccabees (letter of Ptolemy IV)	Letter of Aristeeas (Sosibius' speech)	
5:28: τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος [v.l. δυναστεύοντος] θεοῦ	7:9: τὸν πάσης δεσπόζοντα δυνάμεως		§ 19: ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα

I have elsewhere argued that the commonalities in the opening lines of the prayers of Simon and Mordecai are hardly likely to be coincidental and that, if we posit an intertextual connexion between them, it is more plausible that it is the incipit of the prayer of Simon that is indebted to that of the prayer of Mordecai.<sup>77</sup> If this is the case, the author of the prayer of Simon borrowed the periphrastic expression πάντων κρατῶν from LXX Esth C:2 and turned it into the compound παντοκράτωρ in 3 Macc 2:2 and into τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν in 3 Macc 2:3. The addition of the prefix ἐπι- to the participle κρατῶν can be explained by the fondness that the author of 3 Maccabees has for the prefix/preposition ἐπι-/ἐπί, which he uses twelve times in the prayer of Simon and thirteen in the prayer of Eleazar;<sup>78</sup> the genitive πάντων was turned into τῶν ὅλων to avoid repetition, as

<sup>77</sup> See Study 1, 4.2.1.

<sup>78</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.6 n. 65.

the participle ἐπικρατῶν in 3 Macc 2:3 is conjoined with the participle ὁ κτίσας, which is construed with τὰ πάντα. Alternatively, we can posit that the author of 3 Maccabees borrowed the periphrastic expression πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν from LXX Esth C:23 and turned it into τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν in 3 Macc 2:3. It should be noted that the verb ἐπικρατέω is more at home in LXX Esther, where it is used four times in relation to both earthly rulers (B:2; E:6) and Yahweh (C:23; E:18),<sup>79</sup> whereas in 3 Maccabees it occurs only at 2:3.

Now, the phrase βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν in LXX Esth C:23 is a plus vis-à-vis AT and VL Esth C:23. The first part of this phrase is drawn from the incipit of the prayer of Moses in LXX Deut 9:26,<sup>80</sup> while the latter part likely alludes to LXX 1 Chr 29:12 (prayer of David): σὺ πάντων ἄρχεις, κύριε ὁ ἄρχων πάσης ἀρχῆς. The expressions ὁ πάντων κρατῶν used in the prayer of Mordecai (C:2) and πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν used in the prayer of Esther (C:23) may, in fact, be adaptations of the expressions σὺ πάντων ἄρχεις and ὁ ἄρχων πάσης ἀρχῆς used in the prayer of David in LXX 1 Chr 29:12, the verb ἄρχω having been replaced by the cognate verbs κρατέω and ἐπικρατέω. Esther's address to God as πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν, "master of all dominion," resonates with Artaxerxes' styling himself as the "master of the entire world" (πάσης ἐπικρατήσας οἰκουμένης) in LXX Esth B:2. However, it is difficult to determine whether the plus in LXX Esth C:23 was added as an allusion to LXX Esth B:2 and E:18 or whether LXX Esth B:2 and E:18 took their cue from LXX Esth C:23. With regard to LXX Esth E:18, in particular, it seems more likely that it depends on 3 Macc 2:3 rather than on LXX Esth C:23. The divine designation ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατῶν in LXX Esth E:18 is followed by another divine designation, ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων (LXX Esth E:21).<sup>81</sup> Both these designations have counterparts in the prayer of Simon in 3 Macc 2:3 (τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν) and 2:7 (ὁ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύων), respectively. The rarity of these designations and the close proximity of the verses in which they occur in both the prayer of Simon and the letter of Artaxerxes suggest an intertextual connexion between LXX Esth E:18 and E:21 and 3 Macc 2:3 and 2:7.

<sup>79</sup> Its cognate noun ἐπικράτης also occurs in LXX Esth E:14.

<sup>80</sup> See Study 1, 4.2.1.

<sup>81</sup> On Yahweh's designation as ὁ δυναστεύων, see 2.7.

More perplexing is the fact that the verses surrounding LXX Esth C:23, namely, C:22 and C:24, exhibit verbal similarities with the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees<sup>82</sup> and that AT Esth 4:24 [C:23] and VL Esth C:7 and C:23 share a verbal parallel with 3 Macc 6:9 (prayer of Eleazar), which they do not share with LXX Esth C:23, namely, the appeal to Yahweh to manifest himself (ἐπιφάνηθι/*appare*).<sup>83</sup> A possible explanation is that the author of the prayer of Simon drew on the prayer of Esther in LXX Addition C and that AT Esth 4:24 [C:23]/GVVL/VL Esth C:23 are indebted to 3 Macc 6:9 for ἐπιφάνηθι/*appare*.

Lastly, it is difficult to say whether *Let. Aris.* § 19 (τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα) has any connexion to the above-discussed verses of LXX Esther and 3 Maccabees. It is verbally closest to LXX Esth C:2 (πάντων κρατῶν). Its proximity to *Let. Aris.* §§ 15 and 16, which share verbal parallels, the first with 3 Macc 6:28, 3 Macc 7:2, and LXX Esth E:16,<sup>84</sup> and the second with 3 Macc 2:21 and LXX Esth D:2,<sup>85</sup> makes it likely that it, too, is connected with either LXX Esther or 3 Maccabees. With regard to *Let. Aris.* § 15, I elsewhere suggested that it was the author of 3 Maccabees who drew on it when composing 6:28 and 7:2.<sup>86</sup> It is possible that he had encountered the expression ὁ κρατῶν τὰ πάντα in *Let. Aris.* § 19, although he did not use it verbatim at 2:3 or elsewhere in his book. It is more difficult to establish a connexion between *Let. Aris.* § 19 and LXX Esth C:2, as Addition C to Esther does not share other verbal parallels with the *Letter of Aristeas*.

To sum up, I suggest the following direction of influence: the divine designations πάντων κρατῶν (LXX Esth C:2) and πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν (LXX Esth C:23) in the prayers of Mordecai and Esther were adopted by the author of 3 Maccabees and modified into the designations παντοκράτωρ (3 Macc 2:2) and τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν (3 Macc 2:3), respectively, in the prayer of Simon. The designation τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν (3 Macc 2:3) was taken up by the author of Addition E to Esther (E:18), along with the designation ὁ δυναστεύων (3 Macc 2:7; LXX Esth E:21), which will be discussed next. As for the divine designation ὁ κρατῶν πάντων/τὰ πάντα, originally associated with Zeus, I could not establish

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<sup>82</sup> See Study 1, 4.2.7 and 4.2.8.

<sup>83</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.6.

<sup>84</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.8.

<sup>85</sup> See 2.8.

<sup>86</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.8.



an intertextual connexion between the passages that exclusively share it within Jewish-Greek literature, namely, *Let. Aris.* § 19 and LXX Esth C:2.

## 2.7

- LXX Esth E:21: ταύτην γὰρ ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεὸς ἀντ’ ὀλεθρίας τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ γένους ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς εὐφροσύνην
- AT Esth 7:23 [E:4]: τοῦ πάντα δυναστεύοντος δικαιοκρίτου; 7:30 [E:21]: ἐν αὐταῖς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν καὶ εὐφροσύνην
- VL Esth E:21: *hanc enim qui omnibus praeest* [MS 130: *qui omnium potestatem habet*] *deus pro execrabili electi generis fecit laetitiam*
- 3 Macc 2:7: τοὺς δὲ ἐμπιστεύσαντας ἐπὶ σοὶ τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι σώους διεκόμισας
- 3 Macc 5:7: τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα ... πάντες μετὰ δακρύων ἐπεκαλέσαντο δεόμενοι [5:8] ... ῥύσασθαι αὐτούς
- 3 Macc 5:28: τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος [v.l. δυναστεύοντος] θεοῦ
- *Let. Aris.* § 168: μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ
- *Let. Aris.* § 195: θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων οὐκ αὐτοὶ κατευθύνομεν τὰ βουλευθέντα· θεὸς δὲ τελειοῖ τὰ πάντων καὶ καθηγεῖται δυναστεύων

The word group consisting of the verb δυναστεύω, “to exercise power over,” “to rule,” and its cognate nouns δυνάστης, “ruler,” and δυναστεία, “power,” “rule,” used of Yahweh, is amply represented in the Septuagint: δυνάστης is used of Yahweh in 2 Maccabees (7x), in 3 Maccabees (3x), in Sirach (3x), and in Job (1x);<sup>87</sup> δυναστεία is used of Yahweh’s power and powerful deeds mainly in the Psalms

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<sup>87</sup> 2 Macc 3:24; 12:15, 28; 15:3, 4, 23, 29; 3 Macc 2:3; 5:51; 6:39; Sir 16:11; 46:5; 46:16; LXX Job 13:15.

(15x), in Sirach (5x), and in 3 Maccabees (2x).<sup>88</sup> The only instances of the verb *δυναστεύω*, used in relation to Yahweh, inside and outside the Septuagint occur in LXX Esth E:21/AT Esth 7:23, in 3 Macc 2:7 and 5:7, and in *Let. Aris.* §§ 168 and 195. In four out of these five instances, it is the present participle of the verb, *ὁ δυναστεύων*, that is used as a designation of Yahweh.

In 3 Maccabees, *δυνάστης*, *δυναστεία*, and *δυναστεύω* occur in the context of prayers.<sup>89</sup> In 3 Macc 2:7, the designation of Yahweh as *ὁ δυναστεύων* occurs in the context of the prayer of Simon, and in 5:7 in the context of the prayer of the Jews, which is given in indirect speech. In both verses, the *δυναστεύων θεός* is invoked in his capacity as saviour of the Jews exposed to danger, in the Red Sea and in the Alexandrian hippodrome, respectively. In LXX Esth E:21, too, Yahweh is invoked by King Artaxerxes as the *δυναστεύων θεός* who saved the Jews from destruction.<sup>90</sup> The noun used to denote “destruction,” the neologism *ὀλεθρία*,<sup>91</sup> strongly links LXX Esth E:21 with 3 Maccabees, as *ὀλεθρία* and *ὁ δυναστεύων* occur only two verses apart in this book, at 5:5 and 5:7, respectively. Elsewhere in the Septuagint, *ὀλεθρία* occurs only in 3 Macc 4:2. Outside the Septuagint, it is attested only in a Theodotionic reading of Zeph 2:5 (*ἔθνος ὀλεθρίας* [LXX: *πάροικοι Κρητῶν*]) and in Josephus’ re-write of the Esther story (*AJ.* 11.282). In 3 Macc 4:2, the combination *τὴν ἀπροσδόκητον ἐξαίφνης ... ὀλεθρίαν* is likely a paraphrase of an Aeschylean line, *ἀπροσδόκητος δ’ αὐτὸν ταίφινιδιος† μόρος / τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν* (*Prom.* 680),<sup>92</sup> while in 3 Macc 5:5, the combination *πέρας τῆς ὀλεθρίας*, “consummation of destruction,” “final destruction,” evokes the

<sup>88</sup> LXX Ps 19:7; 20:14; 64:7; 65:7; 70:16, 18; 77:4, 26; 79:3; 88:14; 105:2, 8; 144:11, 12; 150:2; Sir 3:20; 15:18; 34:16; 36:2; 43:29; 3 Macc 2:6; 6:12. Also in LXX 1 Chr 29:12; LXX 2 Chr 20:6; LXX Job 37:6; Jdt 9:11; 2 Macc 3:28.

<sup>89</sup> Prayer of Simon: 3 Macc 2:3: *δυνάστης δίκαιος εἶ*; 2:6: *ἐγνώρισας τὴν σὴν δυναστείαν*; 2:7: *τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι*. Prayers of the Jews: 5:7: *τὸν ... πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα*; 5:51: *τὸν τῆς ἀπάσης δυνάμεως δυνάστην*. Prayer of Eleazar: 6:12: *ὁ ... δυναστείαν ἔχων ἅπασαν*. See also 3 Macc 6:39 (*ὁ τῶν πάντων δυνάστης*), which, although not part of a prayer, reproduces terms used in the preceding prayer of Eleazar. See Enermalm-Ogawa, *Langage de prière juif*, 128 with n. 2.

<sup>90</sup> In the corresponding verse in AT Esther (7:30) occurs the epithet *παντοκράτωρ* instead of *δυναστεύων*. The composer of the AT transposed the latter participle to 7:23 [=LXX Esth E:4], in a context which emphasizes Yahweh’s capacity as righteous judge.

<sup>91</sup> Walters, *Text of the Septuagint*, 42, suggests the spelling *ὀλεθρεία*. Cf. *P.Oxy.* 4443, col. i, l. 24.

<sup>92</sup> See Kopidakis, *Γ’ Μακκαβαίων*, 40–41, 65.

Homeric ὀλέθρου πείρατα.<sup>93</sup> Such reminiscences from epic and tragic diction are at home in 3 Maccabees.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, the contrast between the impending annihilation of the Jews and the eventual joyful celebration of their deliverance, which in LXX Esth E:21 is conveyed through the antithesis between ὀλεθρία, “destruction,” and εὐφροσύνη, “merry-making,” also occurs in 3 Macc 6:30, where the more common noun ὀλεθρος is antithetically juxtaposed to εὐφροσύνη: ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἔδοξαν τὸν ὀλεθρον ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ πάσῃ σωτήρια ἄγειν.<sup>95</sup>

In LXX Addition E, the verbs ἐπικρατέω and δυναστεύω are used in close proximity, first with reference to earthly power-holders (E:6: τῶν ἐπικρατούντων [Artaxerxes]; E:7: τῶν δυναστευόντων [Haman]) and then with reference to Yahweh (E:18: τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατούντος θεοῦ; E:21: ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεός). In the latter two instances, they are construed with an accusative object (τὰ πάντα). In their instances in 3 Maccabees (2:3; 2:7; 5:7), the same verbs are construed with a genitive object.<sup>96</sup> In its instance in *Let. Aris.* § 19, the simplex κρατέω is construed with an accusative object (ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατούντος τὰ πάντα), whereas in *Let. Aris.* § 195, δυναστεύω is construed with a genitive object (θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν ἀπάντων). Despite these differences, the fact that the participles ἐπικρατῶν and δυναστεύων occur in very close proximity to one another in LXX Esth E:6 and E:7, E:18 and E:21, 3 Macc 2:3 and 2:7, and nowhere else, is hardly likely to be coincidental. The source text in this case is arguably 3 Maccabees, the author of which has a fondness for the verb δυναστεύω and its cognate nouns as well as for synonymous verbs and their cognate nouns (δεσπόζω, δεσποτεύω, δεσπότης), and the receiving text is Addition E to Esther.

It is difficult to establish if there is a connexion between *Let. Aris.* §§ 168 and 195, 3 Macc 2:7 and 5:7, and LXX Esth E:21. LXX Esth E:21 is verbally closer to *Let. Aris.*

<sup>93</sup> See Homer, *Il.* 6.143; 7.402; 12.79; 20.429; *Od.* 22.33; 22.41. On the meaning of this expression (variously rendered as “the end that is destruction,” “the boundaries or bonds of destruction”), see Björck, “ΠΕΙΡΑΤΑ,” 146, and Bergren, *Etymology*, 35–41, 164. Cf. also Pindar, *Ol.* 2.31: πείρας ... θανάτου and 2 Macc 5:8 [A' V]: πέρας κακῆς καταστροφῆς.

<sup>94</sup> See Kopidakis, Γ' Μακκαβαίων.

<sup>95</sup> See Hacham, “3 Maccabees and Esther,” 774.

<sup>96</sup> It is only in 3 Macc 5:28 that the verb δεσποτεύω, a synonym of δυναστεύω, is construed with an accusative object: τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ. Be it noted that in this verse, Codex Venetus reads δυναστευοντος instead of δεσποτεύοντος. In 3 Macc 7:9, another synonym, δεσπόζω, is construed with the genitive: τὸν πάσης δεσπόζοντα δυνάμεως.

195 (ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεός/θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν πάντων) than 3 Macc 2:7 (τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι) and 5:7 (τὸν ... πάσης δυνάμει δυναστεύοντα). We also note that the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν καλλίστων πράξεων οὐκ αὐτοὶ κατευθύνοντες τὰ βουλευθέντα· θεὸς δὲ ... καθηγείται δυναστεύων, in *Let. Aris.* § 195, resembles the phrase τοῦ ὑψίστου ... θεοῦ, τοῦ κατευθύνοντος ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει in LXX Esth E:16, as in both verses the verb κατευθύνω and the superlative κάλλιστος are used to express the notion that it is God who directs all kingly and, more generally, all human actions towards the best and most noble end.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, it is possible that LXX Esth E:21 draws not only on 3 Macc 2:7 and 5:7 but on *Let. Aris.* § 195 as well, or that Addition E and 3 Maccabees have the same author, who draws on the *Letter of Aristeas*.

## 2.8

- LXX Esth D:2: ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα
- AT Esth 5:2 [D:2]: ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν πάντων γνώστην καὶ σωτῆρα θεόν
- VL Esth D:2: *invocato domino qui omnia conspicit*
- LXX Esth E:4: τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος αἰεὶ θεοῦ μισοπόνηρον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκφεύξεσθαι δίκην
- AT Esth 7:23 [E:4]: παρελθόντες τὸ τοῦ πάντα δυναστεύοντος δικαιοκρίτου μισοπόνηρον ἐκφυγεῖν διειληφότες, τὴν δίκην
- VL Esth E:4: *dei semper omnia conspicientis malignitatem concipientes putant se evadere <iudicium>*
- LXX Esth E:18: τὴν καταξίαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος θεοῦ διὰ τάχους ἀποδόντος αὐτῷ κρίσιν
- AT Esth 7:28 [E:18]: ἀποδεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὴν καταξίαν δίκην τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτεύοντος αἰεὶ κριτοῦ

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<sup>97</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.8.

- VL Esth E:18: *digne omnia considerantis et continentis dei per celeritatem illi reddentis iudicium*
- 3 Macc 2:21: ἐνταῦθα ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεὸς καὶ προπάτωρ ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ... τὸν ὕβρει καὶ θράσει μεγάλως ἐπηρμένον ἐμάστιξεν αὐτὸν [2:22] ... δικαίᾳ περιπεπληγμένον κρίσει
- 2 Macc 3:39: αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ τὴν κατοικίαν ἐπουράνιον ἔχων ἐπόπτης ἐστὶ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου καὶ τοὺς παραγινομένους ἐπὶ κακώσει τύπτων ἀπολλύει
- 2 Macc 7:35: οὕτω γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ κρίσιν ἐκπέφυγας
- 2 Macc 9:5: ὁ δὲ παντεπόπτης κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνιάτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ πληγῇ; 9:18: ἐπεληλύθει γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν δικαία ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσις
- 2 Macc 12:22: ἐκ τῆς τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐφορῶντος ἐπιφανείας; 15:2: ὑπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος
- *Let. Aris. § 16*: τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην θεὸν οὗτοι σέβονται, ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δέ, βασιλεῦ, προσονομάζοντες ἐτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία

In five of the above-quoted verses/paragraphs occurs the *nomen agentis* ἐπόπτης, “overseer,” used with reference to Yahweh. In three of these verses/paragraphs (LXX Esth D:2; 3 Macc 2:21; *Let. Aris. § 16*), it governs the objective genitive πάντων. These are the only instances inside and outside the Septuagint where Yahweh is designated as ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός, “the god who surveys all things.” Variants of the latter expression occur in LXX Esth E:4 and in AT Esth 7:28 [E:18], where the participle κατοπεύων is used instead of ἐπόπτης (ὁ τὰ πάντα κατοπεύων), in 2 Macc 9:5, where ἐπόπτης and the objective genitive πάντων have merged into the compound noun παντεπόπτης, in 2 Macc 7:35, where ἐπόπτης is conjoined with the παντ- compound παντοκράτωρ, and in 2 Macc 12:22 and 15:2, where instead of ἐπόπτης occurs the present participle of its cognate verb ἐφοράω (ὁ [τὰ] πάντα

ἐφορῶν). The noun ἐπόπτης<sup>98</sup> and the expressions ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης,<sup>99</sup> ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐφορῶν,<sup>100</sup> and ὁ τὰ πάντα κατοπεύων<sup>101</sup> are also attested outside the Septuagint; παντεπόπτης is a Septuagint neologism.<sup>102</sup>

In most of the instances of the aforementioned nouns and expressions, the all-seeing and overseeing power of Yahweh is related to his capacity to judge and punish evil acts: in LXX Esth E:4 and in AT Esth 7:28 [E:18], the punishment of the villain Haman is presented as an act of justice delivered by God “who observes all things closely” (τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπεύοντος); 3 Macc 2:21 introduces the punishment that Yahweh, “the overseer of all things” (ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης), inflicts on King

<sup>98</sup> For an overview of the use of ἐπόπτης and its cognates in pagan Greek and in Jewish-Greek literature, see Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Dio ἐπόπτης.”

<sup>99</sup> In pagan Greek literature, the expression ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης (θεός) occurs, but not before the first century CE, in the *Epistles* of Chion of Heraclea (16.6: θεὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην) and of Phalaris (104.1.17: τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην ἥλιον), in Cornutus’ *Compendium de Graecae theologiae traditionibus* (9.16: πάντων αἴτιος καὶ ἐπόπτης), in a magical scroll describing, inter alia, a rite for the consecration of a magical ring, where we find the same combination of divine epithets which occurs in 3 Macc 2:21 (PGM 12.237 [ca. 100 CE]: τὸν προπάτορα θεῶν, πάντων ἐπόπτην κ[α]ὶ κύριον), and in an epitaph from Alexandria, in which a poisoned woman appeals to “the most high god and overseer of all” to avenge her death (SB 1.1323 [second century CE], ll. 1–2: θεῷ ὑψίστῳ καὶ πάντων | ἐπόπτη).

<sup>100</sup> The combination ἐφοράω + τὰ πάντα is attested as early as Homer, *Il.* 3.277 and *Od.* 11.109, 12.323 (used of Helios), Sophocles, *El.* 175 (used of Zeus), and Xenophon, *Cyr.* 8.7.22 (used of the gods). The formula which occurs in 2 Macc 12:22 and 15:2, ὁ (τὰ) πάντα ἐφορῶν, is also notably found in two Jewish inscriptions from the island of Rheneia, near Delos, dated to the late second or early first century BCE, which invoke God and his angels to avenge the murder of two girls: *ID* 2532, I, A, ll. 9–10; I, B, ll. 13–14; II, ll. 9–10: κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ. See van der Horst and Newman, *Early Jewish Prayers*, 135–43. See also LXX Job 28:24: αὐτὸς γὰρ τὴν ὑπ’ οὐρανὸν πᾶσαν ἐφορᾷ; 34:23: ὁ γὰρ κύριος πάντας ἐφορᾷ.

<sup>101</sup> The designation ὁ τὰ πάντα κατοπεύων, formed by analogy to ὁ πάντ’ ἐποπεύων, which in extant Greek tragic poetry is used of Helios and Zeus (see Aeschylus, *Cho.* 985–86: ὁ πάντ’ ἐποπεύων τάδε / Ἥλιος; *TrGF* 2, fr. 167a [ed. Kannicht and Snell], l. 4: Ζεὺς ὁ πάντ’ ἐποπεύων), is elsewhere used of a deity only in the third of Isidorus’ hymns to Isis-Hermouthis, dated to the early first century BCE at the latest, where the goddess appears to watch from above all human actions, pious and impious. See Bernand, *Inscr. Métr.* 175, III, ll. 26–27: κόσμον ἅπαν διάγουσα [sc. Isis], κατοπεύουσα ἅπαντα | ἔργ’ ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβῶν τε καὶ εὐσεβῶν καθορώσα. In a later invocation of Isis (*P.Oxy.* 11.1380 [98–136 CE]), the goddess is called κατόπτis (ll. 87–88) and παντόπτis (l. 93). κατόπτis is an epithet of Zeus already in Aristophanes, *Ach.* 435: ὦ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα πανταχῇ.

<sup>102</sup> Already in ancient Greek tragic poetry we are met with the cognate nouns πανόπτης/παντόπτης, used as epithets of Zeus, Helios, and Argos. See Usener, *Götternamen*, 59–60, and Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Dio ἐπόπτης,” 78–79. In Sib. Or. fr. 1.4, we encounter the epithet πανεπόπτης (θεὸν ... / ὑψίστον γνώστην πανεπόπτην μάρτυρα πάντων). Cf. the epithet πανεπόψιος, attested in *IMT Kyz Propküste* 1865 [second–first century BCE], l. 9: Δίκη καὶ Ζεῦ πανεπόψιε, and πανεπόπης, attested in *IG XII Suppl.* 30 [Mytilene; first–second century CE], l. 1: Ζηνὶ θεῶν ὑπάτῳ πανεπόπῃ. For later instances of παν(τ)όπτης and παντεπόπτης, see Tantillo, “Costantino e Helios *Panteoptēs*,” 174–77.

Ptolemy IV Philopator for wanting to force his entry into the Temple;<sup>103</sup> in 2 Macc 3:39, Yahweh is called “overseer” (ἐπόπτης) of the Temple in connexion with the punishment of the would-be desecrator Heliodorus, and in 2 Macc 7:35 and 9:5, he is called “overseer” (ἐπόπτης) and “all-seeing” (παντεπόπτης), respectively, in connexion with the punishment of King Antiochus IV Epiphanes, an enemy of the Jews; lastly, in 2 Macc 15:2, the Jews warn the general Nikanor not to attack the Maccabean army on the Sabbath, the day honoured by Yahweh “who watches over all things” (τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος). Except for the last instance, in which the punishment is implied and foreshadowed, all the other references to Yahweh’s all-seeing and overseeing capacity are accompanied by terms that denote justice/judgement (LXX Esth E:4: μισοπόνηρον ... δίκην; LXX Esth E:18/AT Esth 7:28: τὴν καταξίαν κρίσιν/δίκην; 2 Macc 7:35: κρίσιν; 2 Macc 9:18: δικαία ... κρίσις; 3 Macc 2:22: δικαία ... κρίσει) and various types of (corporal) punishment (2 Macc 3:39: τύπτων ἀπολλύει; 2 Macc 9:5: ἐπάταξεν ... πληγῇ; 3 Macc 2:21: ἐμάστιξεν).

However, there are two Septuagint instances, in which Yahweh’s all-seeing and overseeing power is not related to his capacity as judge/punisher: in 2 Macc 12:22, he is invoked as ὁ πάντα ἐφορῶν in the context of a battle, during which the divine epiphany turns the enemies of the Jews into flight; and in LXX Esth D:2, Esther invokes him as overseer of all things and saviour (πάντων ἐπόπτην θεὸν καὶ σωτῆρα)<sup>104</sup> in the context of her preparation for her unsolicited audience with the king. Outside the Septuagint, in *Let. Aris.* § 16, Yahweh is called ἐπόπτης in the context of his syncretistic identification with Zeus, a god often envisaged in pagan literature as “overseer.”

Considering that 2 Maccabees is the book with the highest number of instances of ἐπόπτης and cognate compounds in the Septuagint<sup>105</sup> and that for the episode recounting King Ptolemy IV Philopator’s thwarted attempt to enter the Temple, 3 Maccabees is generally thought to have drawn upon the Heliodorus story in 2

<sup>103</sup> ἐπόπτης is echoed further on in 3 Maccabees in the second aorist imperative of the cognate verb ἐφοράω, which occurs twice in the prayer of Eleazar (3 Macc 6:3, 12: ἔφιδε).

<sup>104</sup> The combination ἐπόπτης καὶ σωτήρ elsewhere occurs in an inscription from Bousiris (Abu Sir Bana), in which it is used of the Egyptian god Helios-Harmachis (OGIS 666; 55–59 CE), ll. 24–25: προσκυνήσας τὸν Ἥλιο[ν] | Ἀρμαχίν ἐπόπτην καὶ σωτῆρα).

<sup>105</sup> See Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Dio ἐπόπτης,” 53, 69–75.

Maccabees (3:7–40),<sup>106</sup> it is likely that for the expression ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης, 3 Macc 2:21 drew on 2 Macc 3:39. A double influence from 2 Macc 3:39 and *Let. Aris.* § 16 cannot be excluded either, given that the expression ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός is shared by 3 Macc 2:21 and *Let. Aris.* § 16 but not by 3 Macc 2:21 and 2 Macc 3:39, and that 3 Maccabees exhibits additional verbal similarities with the *Letter of Aristeas*, inter alia, with *Let. Aris.* § 15.<sup>107</sup>

What connects 3 Macc 2:21 with LXX Esth D:2 is that in both verses, Yahweh is referred to as ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός immediately after a prayer for the salvation of the Jews is offered by the high priest Simon and Esther, respectively.<sup>108</sup> In 3 Macc 2:21, Simon's prayer is answered on the spot, as Yahweh, "the overseer of all things," strikes the would-be desecrator of the Temple, King Ptolemy IV, senseless to the ground. In LXX Esth D:2, Esther's concern is not that Yahweh punishes the enemies of the Jews but that he assists her to appear before the king uninvited—an act liable to cost her her life—in order to intervene on behalf of her co-religionists. That she invokes Yahweh as "saviour" (σωτήρ) is understandable,<sup>109</sup> but "overseer" (ἐπόπτης) is not an epithet one would naturally anticipate in this context; βοηθός, "helper," or ἀντιλήμπτωρ, "supporter," would have been more apropos. Even ὁ πάντων γνώστης, "the omniscient," which occurs in AT Esth 5:2 [D:2], fits better the context, as it hearkens back to the prayers of both Esther and Mordecai,<sup>110</sup> unlike ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης, which has no resonances with the preceding prayers. Given that the epithet ἐπόπτης fits better into the context of 3 Macc 2:21, where it is associated with Yahweh's capacity as judge and punisher, as it is in all its other instances in the Septuagint (except for LXX Esth D:2), and that 3 Macc 2:21, as aforementioned, likely draws on 2 Macc 3:39 (and possibly also on *Let. Aris.* § 16), if we posit an intertextual connexion between 3 Macc 2:21 and LXX Esth

<sup>106</sup> See Tcherikover, "Third Book of Maccabees," 6; Tromp, "Formation," 318–22; Hacham, "Sanctity," 171–77; Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 220–27; 296–98. For a list of the verbal similarities between 2 and 3 Maccabees, see Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 369–70.

<sup>107</sup> See Study 1, 2.2.8.

<sup>108</sup> See Passoni Dell'Acqua, "Dio ἐπόπτης," 47–48.

<sup>109</sup> σωτήρ harks back to the exchange of messages between Esther and Mordecai prior to their respective prayers (LXX Esth 4:11: οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ σωτηρία ... οὗτος σωθήσεται; 4:13: μὴ εἴπῃς σεαυτῇ ὅτι σωθήσῃ μόνη) as well as to Esther's prayer, where she repeatedly asks Yahweh to save her and her people (LXX Esth C:25/AT Esth 4:25: ἡμᾶς δὲ ῥύσαι; LXX Esth C:30/AT Esth 4:29: ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ... ῥύσαί με).

<sup>110</sup> See LXX Esth C:25/AT Esth 4:25: πάντων γνώσιν ἔχεις; LXX Esth C:26, 27/AT Esth 4:25, 26: οἶδας. Cf. LXX Esth C:5/AT Esth 4:14 (Mordecai's prayer): σὺ πάντα γινώσκεις σὺ οἶδας.



D:2, we have some grounds for assuming that the direction of influence goes from the former to the latter rather than vice-versa.<sup>111</sup> 3 Maccabees has, in fact, one more verbal point of contact with Addition D in GVVL/VL Esther. I discussed this point in Study 1 (2.2.7), where I expressed uncertainty about the direction of the possible dependence between GVVL/VL Esth D:8 (which differs verbally from LXX Esth D:8/AT Esth 5:7) and 3 Macc 6:22.

Lastly, I want to draw attention to the notable verbal similarity between LXX Esth E:4 and 2 Macc 7:35. In the former verse, King Artaxerxes refers to those who, like Haman, think that they can escape the evil-hating justice (μισοπόνηρον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκφεύξασθαι δίκην) of the god who always observes everything closely (τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτέοντος ἀεὶ θεοῦ). In the latter verse, a young man who is about to be tortured to death by order of King Antiochus IV reminds the king that he has not yet escaped (οὐπω γὰρ ... ἐκπέφευγας) the judgement of the almighty, overseer god (τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ κρίσιν). The verbal similarity involves the expressions ὁ τὰ πάντα κατοπτέων θεός/ὁ παντοκράτωρ ἐπόπτης θεός and ἐκφεύγω δίκην/κρίσιν.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, the adjective μισοπόνηρος, “evil-hating,” which in LXX Esth E:4 modifies the phrase δίκη θεοῦ, links this verse with 2 Macc 8:2–4, where Judas Maccabeus and his followers invoke God to look upon (8:2: ἐπιδεῖν) the oppressed Jews and show his hatred of wickedness (8:4: μισοπονηρῆσαι).<sup>113</sup> LXX Esth E:4 and 2 Macc 8:4 are the only verses in the Septuagint and the Pseudepigrapha, where a member of the μισοπονηρ- word group is used in relation to Yahweh and his justice.

This similarity may indicate that LXX Esth E:4 draws on 2 Macc 7:35. A more audacious possibility is that the author of Addition E is the same as the author of 3 Maccabees, who often draws on 2 Maccabees. Support for this supposition comes from the fact that in the context of 2 Macc 7:35 we can trace points of verbal contact with 3 Maccabees. In 2 Macc 7:34, the young Jew who is about to be tortured calls the king ἀνόσιος, “unholy,” and φρυαττόμενος, “puffed up” (σὺ δέ,

<sup>111</sup> It should also be noted that 3 Macc 2:21 has a verbal similarity with LXX Esth B:2, namely, the combination ἐπαίρομαι + θράσος. See 2.1, where I argue that LXX Esth B:2 is indebted either to 3 Macc 2:21 or to 3 Macc 6:4 for this combination.

<sup>112</sup> LXX Addition E, like 2 Maccabees (7:36; 8:11, 13; 9:4, 18), uses both δίκη (E:4) and κρίσις (E:18) with reference to God’s punishing justice. Compare, also, E:18: τὴν καταξίαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος θεοῦ ... ἀποδόντος αὐτῷ κρίσιν, and 2 Macc 4:38: τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῷ κόλασιν ἀποδόντος.

<sup>113</sup> See Passoni Dell’Acqua, “Dio ἐπόπτης,” 52 n. 15

ὧ ἀνόσιε καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μιάρωτατε, μὴ μάτην μετεωρίζου φρουαττόμενος ἀδῆλοις ἐλπίσιν); in 3 Macc 2:2, the high priest Simon uses in his prayer the same terms with respect to King Ptolemy IV Philopator (πρόσχευς ἡμῖν καταπονούμενοις ὑπὸ ἀνοσίου καὶ βεβήλου, θράσει καὶ σθένει πεφρουαγμένου); in 2 Macc 7:32, the young martyr states that he and his brothers suffer because of their sins (διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτίας πάσχομεν); the same confession of sin occurs in the prayer of Simon (3 Macc 2:13: διὰ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας καταπονούμεθα); in 2 Macc 7:20, the mother of the aforementioned young Jew sees her son and his brothers perish “in the space of a single day” (ἀπολλυμένους ... μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας); the same temporal expression, which does not occur anywhere else in ancient Greek literature, is used in 3 Macc 4:14 of the Jews who are doomed to perish in the hippodrome of Alexandria (ἀφανίσαι μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας). Additional evidence comes from the fact that 3 Maccabees and Addition E seem to have drawn independently on the same chapter of 2 Maccabees: the former is indebted to 2 Maccabees 15 for the divine attributes τερατοποιός (3 Macc 6:32; 2 Macc 15:21) and ἐπιφανὴς κύριος (3 Macc 5:35; 2 Macc 15:34) and the latter for the adjective τρισαλιτήριος (LXX Esth E:15; 2 Macc 8:34; 15:3).<sup>114</sup> Moreover, as I showed in 2.3 and 2.5, both LXX Esth B:5 (πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυγχάνειν) and 3 Macc 3:18 (δι’ ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φιλανθρωπίαν) seem to be acquainted with the speech of the ex-high priest Alcimus to King Demetrius I in 2 Macc 14:6 (οὐκ ἐώντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν) and 14:9 (καθ’ ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐαπάντητον φιλανθρωπίαν), respectively. It would indeed be a remarkable coincidence, if both Additions B and E to Esther and 3 Maccabees drew not only on the same book, namely, 2 Maccabees, but also on verses that are situated in close proximity within this book.

<sup>114</sup> See Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 232–44. It is also noteworthy that both 3 Maccabees and Addition E seem to have drawn on LXX Isaiah: the former has drawn the phrases ὕβρις ἀνόμων (3 Macc 6:12) and ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις (3 Macc 2:2, 21) from LXX Isa 13:11 and 57:15, respectively (see Corley, “Divine Sovereignty,” 368–69, 379, 383), and the latter has drawn the phrase ἐκλεκτὸν γένος from LXX Isa 43:20. On the possible acquaintance of both the author of 3 Maccabees and the author of LXX Addition B with the poetry of Euripides, see Study 1, 2.2.9b with n. 129.

### 3. Conclusion

In this study, I examined eight verbal similarities which are shared between the Greek Esther, 3 Maccabees, and the *Letter of Aristeas*. In Study 1 (2.2.8), I examined one more similarity shared by these texts, which I will also take into consideration in this conclusion.

The first noteworthy finding of my examination concerns the distribution of the shared similarities in the three aforementioned books. In the *Letter of Aristeas*, the verbal points of contact that it shares with both 3 Maccabees and the Greek Esther are situated in different parts of the book: in Aristeas' and his fellow courtiers' plea to King Ptolemy II to liberate the Jewish slaves in Egypt (§§ 15, 16, 19), in Ptolemy II's liberation *prostagma* (§§ 24, 25), in the letters exchanged between Ptolemy II and the high priest Eleazar (§§ 36, 37, 45), in Eleazar's defence of the Jewish Law (§§ 157, 168), and in the banquet section (§§ 195, 290). In 3 Maccabees, the verses that exhibit similarities with both the Greek Esther and the *Letter of Aristeas* are dispersed in four different chapters (2, 3, 5, 7). In Greek Esther, the similarities shared with the two other books occur only in the Additions, mainly in B and E but also in C and D.

In the parallels that I discussed in this study, the version of the Greek Esther that shares verbal similarities with 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas* is the LXX. In half of the parallels that I examined (2.2; 2.3; 2.6; 2.8), 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas* share points of verbal contact with the LXX but not with the AT or the VL, which, with respect to these points, either differ from the LXX or have minuses.<sup>115</sup>

With regard to Additions B and E, I argued that they are involved in an intertextual relationship with 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas*. The strongest evidence for this relationship comes from *Let. Aris.* §§ 24–25, 3 Macc 3:25–26, 7:7–8, and LXX Esth B:5–7 (see 2.2 and 2.3), and *Let. Aris.* § 36, 3 Macc 3:18, 3:20, and LXX Esth E:11 (see 2.5). These passages, I argued, provide evidence of an influence flowing from the *Letter of Aristeas* to 3 Maccabees, and from 3 Maccabees to Additions B and E to Esther. In other words, when composing the letters of

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<sup>115</sup> It should be noted, though, that the differences between the VL and the LXX in the relevant verses may be due to the Latin translator's difficulty in rendering an intricate text (B:5) or to the corruption of his Greek *Vorlage* (B:6).

Ptolemy IV Philopator, the author of 3 Maccabees drew on Ptolemy II Philadelphus' liberation *prostagma* and his letter to the high priest Eleazar in the *Letter of Aristeas*, and the author of the letters of Artaxerxes in Additions B and E to Esther drew, in turn, on the letters of Ptolemy IV in 3 Maccabees. In Study 1 (2.2.8), I reported a similar finding concerning the relationship between *Let. Aris.* § 15, 3 Macc 7:2, and LXX Esth E:16. The fact that these passages use the verb κατευθύνω to convey the idea that God directs the affairs of the king, and that this verb is one of Ps.-Aristeas' *Lieblingsworte*, which he employs nine times throughout his book, whereas in the other books it occurs only in the verses that share similarities with *Let. Aris.* § 15, indicates that the initial hypotext in the intertextual chain connecting the three texts is the *Letter of Aristeas*.

With regard to the prayers in LXX Addition C, I found evidence suggesting that they are intertextually related to the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees, with the direction of influence running from the former to the latter. The author of the prayer of Simon seems to have drawn on the prayers of Mordecai and Esther, more specifically on C:2 (πάντων κρατῶν) and C:23 (πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν), for the divine designations παντοκράτωρ (3 Macc 2:2) and τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν (3 Macc 2:3), respectively. The prayer of Simon, more specifically 3 Macc 2:3 (τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν) and 2:7 (τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι), appears to have, in turn, provided LXX Addition E to Esther with the divine designations ὁ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατῶν (E:18) and ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων (E:21). The *Letter of Aristeas*, in which ὁ κρατῶν τὰ πάντα (§ 19) and ὁ δυναστεύων (§168; § 195) occur, may also be involved in this relationship through the latter of these two divine designations (see 2.6 and 2.7).

The connexion of Addition D to Esther with 3 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas* through another divine designation, ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης, is difficult to pin down, as it involves one more intertext, namely, 2 Maccabees. In this case, I tentatively suggested as likely the dependence of 3 Macc 2:21 on either 2 Macc 3:39 or *Let. Aris.* § 16 (or on both) and, furthermore, the dependence of LXX Esth D:2 on 3 Macc 2:21 (see 2.8). Two more verses of 2 Maccabees, both from Alcimus' speech to King Demetrius I, seem to be intertextually connected, one (2 Macc 14:9) to 3 Macc 3:18 and the other (2 Macc 14:6) to LXX Esth B:5 (see 2.3 and 2.5), while a line from a letter of King Antiochus V to Lysias embedded in the same book (2 Macc 11:23) may be intertextually connected to LXX Esth B:2 (see 2.1).

In all the above-cited instances of verbal contact between the *Letter of Aristeas*, 3 Maccabees, and the Greek Esther, it is 3 Maccabees that is directly dependent on the *Letter of Aristeas*. The only instances for which I consider possible a direct contact between the *Letter of Aristeas* and Additions B and E to Esther, unmediated by 3 Maccabees, concern *Let. Aris.* § 291 and LXX Esth B:2, *Let. Aris.* § 39 and LXX Esth E:17, and *Let. Aris.* § 195 and LXX Esth E:21 (see 2.1, 2.4, and 2.7, respectively).

A possibility that arose from the examination of the verbal similarities between 3 Maccabees and Additions B and E to Esther is that these texts were written by the same author. However outré this hypothesis may appear, it would explain not only the many lexical, phraseological, and stylistic similarities that 3 Maccabees and Additions B and E share but also the fact that these texts seem to draw independently on the same intertexts. In particular, the posited acquaintance, independently of one another, of both 3 Maccabees and Additions B and E with nearby verses of chapters 14 and 15 of 2 Maccabees (see 2.3, 2.5, and 2.8) can only inadequately be explained by assuming that the composer of the two Additions belonged to the same literary milieu as the author of 3 Maccabees and was acquainted with the same literary works that were produced or were popular in that milieu. Apropos of this issue, there are two possibilities to consider:

- a) The author of 3 Maccabees engaged in a form of self-plagiarism, composing the two letters of Artaxerxes by reusing phraseology that he had already employed in his two letters of Philopator; additionally, he borrowed phraseology from some of the sources that he had used for his narrative work.
- b) The author of Additions B and E was able to identify that some of his lexical and phraseological borrowings from 3 Maccabees came from 2 Maccabees and other works that the author of 3 Maccabees had drawn upon; in turn, he himself became indebted to these works for some of his other borrowings.

Support for the former possibility comes from the fact that the composer of the letters of Artaxerxes in Additions B and E draws not only on the two royal letters in 3 Maccabees but also on various other parts of the same book. For example, LXX Esth B:2 is verbally indebted not only to 3 Macc 3:15 and 3:21 (first letter of Ptolemy IV) but also to either 3 Macc 2:21 (the verse following the prayer of

Simon) or 3 Macc 6:4 (prayer of Eleazar) for the combination ἐπαίρομαι + θράσος (see 2.1). Similarly, LXX Esth E:21 seems to be indebted to either 3 Macc 2:7 (prayer of Simon) or 3 Macc 5:7 (prayer of the Jews) for the divine epithet ὁ δυναστεύων, to 3 Macc 5:5 for the neologism ὀλεθρία, and to 3 Macc 6:30 for the antithesis between ὀλεθρία and εὐφροσύνη; all these verses are situated outside of the royal letters (see 2.7).

In fact, as can be seen in the table in Appendix 6, all but the first verse of Addition B (B:2–7) and more than half of the verses of Addition E to Esther (E:2–7, 11–12, 15–16, 18–19, 21, 24) bear the imprint of the verbal influence of 3 Maccabees. Such an intimate familiarity on the part of the author of the two Additions with the diction of 3 Maccabees is puzzling. It causes one to wonder why an author who was undoubtedly capable of producing a finely written literary composition, as evidenced by the unusually high-flown Greek in which the two Additions are couched, would choose to appropriate to such an extent the diction, and even the literary influences, of another author—possibly someone roughly contemporary to him—in order to compose just two short letters. If, on the other hand, it was the author of 3 Maccabees who composed Additions B and E, one might wonder why he would have become involved in the composition of the Additions to Esther. I will attempt to address this and other questions in *Additions B and E to Esther Reconsidered*, which will be the follow-up to the two studies included in this volume.



# Appendices



## Appendix 1 [2.2.4]: Verbal parallels between VL Esth 4:16–17 and 3 Macc 1:18–27

LXX Joel 1:14, 2:15–17	LXX Jonah 3:7–8	LXX Esth 4:16	AT Esth 4:11	VL Esth 4:16; H:5	VL Esth 4:17	3 Macc 1:16–27	2 Macc 3:15–22
						1:16: τῶν δὲ ἱερέων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐσθήσεσι προσπεσόντων	3:15: οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ... ἐν ταῖς ἱερατικαῖς στολαῖς ῥίψαντες ἑαυτοὺς
						1:17: οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπολειπόμενοι ... ἐξεπήδοναν	3:18: οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἀγέληδὸν ἐξεπήδον
1:14: ἀγιάσατε νηστεῖαν, κηρύξατε θεραπείαν,			παραγγεῖλατε θεραπείαν				
συναγάγετε πρεσβυτέρους ...							
καὶ κεκράξατε			καὶ δεήθητε				
πρὸς κύριον ἐκτενῶς			τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκτενῶς				
2:15: ἀγιάσατε νηστεῖαν,	καὶ νηστεύσατε ἐπ' ἑμοῖ			et annuntia ieiunium			

LXX Joel 1:14, 2:15–17	LXX Jonah 3:7–8	LXX Esth 4:16	AT Esth 4:11	VL Esth 4:16; H:5	VL Esth 4:17	3 Macc 1:16–27	2 Macc 3:15–22
κηρύζετε θεραπεΐαν,			(παραγγείλατε θεραπεΐαν)	praedica igitur sanitatem	praedicavit sanitatem		
2:16: συναγάγετε λαόν, ἀγιάσατε ἐκκλησίαν,		ἐκκλησίασιν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν Σούσοις					
ἐκδέξασθε πρεσβυτέρους,				et dicito presbyteris ut faciant ieiunium	presbyteri autem et anus exierunt ad deprecandum	1:23: ὑπὸ τε τῶν γεραίων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀποτραπέντες	
συναγάγετε νήπια θηλάζοντα μαστούς,				lactantes autem separent nocte a matribus suis	separati sunt infantes a matribus suis	1:20: τὰ δὲ νεογνὰ τῶν τέκνων αἵ τε πρὸς τούτοις μητέρες καὶ τιθηνοὶ παραλείπουσαι	
ἐξελεύσονται νυμφὸς					sponsi autem	1:18: αἵ τε κατάκλειστοι παρθέναι	3:19: αἱ δὲ κατάκλειστοι τῶν παρθένων
ἐκ τοῦ κοιτῶνος [v.l. νυμφωνος] αὐτοῦ					exierunt de thalamis	ἐν θαλάμοις ... ἐξώρμησαν	
καὶ νύμφη					et sponsae	1:19: αἱ δὲ καὶ προσαρτίως ἐσταλμέναί	

LXX Joel 1:14, 2:15–17	LXX Jonah 3:7–8	LXX Esth 4:16	AT Esth 4:11	VL Esth 4:16; H:5	VL Esth 4:17	3 Macc 1:16–27	2 Macc 3:15–22
ἐκ τοῦ παστοῦ αὐτῆς					de pascuis [read: pastis] suis	τοὺς πρὸς ἀπάντησιν διατεταγμένους παστοὺς ... παραλείπουσαι	
	3:7: οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ κτήνη						
	καὶ οἱ βόες καὶ τὰ πρόβατα			boves et pecora	boves et pecora praecepit		
	μὴ γευσάσθωσαν μηδὲν μηδὲ νεμέσθωσαν μηδὲ ὕδωρ πίετῳσαν ...	καὶ μὴ φάγητε μηδὲ πίητε ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τρεῖς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν		non pascantur tribus diebus	ut tribus diebus et tribus noctibus non pascerentur		
					omnes autem acceperunt cinerem	1:18: ἀπέδωκαν [στοδῶ καί] κόνει τὰς κόμας πασάμεναι	
	3:8: καὶ ἀνεβόησαν				et invocabant	1:27: ἐτράπησαν εἰς τὸ ... ἐπικαλεῖσθαι	3:22: ἐπεκαλοῦντο
	πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐκτενῶς				excelsum dominum ut propitius illorum fieret humilitati	τὸν πᾶν κράτος ἔχοντα κύριον	τὸν παγκρατῆ

LXX Joel 1:14, 2:15–17	LXX Jonah 3:7–8	LXX Esth 4:16	AT Esth 4:11	VL Esth 4:16; H:5	VL Esth 4:17	3 Macc 1:16–27	2 Macc 3:15–22
2:17: μή δῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος				H:5: non des hereditatem nostram in infamiam			
τοῦ κατάρξαι αὐτῶν ἔθνη				ut hostes dominentur nostri			

# Appendix 2 [2.2.8]: Verbal parallels between LXX/AT/VL Esth E:16 and 3 Macc 3:26, 6:28, and 7:2

LXX Hos 1:10 [2:1]	Let. Aris. § 15	Let. Aris. § 45	3 Macc 3:26	3 Macc 6:28	3 Macc 7:2	LXX Esth E:16	AT Esth 7:27 [E:16]	P.Oxy. 4443 col. i, ll. 1-4	VL Esth E:16	Ps-Jul. Ep. 51 (ed. Wright), 397D
	ἀπόλυσον			ἀπολύσατε						
υἱοὶ	τοὺς συνεχομένους ἐν ταλαιπωρίαις			τοὺς υἱοὺς		υἱοὺς	υἱοὺς	[...]	fili	
		ὁ κυριεύων ἀπάντων		τοῦ παντοκράτορος		τοῦ ὑψίστου	τοῦ μόνου	[υψιστου]	excelsi	
				ἐπουρανίου	τοῦ μεγάλου	μεγίστου	καὶ ἀληθινοῦ	καὶ μεγίστου		τῷ μέizonι
ζῶντος				ζῶντος		ζῶντος		ζώντος		
θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	θεός		θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	[θεου]	dei	
	κατευθύνοντος	ἵνα διασώζη	ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ	ὅς εὐσταθείαν παρέχει	κατευθύνοντος [v.l. κατευθυαντος]	τοῦ κατευθύνοντος	τοῦ κατευθύναντος	του] κατευθυγαντος	dirigentis	τῷ δυναμένῳ κατευθῦναι

LXX Hos 1:10 [2:1]	Let. Aris. § 15	Let. Aris. § 45	3 Macc 3:26	3 Macc 6:28	3 Macc 7:2	LXX Esth E:16	AT Esth 7:27 [E:16]	P.Oxy. 4443 col. i, ll. 1-4	VL Esth E:16	Ps-Jul. Ep. 51 (ed. Wright), 397D
	σοι	σοι	ἡμῖν		ἡμῖν	ἡμῖν τε	ἡμῖν	ἡμειν [τε	nobis	
				προγόνων		καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις		καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις	et posteris	
				ἀφ' ἡμετέρων		ἡμῶν		ἡμῶν		
	τὴν βασιλείαν	τὴν βασιλείαν	τὰ πράγματα	τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν	τὰ πράγματα	τὴν βασιλείαν	τὴν βασιλείαν	[τὴν βασιλείαν]	regnum	τὴν βασιλείαν
			καὶ τῇ βελτίᾳ τῇ διαθέσει			ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει	ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει			ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα
				μέχρι τοῦ νῦν			μέχρι τοῦ νῦν			
	καθὼς περιέργασμαι	καθὼς προαιρῇ			καθὼς προαιρούμεθα			καθ' ὅτι προαιρούμεθα	sicut volumus	καθ' ὅτι προαιρούμεθα

Appendix 3 [2.2.9a–b]: Verbal parallels between VL Esth B:7 and 3 Macc 3:27–29, and LXX/AT/VL Esth E:24 and 3 Macc 3:29 and 5:43

Let. Artis. § 25	3 Macc 5:43	3 Macc 3:27–29	VL Esth B:7	LXX Esth E:18; E:24	AT Esth 7:28 [E:18]; 7:32 [E:24]	VL Esth E:18; E:24
		3:27: ὅς δ' ἂν σκεπάζῃ	qui autem celaverit			
		τινὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων (...)	genus iudaeorum			
		αἰσχίσταις [v.l. εχθίσταις] βασάνοις				
		ἀποτυμπανισθήσεται πανοικίᾳ		E:18: ἐσταυρώσθαι σὺν τῇ πανοικίᾳ	7:28: ἐσταυρώσθαι	E:18: crucifixum cum omni domo sua
τὸν δὲ βουλόμενον προσαγγέλλειν περὶ τῶν ἀπειθησάντων		3:28: μνησύνειν δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον				
ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦ φανέντος ἐνόχου τὴν κυρίαν ἔξειν· τὰ δὲ ὑπάρχοντα τῶν τοιούτων		ἐφ' ᾧ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ ἐμπύπτοντος ὑπὸ τὴν εὐθυναν λήμψεται	et substantia eius			
εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἀναληφθήσεται		καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς δισχιλίας...	in regnum conferetur			

Let. Aris. § 25	3 Macc 5:43	3 Macc 3:27-29	VL Esth B:7	LXX Esth E:18; E:24	AT Esth 7:28 [E:18]; 7:32 [E:24]	VL Esth E:18; E:24
	τὴν Ἰουδαίαν	3:29; πᾶς δὲ τόπος		E:24: πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ἢ χώρα	7:32: ἡ δὲ πόλις καὶ ἡ χώρα	E:24: omnis civitas et regio
		οὐ ἔαν φωραθῇ τὸ σύνολον		τὸ σύνολον		in totum
		σκεπαζόμενος Ἰουδαίος		ἥτις κατὰ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃ	ἥτις κατὰ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσαι	quae secundum haec non fecerit
	ἰσώπεδον πυρὶ καὶ δόρατι	पुरिφλεγής	et igni sancto	δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ	δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ	hasta et igni
	θήσεσθαι	γινέσθω	comburetur	καταναλωθήσεται	καταναλωθήσεται	consumpta [cf. P.Oxy. 4443: καταναλωθείσα]
	διὰ τάχους			μετ' ὀργῆς	μετ' ὀργῆς	cum ira
			non solum inter homines	οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις	καὶ οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις	non solum hominibus
	καὶ τὸν ἄβατον αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ναὸν πυρὶ πρηνέα τάχει τῶν συντελούντων ἐκεῖ θυσίας	ἄβατος		ἄβατος	ἄβατος	[invia]
		καὶ πάση θνητῇ φύσει	sed nec inter aves	ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς	ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς	sed et feris et volatilibus



Let. Aris. § 25	3 Macc 5:43	3 Macc 3:27-29	VL Esth B:7	LXX Esth E:18; E:24	AT Esth 7:28 [E:18]; 7:32 [E:24]	VL Esth E:18; E:24
	εις τὸν ᾧπαντα χρόνον	εις τὸν ᾧει χρόνον		εις τὸν ᾧπαντα χρόνον		in omne tempus
	[ἐρημον]	κατὰ πᾶν ᾧχρηστος	inhabitabilis	ἐχθιστος [v.l. αισχιστος]		abominabilis [cf. P.Oxy. 4443: αισχιστος]
	καταστήσειν	φανήσεται		κατασταθήσεται	ἐκταθήσεται	relinquetur

Appendix 4a [4.2.7; 4.3]: Parallels between the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in LXX Esther and the prayer of Simon in 3 Maccabees

Shared element	Prayer of Mordecai (LXX Esther)	Prayer of Simon (3 Maccabees)
Yahweh as King	C:2: κύριε, κύριε βασιλεῦ	2:2: κύριε, κύριε βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν
Yahweh as Almighty	C:2: πάντων κρατῶν	2:2: παντοκράτωρ
Yahweh as Creator	C:3: σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν	2:3: σὺ γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα
Yahweh as Sovereign over all	C:23: πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν	2:3: τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν
Insolence	C:5: οὐκ ἐν ὕβρει οὐδὲ ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ ... ἐποίησα τοῦτο	2:4: τοὺς ὕβρει καὶ ἀγερωχίᾳ τι πράσσοντας
Exodus	C:9: μὴ ἐπερίδῃς τὴν μερίδα σου, ἣν σεαυτῷ ἐλυτρώσω ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου	2:6–7: τὸν θρασὺν Φαραῶ ... ἐγνώρισας τὴν σὴν δυναστείαν ... τοὺς δὲ ἐμπιστεύσαντας ἐπὶ σοὶ ... σώους διεκόμισας
Praise in the mouths of the Jews	C:10: ἡ ἀφανίσῃς στόμα αἰνούντων σοι	2:20: δὸς αἰνέσεις ἐν τῷ στόματι τῶν καταπεπτωκότων
	<b>Prayer of Esther (LXX Esther)</b>	
Fathers	C:16: ἔλαβες ... τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ... εἰς κληρονομίαν αἰώνιον	2:12: θλιβέντων τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐβοήθησας αὐτοῖς
“And now...”	C:17: καὶ νῦν	2:13: ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν
Sin	C:17: ἡμάρτομεν ἐνώπιόν σου	2:13: διὰ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἡμῶν ἁμαρτίας
Punishment (submission to the enemies)	C:17: καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν	2:13: ὑπετάγημεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν
Threat against the Temple	C:20: σβέσαι δόξαν οἴκου σου καὶ θυσιαστήριόν σου	2:14: καθυβρίσαι τὸν ... ἅγιον τόπον
“Do not...”	C:22: μὴ παραδῶς	2:17: μὴ ἐκδικήσῃς ἡμᾶς
<i>Schadenfreude</i>	C:22: μὴ καταγελασάτωσαν	2:17: ἵνα μὴ καυχῶνται ... μηδὲ ἀγαλλιάσωνται
Downfall of the Jews	C:22: ἐν τῇ πτώσει ἡμῶν	2:14: ἐν δὲ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ καταπτώσει
Exemplary punishment	C:22: παραδειγματίσον	2:5: παράδειγμα ... καταστήσας
Yahweh as Sovereign over all	C:23: πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν	2:3: τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν
“Put speech/praises in the mouth...”	C:24: δὸς λόγον εὐρυθμον εἰς τὸ στόμα μου	2:20: δὸς αἰνέσεις ἐν τῷ στόματι τῶν καταπεπτωκότων

## Appendix 4b [4.2.4; 4.3]: Parallels between the prayer of Esther in VL Esther and the prayer of Eleazar in 3 Maccabees

Shared element	Prayer of Esther (VL Esther)	Prayer of Eleazar (3 Maccabees)
The Patriarchs	C:14: deus Abraham	6:3: ἔπιδε ἐπὶ Αβρααμ σπέρμα
	C:14: deus Isaac	
	C:14: deus Iacob	6:3: ἐπὶ ἡγιασμένου τέκνα Ιακωβ
<i>exempla</i>	C:16: Noe ... Abrahæ	6:4-5: Φαραω ... Σενναχηρειμ
<i>exempla</i> : Jonah, the Three Youths, Daniel	C:16: Ionam	6:8: Ιωνᾶν
	C:16: Ananiam, Azariam, Misahel	6:6: τρεῖς ἐταίρους
	C:16: Danihel	6:7: Δανιηλ
<i>exempla</i>	C:16: Ezechiae ... Annae	
“and now” + vocative of divine appellation + imperative	C:25: et nunc ... domine deus domine deus subveni	6:9: καὶ νῦν, μίσυβρι πολυέλεε τῶν ὅλων σκεπαστά, τὸ τάχος ἐπιφάνηθι
“free /rescue us from the hand of our enemies”	C:30: nos autem libera de manu inimicorum nostrorum cf. LXX C:30/AT 4:29: ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν πονηρευομένων	6:10: ῥυσάμενος ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ ἐχθρῶν χειρὸς
“appear/manifest yourself”	C:23: appare domine	6:9: ἐπιφάνηθι

# Appendix 5 [Study 2]: Verbal similarities between the *Letter of Aristeas*, 3 Maccabees, LXX Esther, and 2 Maccabees

	Letter of Aristeas	3 Maccabees	LXX Esther	2 Maccabees
2.1	§ 290: οὐ τοσούτον τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ... ὅσον ἐπικεικία καὶ φιλανθρωπία πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερήρκας	3:15: ἡγησάμεθα μὴ βιά δόρατος, ἐπικεικία δὲ καὶ πολλῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τιτηνήσασθαι τὰ ... ἔθνη 3:21: ἐβουλήθημεν καὶ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ... καταξιῶσαι καὶ μετόχους ... καταστήσαι 2:21: τὸν ὕβρει καὶ θράσει μεγάλως ἐπλημένον 6:4: ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει	B:2: ἐβουλήθην— μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαιρόμενος, ἐπικεικότερον δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος αἰεὶ διεξάγων	
	§ 291: τί μέγιστόν ἐστι βασιλείας; ... τὸ διὰ παντός ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεστάναι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους		B:2: τοὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀकुμάτους [AT: ἀταράχους] διὰ παντὸς καταστήσαι βίους	11:23: βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀταράχους ὄντας
2.2	§ 24: τὸ δίκαιον ἀπονέμειν... πρὸς τε τὸ δίκαιον	7:7: δικαίως		
	§ 24: προστετάχαμεν	3:25: προστετάχαμεν 7:8: προστετάχαμεν	B:6: προστετάχαμεν οὖν	
		3:25: ἐν τοῖς γεγραμμένοις	B:6: τὴν ἐπιστολὴν	
		3:25: σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις	B:6: σὺν γυναιξίν καὶ τέκνοις	

	Letter of Aristeas	3 Maccabees	LXX Esther	2 Maccabees
2.3		3:25: ἀποστείλαι ... εις ... φόνον 7:5: ἄνευ πάσης ἀνακρίσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνελεῖν	B:6: ἀπολέσαι ... ἄνευ παντός οἴκτου καὶ φειδούς	
		§ 24: πανταχῇ	7:8: ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ [v.l. τόπῳ]	
		§ 24: καθ' ὄντινον τρόπον	7:7: καθ' ὄντινον ... τρόπον	
		§ 24: ἀπολύειν	7:7: ἀπολεύκαμεν	
	§ 25: διελήφαμεν γάρ καὶ ἡμῖν συμφέρειν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι τοῦτ' ἐπιτελεσθῆναι § 37: διελιφότες εὐσεβώς τοῦτο πράττει	3:26: διελήφαμεν	B:5: διελιφότες οὖν	
		3:19: μονώτατοι τῶν ἐθνῶν 7:9: θεὸν ὕψιστον ἀντικείμενον ἡμῖν ... κατὰ πᾶν ἀφεύκτως διὰ παντὸς ἔξομεν	B:5: τόδε τὸ ἔθνος μονώτατον ἐν ἀντιπαρωγῇ παντὶ διὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπῳ κείμενον	
		3:7: δυσμενεῖς 3:19: τὴν δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς δυσμένειαν 3:25: δυσμενέει 7:4: δι' ἣν ἔχουσιν οὗτοι πρὸς τὰ πάντα ἔθνη δυσμένειαν	B:4: δυσμενῇ λαόν τινα τοῖς νόμοις ἀντίθετον πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος B:7: οἱ πάλοι καὶ νῦν δυσμενεῖς	
		3:24: τούτους κατὰ πάντα δυσνοεῖν ἡμῖν τρόπον	B:5: δυσνοοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν	

	Letter of Aristeeas	3 Maccabees	LXX Esther	2 Maccabees
	§ 216: θεός δὲ πάντα διαλογισμὸν καὶ πράξιν ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τρεπομένην κατευθύνει ... διὸ καὶ περὶ σὲ διὰ παντός ἐστιν εὐσάφεια	6:28: εὐστάθειαν παρέχει [ὁ θεός] τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν 7:4: μήποτε εὐσταθήσῃν τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν	B:5: πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυγχάνειν	14:6: οὐκ ἐόντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν
		3:26: εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον	B:7: εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον	
		3:26: ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ καὶ τῇ βελτίστῃ διαθέσει κατασταθήσεται	B:7: ὅπως ... εὐσταθῇ καὶ ἀτάραχα παρέχουσιν	
	§ 25: καὶ ἡμῖν συμφέρειν	3:26: ἡμῖν	B:7: ἡμῖν	
		3:26: τελείως	B:7: διὰ τέλους	
	§ 25: καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι	3:26: τὰ πράγματα	B:7: τὰ πράγματα	
2.4	§ 39: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις		E:17: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε	
2.5	§ 36: καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ παραλαβόντες τὴν βασιλείαν φιλανθρωπότερον ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς πᾶσι	3:18: δι' ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φιλανθρωπίαν 3:20: ἡμεῖς δὲ ... τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι φιλανθρωπῶς ἀπαντήσαντες	E:11: ἔτυχεν ἡς ἔχομεν πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος φιλανθρωπίας	14:9: καθ' ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐαπάντητον φιλανθρωπίαν
2.6	§ 19: ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὰ πάντα § 157: τοῦ κρατοῦντος θεοῦ	2:2: κύριε κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν ... παντοκράτωρ 2:3: σὺ γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα καὶ τῶν ὄλων ἐπικρατῶν	C:2: κύριε, κύριε, βασιλεῦ πάντων κρατῶν C:23: βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν καὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατῶν E:18: τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος θεοῦ	

	Letter of Aristeas	3 Maccabees	LXX Esther	2 Maccabees
2.7	<p>§ 168: τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ</p> <p>§ 195: θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν ἀπάντων ... θεὸς δὲ τελειοῖ τὰ πάντων καὶ κατηγεῖται δυναστεύων</p>	<p>2:7: τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι</p> <p>5:7: τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα</p> <p>cf. 5:28: τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος [v.l. δυναστεύοντος] θεοῦ</p> <p>5:51: τὸν τῆς ἀπάσης δυνάμεως δυνάστην</p> <p>6:12: ὁ πᾶσαν ἀλήτην καὶ δυναστείαν ἔχων ἄπασαν</p> <p>4:2: τὴν ... ἐπικριθεῖσαν ὀλεθρίαν</p> <p>5:5: πέρας τῆς ὀλεθρίας</p> <p>6:30: ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἔδοξαν τὸν ὀλεθρον ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ πάση σωτήρια ἄγειν</p>	<p>E:21: ταύτην γὰρ ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεὸς ἀντ' ὀλεθρίας τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ γένους ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς εὐφροσύνην</p>	
2.8	<p>§ 16: τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην θεόν</p>	<p>2:21: ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός</p>	<p>D:2: τὸν πάντων ἐπόπτην θεὸν καὶ σωτήρα</p> <p>E:4: τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπτέοντος αἰὶ θεοῦ μισοπόνηρον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκφεύξεσθαι δίκην</p>	<p>3:39: ὁ τὴν κατοικίαν ἐπουράνιον ἔχων ἐπόπτης ἐστὶ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου</p> <p>7:35: οὕπῳ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ κρίσιν ἐκπέφηνε</p> <p>9:5: ὁ δὲ παντεπόπτης κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ</p>

## Appendix 6 [Study 2, 3]: Verbal similarities between LXX Additions B and E to Esther, 3 Maccabees, 2 Maccabees and the *Letter of Aristeas*

Letter of Aristeas	2 Maccabees	3 Maccabees	Additions B and E to Esther
§ 291: τὸ διὰ παντὸς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεστάναι τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους βασιλείας ἀταράχους ὄντας	11:23: βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀταράχους ὄντας	3:21: ἐβουλήθημεν	B:2: ἐβουλήθην ... τοὺς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀκυμάτους [AT: ἀταράχους] διὰ παντὸς καταστήσαι βίους ... ἀνανεώσασθαι τε τὴν ... εἰρήνην
§ 290: οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ δόξῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς ... ὅσον ἐπικεικία καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ		3:15: μὴ βιά δόρατος, ἐπικεικία δὲ καὶ πολλῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ 2:21: τὸν ὕβρει καὶ θράσει μεγάλως ἐπηρεζόμενον 6:4: ἐπαρθέντα ἀνόμῳ θράσει 7:6: καθ' ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπιείκειαν	B:2: μὴ τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαιρόμενος, ἐπικειέστερον δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος
		3:3: εὐνοίαν καὶ πίστιν ἀδιάστροφον 5:31: τῶν ... ἀποδεδειγμένων ὁλοσχερῇ βεβαίαν πίστιν ἐξ ὅχως Ἰουδαίων 7:7: ἣν ἔχουσι βεβαίαν ... εὐνοίαν	B:3: ἐν τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἀπαράλλάκτως καὶ βεβαίᾳ πίστει ἀποδεδειγμένος
		3:7: δυσμενεῖς 3:25: δυσμενέσι 3:22: διηνεκῶς δὲ εἰς τὸ φαῦλον ἐκνεύοντες	B:4: δυσμενῇ λαόν τινα ... τὰ τε τῶν βασιλέων παραπέμποντας διηνεκῶς διατάγματα B:7: οἱ δυσμενεῖς
§ 25: διειλήφομεν § 37: διειληφότες		3:26: διειλήφομεν	B:5: διειληφότες
		3:19: μονώτατοι τῶν ἐθνῶν 7:9: ἀντικείμενον ... διὰ παντός	B:5: τότε τὸ ἔθνος μονώτατον ἐν ἀντιπαραγωγῇ ... διὰ παντὸς ... κείμενον



Letter of Aristeas	2 Maccabees	3 Maccabees	Additions B and E to Esther
		3:24: δυσνοεῖν ἡμῖν 6:28: τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν	B:5: δυσνοοῦν τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν
	14:6: οὐκ ἑώντες τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυχεῖν	7:4: μήποτε εὐσταθήσῃν τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν	B:5: πρὸς τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας τυγχάνειν
§ 24: προστετάχαμεν ὅσα τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἐστὶ σωμάτων ἐν οἰκετίαις πανταχῇ καθ' ὄντιν οὖν τρόπον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ... ἀπολύειν		3:25: προστετάχαμεν ... σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ... ἀποστεῖλαι ... εἰς ... φόνον 7:1: τοῖς τεταγμένοις ἐπὶ πραγμάτων 7:8: προστετάχαμεν ... ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ [v.l. τόπῳ]	B:6: προστετάχαμεν ... τοῦ τεταγμένου ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ... σὺν γυναιξὶν καὶ τέκνοις ... ἀπολύσαι
		7:5: ἄνευ πάσης ἀνακρίσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως	B:6: ἄνευ παντὸς οἴκτου καὶ φειδοῦς
	7:20: ἀπολλυμένους ... μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας	2:28: βίᾳ φερομένους τοῦ ζῆν μεταστῆσαι 3:26: διελήφαμεν εἰς τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον τελείως ἡμῖν τὰ πράγματα ἐν εὐσταθείᾳ καὶ τῇ βελτίστῃ διαθέσει κατασταθήσεσθαι 4:14: ἀφανίσαι μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας 6:28: εὐσταθείαν παρέχει τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν	B:7: ὅπως ... ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ βιαίως εἰς τὸν ἄδην καταλθόντες εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον εὐσταθῇ καὶ ἀτάραχα παρέχων ἡμῖν διὰ τέλους τὰ πράγματα
		7:3: πυκνότερον ἡμῖν παρακείμενοι	E:2: πυκνότερον τιμώμενοι
	15:6: ὑψουχενῶν	3:19: καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέταις ὑψουχενούντες οὐδὲν γνήσιον βούλονται φέρειν 6:24: καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ὑμῶν εὐεργέτην ἐπιχειρεῖτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥδη καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεθιστᾶν λάθρα μηχανώμενοι τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα τῇ βασιλείᾳ	E:3: τὸν τε κόρον οὐ δυνάμενοι φέρειν καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέταις ἐπιχειροῦσιν μηχανᾶσθαι

Letter of Aristeas	2 Maccabees	3 Maccabees	Additions B and E to Esther
§16: τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην θεόν	3:39: ὁ τὴν κατοικίαν ἐπουράνιον ἔχων ἐπόπτης ἐστὶ καὶ βοηθὸς ἐκείνου τοῦ τόπου 7:35: οὕτω γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ κρίσιν ἐκπέφυγας 9:5: ὁ δὲ παντεπόπτης κύριος 8:2-4: ἔπεκαλοῦντο τὸν κύριον ἐπιδεῖν ... καὶ μισοπονηρῆσαι	2:21: ὁ πάντων ἐπόπτης θεός	E:4: τοῦ τὰ πάντα κατοπευόντος ἀεὶ θεοῦ μισοπόνηρον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκφεύξεσθαι δίκην
		7:3: τῶν φίλων τινὲς κακοηθεῖα πυκνότερον ἡμῖν παρακείμενοι 3:22: τῇ συμφύτῳ κακοηθείᾳ τὸ καλὸν ἀπωσάμενοι 3:21: μετόχους τῶν ἀεὶ ἱερέων καταστήσαι	E:5-6: τῶν πιστευθέντων χειρίζειν φίλων τὰ πράγματα ... τῷ τῆς κακοηθείας ψευδεὶ παραλογισμῷ E:5: μετόχους αἱμάτων ἀθύων καταστήσασα
		1:21: ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνοσίως ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατεγχειρουμένοις 6:24: τυράννους ὑπερβεβήκατε ὡμότητι	E:7: ὅσα ἐστὶν ... ἀνοσίως συντετελεσμένα τῇ τῶν ἀνάξια δυναστευόντων λοιμότητι [AT: ὡμότητι]
	11:23: βουλόμενοι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἀταράχους ὄντας		E:8: προσέχειν εἰς τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀτάραχον τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μετ' εἰρήνης παρεξόμεθα
§ 36: καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ... φιλανθρωπότερον ἀπαντῶμεν τοῖς πᾶσι	14:9: καθ' ἣν ἔχεις πρὸς ἅπαντας εὐαπάντητον φιλανθρωπίαν	3:18: δι' ἣν ἔχομεν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους φιλανθρωπίαν 3:20: ἡμεῖς δὲ ... τοῖς πᾶσιν ἔθνεσι φιλανθρώπως ἀπαντήσαντες	E:11: ἔτυχεν ἡς ἔχομεν πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος φιλανθρωπίας
§ 289: καὶ τινες τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ... χαλεπώτεροι τῶν ἀνοσίων τυράννων ἐξεβήσαν		6:24: τυράννους ὑπερβεβήκατε ὡμότητι καὶ ἐμὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ὁμῶν ευεργέτην ἐπιχειρεῖτε τῆς ἀρχῆς ἥδη καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεθιστᾶν	E:12: ἐπετήδευσεν τῆς ἀρχῆς στερῆσαι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος

Letter of Aristeas	2 Maccabees	3 Maccabees	Additions B and E to Esther
			AT 7:26 [E:12]: ἐπετήδευσεν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος μεταστήσαι
	8:34; 15:3: ὁ δὲ τριασλιτῆριος	5:20, 5:38: ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀφανισμόν	E:15: τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ τριασλιτηρίου παραδεδομένους εἰς ἀφανισμόν Ἰουδαίους
§ 15: ἀπόλυσον § 24: τὸ δίκαιον ἀπονέμειν ὁμολογούμενοι ... καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἐκζητοῦντες τὸ καλῶς ἔχον πρὸς τε τὸ δίκαιον ... προστετάχαμεν ... πανταχῇ καθ' ὄντινον τρόπον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ... ἀπολύειν § 37: τῷ μεγίστῳ θεῷ ... ὃς ἡμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ δόξῃ κρατίστη ... διατετήρηκεν § 45: ἵνα σοι γένηται καθὼς προαφῇ διὰ παντός, καὶ διασώξῃ σοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν εἰρήνῃ μετὰ δόξης ὁ κυριεύων ἀπάντων θεός		3:26: τῇ βελτίστῃ διαθήσει 6:28: ἀπολύσατε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπουραίου θεοῦ ζώντος, ὃς ἀφ' ἡμετέρων μέχρι τοῦ νῦν προγόνων ... εὐστάθειαν παρέχει τοῖς ἡμετέροις πράγμασιν 7:2: κατευθύνοντος ἡμῖν τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ τὰ πράγματα, καθὼς προαιρούμεθα 7:7-8: δικαίως ἀπολελύκαμεν πάσης καθ' ὄντινον αἰτίας τρόπον	E:16: ὄντας δὲ υἱοὺς τοῦ υἱίστου μεγίστου ζώντος θεοῦ, τοῦ κατευθύνοντος ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθήσει [P.Oxy. 4443: καθαπερ προαιρουμένα] AT 7:27 [E:16]: ὄντας δὲ καὶ υἱοὺς τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ καὶ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ κατευθύναντος ἡμῖν τὴν βασιλείαν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
§ 39: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις			E:17: καλῶς οὖν ποιήσετε
§ 19: ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατούντος τὰ πάντα § 157: τοῦ κρατούντος θεοῦ	4:38: τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῷ κόλασιν ἀποδόντος	3:27: ἀποτυμανισθήσεται πανοικία 2:3: σὺ γὰρ ὁ κτίσας τὰ πάντα καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπικρατῶν	E:18: ἐσταυρώσθαι σὺν τῇ πανοικίᾳ E:18: τὴν καταξίαν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐπικρατούντος θεοῦ διὰ τάχους ἀποδόντος αὐτῷ κρίσιν
		7:12: κατὰ πάντα τὸν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τόπον μετὰ παρησίας	E:19: ἐκθέντες ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ μετὰ παρησίας
	11:31: χρήσθαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δαπανήμασι καὶ νόμοις		E:19: ἔαν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους χρήσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν νομίμοις

Letter of Aristeas	2 Maccabees	3 Maccabees	Additions B and E to Esther
§ 168: μεμνημένοι τοῦ δυναστεύοντος θεοῦ § 195: θεὸς δυναστεύει τῶν ἀπάντων ... θεὸς ... καθηγεῖται δυναστεύων		2:7: τῷ τῆς ἀπάσης κτίσεως δυναστεύοντι 5:7: τὸν παντοκράτορα κύριον καὶ πάσης δυνάμεως δυναστεύοντα	E:21: ὁ τὰ πάντα δυναστεύων θεός
		4:2: ὀλεθρίαν 5:5: πέρας τῆς ὀλεθρίας 6:30: τὸν ὀλεθρον ... ἐν εὐφοροσύνῃ	E:21: ἀντ' ὀλεθρίας ... ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς εὐφροσύνην
§ 180: μεγάλην δὲ τέθειμαι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ... καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπίσημος ἔσται	15:36: ἐδογμάτισαν δὲ ... μηδαμῶς ἔασαι ἀπαρασήμαντον τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχειν δὲ ἐπίσημον τὴν τρισκαιδέκατην τοῦ δωδεκάτου μηνός		E:22: καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπωνόμοις ὑμῶν ἐορταῖς ἐπίσημον ἡμέραν μετὰ πάσης εὐωχίας ἄγετε
		3:29: πᾶς δὲ τόπος, οὗ ἔαν φωραθῇ τὸ σύνολον σκεπαζόμενος Ἰουδαῖος, ἄβατος καὶ πυριφλεγῆς γινέσθω καὶ πάση θνητῇ φύσει κατὰ πᾶν ἄχρηστος φανήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον 5:43: ἰσόπεδον πυρὶ καὶ δόρατι θήρεσθαι ... καὶ τὸν ἄβατον αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ναὸν πυρὶ πρηγέα ... εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καταστήσιν 6:23: μετ' ὀργῆς	E:24: πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ἢ χώρα τὸ σύνολον, ἥτις κατὰ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃ, δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται μετ' ὀργῆς· οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἔχθιστος κατασταθήσεται



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## Abbreviations

C. Ord. Ptol.=Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées*.

RC=Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period*.

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