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The Aramaic Dream of Mordechai: A Critical Edition

The Aramaic Dream of Mordechai is a short Aramaic text—some fifty-one verse, containing three "supplements" to the biblical book of Esther: Mordechai's dream, his prayer and Esther's prayer. The text is not well-known and has rarely been studied.

Cory Weiss has transcribed all the manuscript copies of the text that he could locate—a total of eleven to produce a version based on Codex Valmadona 1 with variants from the other manuscripts incorporated into a critical apparatus. This is a very useful aspect of his work because the previous critical edition, published over a hundred years ago, was based on far fewer manuscripts and is available only in a small number of libraries.

Cory has provided an English translation (the only previous translation into English is also not readily available). He has annotated the translation with references to possible sources for the text's phrasing and provided an Aramaic-English glossary.

One of the more intriguing problems of this text is its relationship to other texts and particularly to the co-called Additions to the Septuagint version of Esther. The fact that there are parallels to the Dream of Mordechai in rabbinic texts such as Esther Rabbah or Legach Tov is hardly surprising and unfortunately as is usual in such cases there is little evidence to indicate who borrowed from whom. The closest parallel is with the enigmatic Sefer Yosipon. Either the Aramaic Dream of Mordechai is a translation of Josipon or Josipon is a translation of the Dream of Mordechai.

The Septuagint version of Esther contains six additions, three of which correspond to the three parts of the Aramaic Dream of Mordechai. Interestingly these three are the three additions which are generally agreed to be translations from a Semitic language. The existence of Hebrew and Aramaic versions of the appropriate additions has occasionally been noticed but the possibility that these might represent the source for the Septuagint has always been quickly rejected.

Cory Weiss hypothesises that the Aramaic Dream of Mordechai (together with Josipon) is related to the Semitic source of the Septuagint—"another recension" as he terms it. This seems to me to be a fair deduction from the little that we know about any of the texts, though it is entirely possible to construct other valid hypotheses.

It is unlikely that the Aramaic Dream of Mordechai is itself the pre-massoretic Vorlage of the Septuagint because its language is not what we would expect from the Second Temple period. At the very least we would have to conclude that this putative ancient text suffered at the hands of copyists who introduced a number of Talmudic Aramaic features into its language. A section of the thesis is devoted to a discussion of these problems.

A lot of hard work and thought has gone into this thesis. The collation of the eleven manuscripts will be of particular

scholarly value. One of its more striking features is the aids offered to the reader. As well as the annotated translation and glossary, Cory has provided two appendixes where he has laid out the various parallels to the Aramaic text in parallel columns. Finally the discussion of the various views on the origin of the Septuagint and its additions should stimulate some rethinking about their relationship to the Aramaic Dream of Mordechai.

Richard T. White
March 31, 1993

THE ARAMAIC "DREAM OF MORDECAI": A CRITICAL EDITION

CORY A. WEISS

**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements for Ordination**

**Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
Graduate Rabbinic Program
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To my greatest love,
my best friend,
my support when I've fallen,
my editor,
my inspiration,
my constant companion,
my eternal partner,
my wife

Karen

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List of Abbreviations

Add	Addition	Jer.	Jeremiah
AT	Greek "A-text" of Esther	Ps.	Psalms
BA	Biblical Aramaic	Dan.	Daniel
BT	Babylonian Talmud		
Frag. V	Vatican Targum Fragment, as published by M. Klein	<u>Text with Apparatus</u>	
		in text	variant found in the main text <i>only</i>
Heb.	Hebrew	om.	omission
LXX	Septuagint	+	plus (not in main text)
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)		
MT	Masoretic Text	<u>Glossary</u>	
N	Neophyti	adj.	adjective
O	Onkelos	dem. pron.	demonstrative pronoun
PsJ	Pseudo-Jonathan	indef. art.	indefinite article
PT	Palestinian Targum	m.	masculine
Tg.	Targum	m.p.	masculine plural
		n.	noun
<u>Biblical Books</u>		pass. part.	passive participle
Gen.	Genesis	pl.	plural
Ex.	Exodus		
Lev.	Leviticus		
Num.	Numbers		
Deut.	Deuteronomy		
Jud.	Judges		
Isa.	Isaiah		

Introduction

The Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai,"¹ an apocryphal addition to the biblical book of Esther, has been shrouded in obscurity for over one hundred years. "Dream of Mordecai" consists of three sections: Mordecai's Dream, Mordecai's Prayer, and Esther's Prayer. The dream is one that foreshadows the entire scroll of Esther. Mordecai dreams of two giant sea-serpents (representing Mordecai and Haman) who wage war on the earth. Their battle is fierce, and all of the inhabitants of the earth shudder at the ferocity of their fight. Mordecai dreams that the only thing able to separate the two combatants is a small stream (Esther) that grows into a great river which stops the monsters from their war. The dream also concerns a small nation (Israel) who is oppressed by many large nations. In the end, the small nation is victorious over the other nations and is greatly exalted. Mordecai reports the dream to Esther when she is a girl, and then reminds her of this dream after Haman invents his plan to destroy the Jewish people.

The prayers of both Mordecai and Esther are very much like those of Daniel (Daniel 9:4-19) and Judith (Judith 9:2-14) in style and form. All of these prayers demonstrate striking similarities in their themes, plots, and even details. Consider the following passages from the prayers of Esther, Daniel and Judith:

Daniel 9:3 I turned my face to the Lord God, devoting myself to prayer and supplication, in fasting, in sackcloth and ashes.

¹In most MSS, the title given is חילמא דמרדכי or חלום [ד] מרדכי, though in each case the dream is followed by the prayers of Mordecai and Esther.

“Dream” v. 28ff. Esther fled and turned to Adonai—going before Him in prayer . . . She threw off her royal clothing and her glorious adornments, and she wore sackcloth. And, uncovering the hair of her head, she filled it with dust and ashes. She afflicted herself with fasting and hid herself in a secret place.

Judith 8:5, 9:1 . . . she set up a tent for herself on the roof of her house. She put sackcloth around her waist and dressed in widow’s clothing. She fasted all the days of her widowhood . . . Then Judith prostrated herself, put ashes on her head, and uncovered the sackcloth she was wearing.

The comparison between Esther’s Prayer and Daniel’s continues:

Daniel 9:15 Now, O Lord our God—You who brought Your people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, winning fame for Yourself to this very day—we have sinned, we have acted wickedly.

“Dream” v. 36ff. For I have heard from my forefathers, who told me that You led our ancestors from among the nation, brought them out of Egypt, and killed every firstborn of the Egyptians for their sake. . . . You led Your people from amongst them, and You revealed Your strong hand and outstretched arm to the Egyptians for the sake of Your people. But when our ancestors sinned against Your great name, You delivered them into the hands of their captors; and behold, we are in exile to this day.

Both Mordecai’s Prayer and Esther’s Prayer are prayers for the redemption of the Jewish people from the evil plan of Haman, and both prayers employ a liberal smattering of Biblical, rabbinic and liturgical echoes, as do those of Daniel and Judith.

The only critical edition of the work was published in 1888 by A. Merx in his *Chrestomathia Targumica*.² Scholars have variously described the Aramaic additions to

²Adalbertus Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica: ad codices vocalibus Babylonias instructos*, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium*, no. 8 (Berlin: H. Reuther’s Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1988).

Esther as "based on the LXX,"³ "a reproduction of the work of Josephus ben Gorion [Josippon],"⁴ and even representative of the original *language* of the book of Esther.⁵

The veracity of any of these claims is elusive however, because there has been no close study of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" since Merx published his text, in which he presented a critical text with an apparatus (consisting of five MSS) and made no comments on the contents or character of the work itself. That scholars have given the "Dream of Mordecai" a quick dismissal is no proof of its significance or insignificance regarding the study of the Jewish Apocrypha.

At the present time, eleven complete manuscripts of "Dream of Mordecai" are extant in European libraries.⁶ The manuscripts date from 1189 C.E. to the sixteenth century. Though Merx's text is the only critical edition, "Dream of Mordecai" has been published in a number of printed editions over the past two hundred years. The first of these was a transcription of MS Urbinati 1, published in the Assemanus catalog to the Vatican Library in 1756.⁷ The second was de Rossi's,⁸ published in 1784, which was a transcription of MS Paris 17. In addition to these, various manuscripts of "Dream of Mordecai" have been published by Lagarde,⁹ Jellinek¹⁰, and Wertheimer.¹¹

³Carey A. Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 92 (1973): 382-393.

⁴J.M. Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," in *The Apocrypha of the Speaker's Commentary*, edited by Henry Wace (London: John Murray, 1888), p. 363.

⁵Charles C. Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther," *Harvard Theological Review* 37 (January 1944): 1-40.

⁶According to a search of the index to the *מכון לחצולמי כחבי-יד* in the National Library, Jerusalem, Israel.

⁷Stephanus and Joseph Assemanus, *Bibliothecæ Apostolicæ Vaticanæ Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus*, 3 vols. (Rome: Typographia Linguarum Orientalium, 1756; reprint ed., Paris: Library Orientale et Américaine, 1926).

⁸Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi, *Varie Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, 2 vols. (Parme: Ex Regio Typographeo, 1784).

⁹Paulus de Lagarde, ed., *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, 1873. Reprint ed., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967.

¹⁰Adolph Jellinek, ed., *Bet ha-Midrash*, 6 vols., 2nd edition (Jerusalem: Bamberger & Wahrmann, 1938). Jellinek's text was reproduced in Eisenstein's *Otsar Midrashim*.

¹¹Shlomo Aharon Wertheimer, *בתי מדרשו*, 2 vols. 2nd edition revised and edited by Abraham Joseph Wertheimer (Jerusalem: K'tav Yad va-Sefer, 1989).

Along with these Aramaic reproductions, only four translations of the text into modern languages exist. Assemanus and de Rossi included Latin translations in their books. J.M. Fuller translated the text into English as a footnote in *The Apocrypha of the Speaker's Commentary*,¹² and Wünsche included a German translation in his *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*.¹³

It seems that the cause of the relative obscurity of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" is the existence of the Greek additions to the book of Esther found in the Septuagint. The six additions in the LXX are considered a part of the Jewish Apocrypha. Jerome placed them at the end of the book of Esther in his Latin translation of the Bible. The Council of Trent (1546) declared the additions "deuterocanonical," and decreed that they should be printed after the fashion of Jerome in all Catholic Bibles.¹⁴ Martin Luther's disdain for the book of Esther caused the additions to "fall from grace" among early Protestants, and to this day they are usually "relegated to a separate place in the Protestant Bibles."¹⁵ Because of the acceptance (though sometimes limited) of the Greek additions, all other versions have been brushed aside as derivatives of the Greek.

There are six standard additions to the book of Esther, as found in the LXX, and "deuterocanonized" and ordered by Jerome. The additions are commonly labeled with the letters A through F, and their contents are as follows:

¹²J.M. Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," pp. 361-402.

¹³Aug. Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen: Kleine Midraschim zur späteren legendarischen Literatur des Alten Testaments*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1908).

¹⁴William Albright and David Freedman, gen. eds., *The Anchor Bible*, 51 vols. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1977), vol. 44: *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, by Carey A. Moore, p. 155.

¹⁵*Ibid.*

A. The Dream of Mordecai described above. In most copies of the LXX¹⁶, the dream is found at the beginning of the book of Esther, preceding chapter one of the Hebrew text. The Greek text also includes a description of a plot against King Ahasuerus by two of his chamberlains. Mordecai learns of the plot and informs the king. The chamberlains are executed, and Haman vows to destroy the Jews, presumably because of Mordecai's informing on the conspirators (and not because of Mordecai's refusing to bow down to Haman, as in Esther 3:5).¹⁷

B. The letter ordaining the destruction of the Jews issued by King Ahasuerus. This addition follows Esther 3:13 in the LXX.

C. The Prayers of Mordecai and Esther. These follow Esther 4:17 in LXX, and contain some narrative not found in the Aramaic text.

D. Esther in the presence of the king. This addition follows immediately after C in the LXX, and expands the description of Esther's appearance before the king found in MT Esther 5:1-2.

E. The second letter of the king, reversing the decree against the Jews. The letter also includes a condemnation of Haman. In the letter, the king allows the Jews to observe all of their laws, celebrate Purim, and avenge themselves on their enemies.¹⁸ Addition E follows Esther 8:12 in the LXX.

¹⁶According to Brenton, in a note to his translation.

¹⁷Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 178. For additional comments on the enmity between Haman and Mordecai, see note to verse 15 of the translation of "Dream of Mordecai," p. 75.

¹⁸And not simply defend themselves, as reported in MT Esther.

F. The interpretation of Mordecai's Dream, and a final word about the significance of the feast of Purim. This addition serves as the ending of the LXX version, and provides a colophon detailing the date of the Greek translation, and the name and place of the translator. This addition is not found in the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," but it is significant to any discussion of the dating of the additions to Esther.¹⁹

There are at least six versions of the additions to Esther in three languages. There are three Greek versions: The Septuagint, which contains all six extant additions; the "A-text", or Lucianic text, which is an alternate version published in a number of sources;²⁰ and the account of Josephus, which includes only additions B, C, D, and E (the dream and its interpretation are not recorded). In addition to the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" there are the two targumim to Esther, which include parts of the prayers, but not the dream. Hebrew versions of the additions, or at least various pieces of them, are found in Josippon, Midrash Esther Rabbah, Midrash *Lekah Tov*, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel, though none of the Semitic language texts contain all six additions as in the Greek texts. The additions to Esther are also found in the Old Latin, Vulgate, Coptic, Ethiopic, Syriac (and many English) translations of the Bible, but these are "recognized universally" to be translations of the LXX.²¹

¹⁹For a translation of the colophon and further comment, see discussion on p. 13.

²⁰James Usher, *De Graeca Septuaginta interpretum versione syntagma* (1665); O.F. Fritzsche, *Handbuch zu den Apokryphen I* (1851); Paul de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Cononicorum Pars Prior Graece* (1883); Robert Hanhart, in the *Göttingen Septuagint* (1983); and David J.A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story* (1984), et al.

²¹Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 154.

The Original Language of Esther and the Additions

In any exploration of the origin of the book of Esther and its Additions, two questions must be considered: 1) What was the original language of the Additions; and 2) Are the six sections of the book of Esther called "Additions" really additions? In other words, is it possible to determine what components of the book of Esther comprised "proto-Esther," or "pre-Masoretic Esther,"²² regardless of the original language? There are two possibilities. Either the all or some of the additions were a part of the original Esther tale and were later abridged, or "proto-Esther" was very much like MT Esther, and the additions truly were just that—appendages, or even intrusions, into the primary narrative.²³

To accurately answer *any* questions about the book of Esther would seem to be a monumental task. As Carey Moore notes, there is no Hebrew manuscript of Esther earlier than the eleventh-century Ben Asher text (*Leningrad MS. B. 19A*).²⁴ There is no text of Esther among the Dead Sea Scrolls (it is the only Biblical book for which not even a fragment was found). In fact, the earliest accounts of the story of Esther which can be dated reliably are that of the Septuagint (Second Temple period), and that of Josephus, who paraphrased the book in *Jewish Antiquities* (ca. 90 C.E.). Perhaps because facts about its origin are scarce, theories about the origins of the various versions of Esther abound. Attempts to identify the original language and character of the Additions to Esther have generated three categories of argument. These are: historical arguments, contextual arguments, and linguistic arguments. One aspect of the Additions most scholars agree on

²²These labels are used by David Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, no. 30 (Sheffield, England: JSOT Press, 1984). I am using these terms in a strictly *generic* sense.

²³A discussion of the relationship between the various versions of the Additions will follow. However, comments on the *general* status of the Additions and their origin are a crucial prologue to any comparison.

²⁴Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 163.

is that Additions A, C, and D were originally composed in Semitic languages (Hebrew or Aramaic), and that Additions B and E were composed in Greek. The original language of Addition F is a subject of dispute.²⁵ Despite this general agreement, there is little else pertaining to the Additions to Esther that scholars agree on at all.

The historical debate centers either around discussion of Esther *in* historical texts, or around examination of the language of the versions in their historical context. The canonical status of the book of Esther was still being discussed by the rabbis as late as 350 C.E.²⁶ Josephus states in *Against Apion* (ca. 90 C.E.):

. . . only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all time, and are justly believed to be divine. And five of them are by Moses, and contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind *and the subsequent history of the Jews* till his death. This time was little short of three thousand years. And as to the time from the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets who succeeded Moses wrote down what happened in their times in thirteen books; *and the remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life.*²⁷

Scholars have debated exactly which books Josephus was describing, but some did not count the book of Esther among them.²⁸ If Esther was not in the Bible of Josephus' day, then it should come as no surprise that he would recount a non-canonical version of the story in *Antiquities*. In any case, it is clear that the text of the book of Esther must have experienced a high degree of fluctuation from its creation in the period of the Second Temple until its final canonization in the period of the Talmud.

²⁵For further discussion, see p. 27.

²⁶BT *Megillah* 7a: "Rab Judah said in the name of Samuel; [the scroll] of Esther does not make the hands unclean. Are we to infer from this that Samuel was of the opinion that Esther was not composed under the inspiration of the holy spirit? How can this be, seeing that Samuel has said that Esther was composed under the inspiration of the holy spirit?—It was composed to be recited [by heart], but not to be written."

²⁷*Against Apion*, 1:8.

²⁸E.g., Harry Orlinsky, *Essays in Biblical Culture and Bible Translation* (New York: Ktav, 1974).

Josephus' account of the story of Esther includes paraphrases of Additions B, C, D and E. According to Charles C. Torrey, Josephus "gave no evidence of acquaintance with a Hebrew version" of Esther.²⁹ This would appear to indicate that Josephus only knew a Greek text, and in fact, J.M. Fuller notes that Josephus usually follows the text of the Septuagint, albeit with "marked independence" from the LXX version.³⁰ If Josephus did not know what later became the Masoretic text of Esther, would this suggest that the MT Esther did not exist at the time when *Jewish Antiquities* was written (ca. 95 C.E.)? Not necessarily. The fact that Josephus did not employ a text hardly indicates that it did not exist. Also, though Josephus relied heavily on the LXX for his Biblical information, *The Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities* may well have been composed in Aramaic, and only later translated into Greek.³¹ Thus, even if Josephus did not know a Hebrew text of Esther, he might have been working from an early Aramaic version of Esther, with only four of the additions. Of course, it is also possible that Josephus knew *all six* additions, but simply omitted Additions A and F for some reason.

The evidence provided by Origen (ca. 185-254) is more concrete. Origen noted in his *Epistle of Africanus* iii, that "neither the prayers of Esther and Mordecai nor the royal letters dictated by Haman and Mordecai appeared in the Hebrew texts current in his own day."³² Again, the possibility still exists that these additions *did* exist in some of the Hebrew texts extant in Origen's day, however remote. This information, when added to Josephus' omissions, implies that Additions A and F were no longer under consideration in discussing the Hebrew canon. If this claim is accurate, then it is safe to assume that when Origen was writing, the Hebrew book of Esther probably existed in the form found in the

²⁹Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther, p. 38.

³⁰Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," p. 365.

³¹*Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Josephus Flavius," by Abraham Schalit.

³²As quoted in Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 154.

Masoretic Text (or something very close to it). The clues provided by Josephus and Origen are fragile at best. It is dangerous to argue a case based on *omission*, though it is often impossible to do otherwise.

Most other historical arguments pertain to the historical situation surrounding the translation of the versions of Esther. Torrey points out that the Greek books of Esther (both versions) have no counterpart in their “disregard of the Hebrew text.”³³ He continues: “. . . the sacred texts—and especially the later texts—were well preserved; such shocking neglect as this would have exemplified was quite impossible. Unquestionably, the Greek Esther is a translation, but it was not made from any Hebrew text.”³⁴ It is true that the LXX (as well as the A-text) omits a word or phrase from almost *every verse* of the MT. Determining the character of the LXX version of Esther is further confused by the fact that LXX Esther is a very literary translation, i.e. “there are very few places that are so labored or unclear as to remind the reader that it is a translation.”³⁵ Again, however, the implications of these arguments are elusive. The numerous differences between the Greek texts and the MT *could* be an indication that the Greek “translator” was working from a different *Vorlage*, be it Hebrew or Aramaic; the differences could also mean that the translator deliberately “rewrote” the book as he “translated.” It is even possible that the LXX was *composed* in Greek from the outset, though this possibility seems to be the most remote one, because of the translational character of the Greek.

Charles Torrey and Frank Zimmermann argue for an Aramaic *Vorlage* for the Greek and Hebrew texts of Esther. Zimmermann contends that the historical context of the composition of Esther points to an Aramaic original. He notes that “in the third century

³³Torrey, “The Older Book of Esther,” p. 4.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 162.

B.C.E., a number of the versions of the Esther story were in circulation," and, that "these stories were written in the language of the people, Aramaic."³⁶ Torrey had previously pointed out that "the literary language of the Jewish people in their home land, employed by them in every field of learning or of popular entertainment, was the 'standard' Aramaic . . . Greek, had comparatively little use among the Jews of Palestine."³⁷

Torrey also makes the astonishing claim: "There is good evidence that at some time near the year 100 of the present era the Jews destroyed, systematically and thoroughly, the popular literature in the two languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, and provided that no more should be written."³⁸ Presumably, Esther would fit into Torrey's category of "popular literature," but once again, no *conclusive proof* is offered to support this assertion. Of course, the contention that there was an Aramaic Esther in Palestine or in Babylonia which parented the other versions and was destroyed certainly makes the hypothesis difficult to *disprove*!

Zimmermann further suggests that "*The book . . . was written in Aramaic so that the Syrians, and not only the Jews, could read it as well, and then the book was translated into Greek for the Hellenes*"³⁹ [Italics are Zimmermann's]. This also supports Zimmermann's, as well as Torrey's, argument as to why the Aramaic original (with some of the Additions) was shortened to remove all overt religious elements from the book. Both authors claim that it was the merrymaking and drinking which came to be associated with the holiday of Purim *necessitated* the removal of God's name from the book. J.M. Fuller concurs, writing that "the festal character of Purim led to obliviousness of its religious character." Thus, "it is suggested that a shorter text, expurgated of the name of

³⁶Frank Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic* (New York: Ktav Publishing, 1975), p. 80.

³⁷Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther," p. 3.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁹Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic*, p. 100.

God (presumably dishonoured by such excesses), became adopted for synagogal use, and that this is the text now known as the Hebrew text."⁴⁰ In addition, Zimmermann asserts that the Additions were removed to show how important the Jews were in the life of the state:

The epitomizer considered that the book should be read as 'pure' history without the name of God to be ridiculed by pagans, or prayers to be derided. . . . Since the Jews were enjoined to celebrate Purim at stated intervals (9.27), a demand arose that the book be read in Hebrew in the synagogue. It was the abbreviated version that was translated into Hebrew.⁴¹

It is certainly true that these historical arguments are interesting, but their accuracy is highly dubious. However, one of the most persuasive arguments for the Dream of Mordecai being a very ancient tale, regardless of its original language, is also the most esoteric. There are many scholars who attribute the origin of Mordecai's name to the Babylonian god Marduk. The fact that no one has connected to the Dream of Mordecai is its similarity to the legend of Marduk, and his battle with the Tiamat, *the dragon*.⁴² According to the Babylonian cosmogonic epic, *Enuma Elish*, Marduk "gained power over other gods by destroying Tiamat, and used her body to restrain the waters above and below the earth."⁴³ The dragon goddess Tiamat is represented in Babylonian mythology as a collection of immense bodies of water, similar to the overflowing river found in the "Dream of Mordecai."

While there is no conclusive, direct link between the Dream and these Babylonian "archetypes," the similarity between them indicates that a dream of this type may have been

⁴⁰Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," p. 362.

⁴¹Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic*, p. 102.

⁴²Moore *does* discuss the origin of the name Mordecai in his commentary to Esther, but does not make the connection with the Babylonian Creation Epic. See William Albright

⁴³*An Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. by Vergilius Ferm, s.v. "Marduk," by Fred L. Parrish (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945).

in existence in the Jewish oral tradition long before the story of Esther came into being. The author of the dream could have used *any* symbols, but chose to use those which were connected with the legend of Marduk. In fact, the origin of the details in the dream might well be best explained as references to this ancient legend. In addition, the additions to Esther suggest that the etymology of the name Mordecai had not been forgotten. The later the additions were “added” to Esther, the less likely it would have been that these ancient references would have been included at all. Also, this connection indicates that the dream may not have been as intrusive in the context of the entire book of Esther as previously thought.

Some arguments are almost impossible to verify. These arguments are best studied along with a close study of the texts involved—in terms of their context, as well as their linguistic peculiarities.

A number of scholars have studied the context of the Additions to Esther for clues to their origin. One of the clearest examples is that of Addition F, the interpretation of Mordecai’s dream and the colophon to the Greek versions. The colophon reads:

In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who “said” he was a priest and a Levite, and his son Ptolemy brought the above book of Purim, which they “said” was authentic and had been translated by Lysimachus son of Ptolemy, a member of the Jerusalem community.⁴⁴

This colophon is a crucial piece of information, providing it is authentic. Moore notes that the colophon does the following:

⁴⁴As translated by Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 250.

(1) provides the date of the translation as well as the name and place of the translator; (2) witnesses, coming as it does after the dream interpretation, to the presence of at least A 1-10 [the dream] and F 1-10 [the interpretation] in the Hebrew text translated by Lysimachus (but, as Schildenberger pointed out, not necessarily to the presence of all the Additions, e.g. not to Additions B and E); and (3) implies the existence of another translation claiming to be the authentic Greek version, be it the AT or the LXX, with or without some of the Additions.⁴⁵

Even without the obvious clue to the *date* of the Greek translation in the colophon (see discussion below), this text provides a valuable insight into the original language and contents of Esther. Clearly, Lysimachus' translation was based on a Semitic original, be it Hebrew (as Moore claims) or Aramaic. Also, it seems apparent that most of the Additions were a part of the text that was translated, since they appear in both Greek texts. The colophonist's doubt as to the authority of the translator implies that there in fact was another translation available—whether this was the LXX, the AT, or even a third translation, would be difficult to determine. It is important to note, however, that the interpretation of the dream in LXX and in AT are slightly different.

The contents of the dream also offer insights into its history. The literary style of the dream suggests a Semitic *Vorlage*, especially in its similarity to the theological content and "anti-Gentile spirit" of Daniel and Judith.⁴⁶ In addition, the dragon motif in the dream is a prominent one in Jewish apocalyptic literature. Ehrlich feels that the dragon myth echoes the dragon myths of the Bible (e.g. Exodus 7:9-12; Isaiah 51:9-11; Jeremiah 51:34-35), and that the dream itself was influenced by those of Joseph in the book of Genesis.⁴⁷ Others have pointed out that Esther and Daniel were written with the context and plot of the Joseph novella in mind. If Additions such as the Dream of Mordecai reflect this similarity

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 251.

⁴⁶Carey A. Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," p. 388.

⁴⁷Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, "Der Traum des Mardochai," *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 1 (1955).

as well, then the possibility that the Additions were a part of a pre-Masoretic Esther is strengthened.

There is little question that the language and style of the dream is consistent with that of the apocalyptic tales of the third and second century B.C.E. Again, however, this precludes a definitive answer to the question of the language of the *Vorlage*, though a Semitic precursor to Esther certainly seems to be the most plausible theory. It is worth noting that the Second Temple period was one which saw the decline of the Hebrew language as the literary language of the Jews, and the rise of Aramaic as the everyday and literary language of the Jews (and of much of the Middle East).

There are other contextual clues in the Esther texts as well. In terms of the entire story, Torrey writes that the literary conceptions of the Greek and Hebrew texts are different. "On the one side, the concise and formal Hebrew record [in the MT]; on the other, the far more lively and interesting Aramaic [pre-Masoretic] narrative. In the question of priority, the balance continues to incline in favor of the Aramaic."⁴⁸ Following his line of argument about the abridgement of the original text into the MT to ease "religious sensibilities," Torrey feels that the original text (which, for him, was in Aramaic) was much more fully developed in terms of character development and entertainment value. Torrey also claims that chapters 1 and 10 of the MT, which are admittedly intrusive in some ways (especially chapter 10), were actually appended to the Hebrew text to take the place of Additions A and F. This line of thought is imposing, since there are many contradictions between the second half of Add A (the plot against the king) and chapter 1 of the MT text. Also, most commentators consider the three verses of chapter 10 to be a late addition to cement the hero status of Mordecai and to strengthen the importance of the festival of Purim. David Clines writes of chapter 10:

⁴⁸Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther," p. 24.

... it may be argued that 10.1-3 forms an inelegant and otiose conclusion to a book that already contained more than one quite satisfactory conclusion. It is certainly not by the author of chs. 1-8; but it is impossible to tell, in view of its brevity and disjointedness, whether it originally formed a piece with any of the matter of ch. 9 or was yet another redactional supplement. Its concentration on the figure of Mordecai to the complete exclusion of Esther may give a clue to the purpose behind its creation.⁴⁹

This attitude toward Mordecai by the redactor/editor of the MT text is made less surprising when one considers that chapter 10 of the MT may well have been composed to take the place of the interpretation of the Dream of Mordecai. The interpretation was certainly not necessary to frame the story if the first half of the frame, the dream itself, was no longer a part of the story.

There is much discussion among scholars on the question of the "second letter of Purim" mentioned in MT Esther 9:29. Fuller, among others, considers this second letter to be the Hebrew version of the book. This argument is strengthened by the fact that the word "second" is not found in the LXX, the AT, the Peshitta, or the Old Latin. David Clines concurs with Fuller in discussing the strange nature of "the second letter."

The account of Esther's letter, vv. 29-32, appears to be yet another ending to the book. Verses 27-28 have evidently brought the book to a solemn and rhetorically satisfying conclusion; v. 29 is an unexpected resumption of the narrative. ... it is an aspect that in a unified narrative would much more naturally have been incorporated at an earlier point. Verses 29-32 can most reasonably be regarded as an addition later even than vv. 20-28.⁵⁰

⁴⁹David Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, p. 59-60.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 55.

A final note on context: in *every* English translation of the Additions, the last line of Mordecai's prayer is always given as "And all Israel cried out as loud as they could because their end was near."⁵¹ It is a curious discrepancy that in each MS of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," this line is always found at the beginning of *Esther's Prayer*, and is usually separated from the text of Mordecai's Prayer by the notation הצי הספר (for further discussion, see Appendix B, p. 88). This line is missing entirely in AT.

H. B. Swete writes that "Of 270 verses, 107 are wanting in the present Hebrew book, and probably at no time formed a part of the Hebrew book."⁵² Swete, however, seems to be relatively isolated in his view. Most scholars now consider at least *some* of the Additions to have been part of a Semitic *Vorlage* of Esther. As noted above, the consensus is that Additions A, C, and D, were composed in a Semitic language, and Additions B and E were composed in Greek. So there is reason to posit that Adds A, C, and D (and perhaps F), *were* a part of the story of Esther in one of its early recensions. Linguistic debate regarding the Additions to Esther generally focuses on two issues. Those who claim that the Greek is a translation of some Hebrew version search for evidence of Hebraisms text. On the other hand, those who theorize that the Greek and/or the MT came from an Aramaic original seek out Aramaisms in the Masoretic text.

Among proponents of an original Hebrew text as the basis for the Greek, Fuller points out that the Greek is marked by Hebraisms (without giving any evidence to support this statement).⁵³ Moore does offer some proof, however. He notes that "the dream contains several Hebraisms. There are three occurrences of καὶ ἰδοὺ, 'and behold!' which presupposes the Heb. *wehinneh* [והנה], a recognized literary device for introducing either a

⁵¹As translated by Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 204.

⁵²H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), p. 257.

⁵³Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," p. 363.

dream or the various component elements of a dream."⁵⁴ Moore is correct in pointing out the connection between Biblical dreams and the introductory phrase והנה,⁵⁵ but neglects the possibility that the translator of the Greek text was not working from the Aramaic אנה instead.

Michael Fox also makes a case for a Hebrew *Vorlage*, and supports it with a detailed linguistic study. Here are a few examples, which are important because they not only boost Fox's case for a Hebrew original, but also corroborate his conclusion that the *Vorlage* could *not* have been in Aramaic. Fox points out that the AT and the LXX differ in their respective translations of the MT word אָזַר (Esther 1:17a). Fox writes, "the AT's ἐξήλεν renders consonantal yz' as an aorist; the MT correctly points it as an imperfect, yēzē'. (Since Aramaic *yinpaq* would not occasion this ambiguity, we may conclude that AT's *vorlage* was in Hebrew)."⁵⁶

Fox continues: "The AT's ἐκτρῶ εφων πιστῶς, "raised her faithfully," can only be an etymological rendering of 'ōmēn not derived from the LXX. This rendering shows, incidentally, that the AT's *vorlage* was in Hebrew rather than Aramaic, since Aramaic would use a form of *RBY*, not 'MN, for 'raising.'"⁵⁷ Both of these arguments enhance the theory of a Semitic *Vorlage*, but these are the only two such examples he offers, and, considering the number of examples he uses to support his claim that the original text was in Hebrew, to dismiss *any* possibility of an Aramaic *Vorlage* based on so little evidence seems premature.

⁵⁴Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," p. 387.

⁵⁵Cf. Genesis 28:12, 37:9, 40:9, 41:1, 41:5, 41:22; Judges 7:13; Isaiah 29:8.

⁵⁶Michael V. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther: On Reading Composite Texts*, The Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series, edited by Adela Yarbro Collins, no. 40 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), p. 26.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 28.

However, as little evidence there is that the *Vorlage* of the Greek Esther was an Aramaic one, there is not much more evidence to prove that it was. Moore comments that the book of Esther contains a number of Aramaic and Persian loan words. He also states that "the author of [MT] Esther was no master of the Hebrew language. . . . The word order of sentences in Esther is more characteristic of Aramaic than of Classical Hebrew, namely, subject-verb-object."⁵⁸ While this line of thought may simply indicate that the author/redactor of the Hebrew Esther was a native speaker of Aramaic, it may be indicative of a more ancient book which was his source.

The two main proponents of an Aramaic *Vorlage* (as noted above) are Torrey and Zimmermann. Torrey's discussion of the evidence appears thin at times. He bases much of his argument on the appearance of the word ποῦρα in the Greek to describe the festival Purim. Torrey asserts that "is simply the transliteration of פִּיִּר, the Aramaic plural, determined, of the word פִּיר. . . . It is expressly designated as plural in the Greek of 8:63, 64 (Heb. 9:28, 29), τῶν ποῦρα." ⁵⁹ This spelling, however, is a variant, and may have crept into one of the Greek manuscripts under the influence of Aramaic, but is certainly not normative enough to point to an Aramaic source.

Torrey goes on with his argument:

An interesting example of the two independent Greek translations is given by a phrase in Mordecai's prayer, 5:19 (or C7) in the standard Greek, 5:15 in the α-text, where Aramaic *b'ithnasā' āh* is rendered by 'εν υπερηφανια, "in pride," in the former text, and by 'εν πειρασμῶ, "in rivalry" (with Haman, to *test* him) in the other. Both renderings are perfectly regular, for the word is ambiguous, belonging to either one of two different Aramaic roots, the one corresponding to Hebrew נָסָה, the other to Hebrew נִסָּה.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Moore, *Esther*, p. LIV-LV.

⁵⁹Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther," p. 6.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 7-8.

Again, the argument is somewhat ethereal. But Torrey continues with a list of Aramaic forms which appear throughout the Hebrew text, in a similar but more expansive manner than Moore:

1. The abrupt beginning of the sentence or paragraph, without the conjunction which is so characteristic of Hebrew, as in 2:5, 10; 3:15; 8:16, etc.
2. The very frequent placing of the noun before the verb, as in 2:13; 3:15; 4:1; 8:15; 9:18, etc., and the freer order of words in the sentence.
3. The remarkably frequent use of the *nif'al* and *pu'al* stems; this because of the extensive employment of the *'ith*-stems in any Aramaic composition. A writer of Hebrew would hardly have used the passive voice to such an extent.
4. The noticeable preference of the participial construction where the Hebrew style would naturally use a finite verb.⁶¹

Zimmermann, too, points out Aramaic forms in MT Esther: The persistent use of the passive construction, Aramaic loan words (e.g. אִלִּי, found in MT 7:4). Zimmermann also pays special attention to the Dream of Mordecai:

The first section A, Mordecai's Dream, manifests itself to have been written in Aramaic (rather than Hebrew). Note first the word-order: in v.2 *enupnion eide Mardochoaios* exactly as in Dan. 7.1, *helem hazah*, accusative, verb, subject. The phrase is strictly Aramaic, not Hebrew, as one may say *halam halom* Gen. 40.8; Deut. 13.2; Joel 3.1; Jud. 7.13, or *ra'ah ba-halom* Gen. 31.10; 1 Kings 3.5; Gen. 41.22 but not *ra'ah halom*.⁶²

Finally, both Torrey and Zimmermann offer a close study of two particular examples in MT Esther, which are relevant to the present study because both words appear in the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai". Torrey writes,

⁶¹Ibid., p. 33.

⁶²Zimmermann, *Biblical Books Translated from the Aramaic*

In MT 7:4b, *כי אין הַצָּר שֶׁהָ בְּנוֹק הַמֶּלֶךְ*, the insurmountable difficulty is in the word *šar*, “enemy,” which can have no place in the clause. It is true that *šar* also means “distress,” but it cannot be given that meaning here; the occurrence of *אִישׁ צָר* in the very next words of Esther (vs. 6) is decisive. All the ancient translators and interpreters see that the word in vs. 4 must mean “enemy, oppressor,” and they render accordingly.

Here, again, the solution is given immediately by the Aramaic. *הַצָּר* exactly renders *מַעֲיָקָא*; but it is a false rendering, for it chooses the wrong word. No translator or interpreter could fail to see in the Aramaic word *at this point* the *afʿel* participle of *עִיק* with the definite ending, “the oppressor.” But it was in fact the feminine substantive, *מַעֲיָקָא*, *מַעֲיָקָה*, in the absolute state, meaning “distress.” The rendering should have been: ‘For no distress (that we might suffer) could be compared with the loss to the king.’ This is not only a perfect solution, it is obviously the right one.

In 2:13, MT has *וּבְהוּה*, which begins the verse. The word seems to carry the meaning ‘then,’ but is not found anywhere else in Hebrew literature. “It is safe to say that the Aramaic had *בְּאַדְיָן*. How might one be expected to render this into Hebrew? As soon as the question is asked, the justification of *bazeh* appears; it could pass—it *has* passed—as an adverbial expression meaning ‘then.’⁶³

All of these various arguments and proofs lead scholars to different conclusions. Torrey and Zimmermann arrive at the following: There is *no* Greek translation of the Masoretic text of Esther (the Greek texts translate from a different source); The Greek versions (AT and LXX) are translations of an Aramaic original or of two Aramaic texts; the longer version of Esther preserved in the Greek is more likely closer to the original text; Additions A and F were just that, additions, but they were composed originally in Aramaic; and, that Additions C and D were part of the original story. Neither Torrey nor Zimmermann have much to say about the Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai” which is the subject of this study.

⁶³Torrey, “The Older Book of Esther,” p. 36.

Ehrlich, in his study of the Dream, concludes that the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," as well as the version found in Josippon and the Chroncles of Jerahmeel, were taken from the LXX or from the Vulgate. More discussion on these texts will follow.

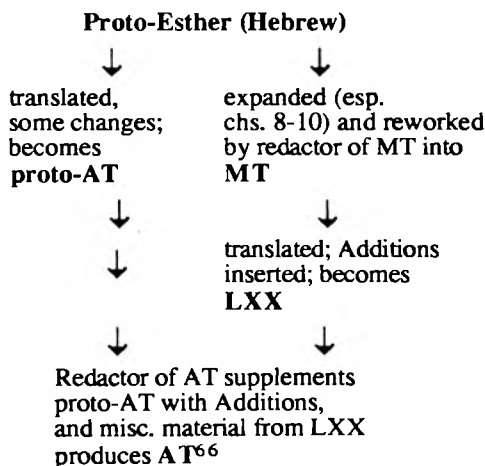
J.M. Fuller maintains that the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," which he translates into English, is "late." Like Ehrlich, Fuller feels that the text is related to Josippon, and is perhaps based on it, and that both used the LXX as a source. Uniquely, Fuller asserts that *all* of the Additions to Esther were composed in Greek, a hypothesis that no modern scholar supports.

Moore, who has written the most extensively on Esther, offers the following conclusions: All of the Additions are secondary to the story of Esther; the Additions *may* have been part of a pre-Masoretic Semitic text of Esther; and that AT borrowed its Additions from LXX. Moore also seems to contradict himself when he writes that "although there are a few medieval Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts containing the dream in a form not unlike the Greek, experts agree that the Hebrew text is based on the Aramaic which is, in turn, evidently based on the LXX."⁶⁴ Finally, on the relationship between the LXX and the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," Moore writes that "it is unlikely that either version is dependent on the other. The Aramaic version could conceivably be based on the LXX . . . If there is any genealogical relationship between these two versions—and the almost identical sequence in parallel ideas in Mordecai's prayer suggests there may be—then both the Greek and the Aramaic are related to one another by being descendants of either the same Semitic *Vorlage* or oral tradition."⁶⁵

⁶⁴Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," p. 387.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 393.

In the end, it is probably only safe to conclude that pieces of all of these conclusions may be right. However, in light of *all* of the arguments on the original language and character of Esther and its Additions lead to some solid conclusions about the Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai.” The material in the dream appears to be ancient, and probably pre-dates the Esther tale, having been adapted to the Esther story at a later date. The story of Esther itself, based on its style, its theological and political content, and the language of the recensions which have come down to us, was written in a Semitic language—be it Hebrew or Aramaic. Michael Fox presents his redactional picture of the history of Esther in the following diagram:



This diagram seems to represent accurately most of the recent scholarship on the origins of Esther, and I would only adjust it with the following possibilities in mind: that “Proto-Esther” may have been in Aramaic and not Hebrew; that the Additions may have been an integral part of the Esther tradition at an earlier point in time than Fox’s chart would suggest; and that the earliest text of Esther may not have been preserved only in the AT, but

⁶⁶FOX, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, p. 9.

perhaps in the "medieval" Aramaic text as well. This theory, however, must be studied in light of *all* of the parallels to the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai": the Greek texts, Esther Rabbah, Josippon, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel.

The Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai” and its Parallels

Many scholars seem inclined to dismiss the Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai” and Josippon—its Hebrew counterpart—as translations and elaborations of the LXX, without presenting any evidence. Moore writes that “experts on Josippon regard the fragments of the Esther Additions as a Hebrew translation of the Greek Additions appearing in Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*.”⁶⁷ In fact, Josephus does not include any known version of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther in his *Antiquities*, but he does paraphrase parts of Additions B, C, D, and E.⁶⁸ Josephus did not include mention or paraphrase of the Dream and its interpretation. There is no indication in *Antiquities*, however, as to whether Josephus did not *know* of Additions A and F at all, or knew them, and deliberately *omitted* them. However, even a cursory comparison of Josephus’ paraphrases, the Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai,” and Josippon demonstrates clearly that the two latter texts did not originate with Josephus. This argument is strengthened by the simple fact that while Josephus did not mention the dream of Mordecai in *Antiquities*, both the Aramaic text and Josippon include it.

In an earlier article, Moore claims that “although there are a few medieval Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts containing the dream in a form not unlike the Greek, experts agree that the Hebrew text is based on the Aramaic which is, in turn, evidently based on the

⁶⁷Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 154.

⁶⁸Emile Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. Revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), p. 271.

LXX.⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the *experts* that Moore has relied on to give him contradictory information are admittedly not named.⁷⁰

Fuller comments that "the Targum (or rather, fragments) discovered by Rossi [the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai"] is of the same character as the others. It is of late origin; and there seems but little doubt that its contents are a reproduction of the work of Josephus ben Gorion (above-mentioned), and not taken from any Hebrew text, but directly from the LXX itself."⁷¹ For this claim too, no proof is offered. What is needed, in order to make any conclusions on the relationship between the Greek and Semitic versions of the Additions that are extant, is a close comparison of all texts involved.

The four texts of the Additions—LXX, A-Text, Josippon, and the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai"—appear to be representative of two different recensions of an older version, now lost. The Additions to the Greek texts of Esther are very close in language and content. So close are they, that Clines writes that

the textual character of those Additions in the AT (viz. the fact that they exhibit a text-type very much closer to the LXX's than AT usually has) make it more than probable that they are secondary to the original AT, just as they are secondary in the LXX as compared with the MT.⁷²

Thus, the Greek texts probably represent one recension of the Additions. Similarly, the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" and Josippon are so close in their language and content, that they too can be regarded as variations of the same text, representing a second recension of the Additions. While Esther Rabbah shows some similarity to the

⁶⁹Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," p. 387.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, note 24.

⁷¹Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," p. 364.

⁷²Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, p. 72.

Aramaic and Josippon versions,⁷³ these are, in most cases, not close enough to represent a third version of the Semitic recension, and therefore must be considered in some way to be a recension unto itself.

It would be most worthwhile then, in a discussion of the parallels to the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," to compare the two major recensions of the text—the Greek and the Semitic—and then to compare the Semitic versions (the Aramaic and Josippon) against each other. As noted in the discussion above, both Greek texts contain all six of the known Additions to Esther. Additions A, C, and D were most likely written in a Semitic language, and Additions B and E were composed in Greek. Regarding the original language of Addition F, R.A. Martin concludes that "Add F would appear to be either original-Greek or a very free translation of a Semitic *Vorlage*."⁷⁴ These findings are based on a statistical syntax analysis of Greek-composed text versus Semitic-composed texts translated into Greek. Martin's study appears to be the most comprehensive scientific study of the original language of the Additions, and his findings seems to be conclusive. From this information, it is reasonably safe to conclude that Additions B, E, and F were composed in Greek from the start, and that Additions A, C, and D are Semitic in origin.

The Greek-composed Additions B, E, and F are not found in the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," nor are they found in Josippon. Also, neither of the Semitic texts contain Addition F, the interpretation of the dream. With this information, it seems feasible to posit that the Semitic recensions of the Additions represent an older *Vorlage*, one that existed before the Greek-composed additions were written, or at least joined together with the Semitic composed additions. If Josippon is truly derived from the LXX versions

⁷³ Esther Rabbah's version of the dream is almost the same as Josippon's, but its prayers are different—more closely resembling the short versions of the prayers found in the targumim to Esther.

⁷⁴ R.A. Martin, "Syntax Criticism of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 94 (1975), p. 69.

(according to Fuller, et al.), they why would the author of Josippon eliminate three of the Additions—particularly Addition F, which is so closely connected to the dream? There are at least two possible explanations for this phenomenon: (1) The three additions recorded in Josippon and the Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai” represent an older *Vorlage* of the Additions than are found in the LXX or the AT—one which existed before the composition of Additions B and E, and perhaps Addition F; (2) The “author” of the first of the Semitic versions of the additions (be it the Aramaic or Josippon) deliberately omitted additions which were known to him from his text; or (3) The older of the two Semitic versions is derived from either the LXX or the AT, and was very much elaborated upon. The first theory seems the most feasible, but only in light of the many differences between the two recensions.

The differences between the Greek and Semitic recensions of the Additions fall into three categories: plusses, content shifts, and changes in imagery.⁷⁵ Of the first type, plusses, there are many examples. The following are some of the most prominent. The very beginning of the dream represents a plus in the Greek versions.

⁷⁵The Greek and Semitic texts are printed side by side in Appendix D, p. 92.

Aramaic "Dream"

In the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus, Mordecai the Jew dreamed a dream:

LXX

In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great king, on the first day of Nisan, Mardocheus the son of Jairus, the son of Semeias, the son of Cisæus of the tribe of Benjamin, a Jew dwelling in the city Susa, a great man, serving in the king's palace, saw a vision. Now he was of the captivity which Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried captive from Jerusalem, with Jechonias the king of Judea. And this was his dream:

A-Text

In the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus the Great, on the first day of the month Adar-Nisan (that is, Dystros-Xanthikos), Mordecai the son of Jair, son of Shimei, son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a dream. He was a great man, from among the captives taken by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon with Jeconiah king of Judea. And this was his dream:

Josippon

Mordecai . . . remembered the dream he had in the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus. It was the following:

The differences in this example are clear: the Semitic versions do not contain the lineage of Mordecai,⁷⁶ the specific date of the dream (save for the year in Ahasuerus' reign), or how he came to be in Babylonia. Here, the Greek introduction serves as the beginning of the entire book of Esther, and thus includes more information than the Semitic versions.

Whether either of the Semitic versions included these plusses at one time is difficult to determine, but is nonetheless a possibility. However, there are other plusses and minuses between the two recensions which involve narrative before or after the dream or prayer material. Perhaps this narrative material was a later addition to the text, and that explains its pliability amongst the versions.

The Greek texts also have a lengthy plus at verse C 22, which corresponds to verse 44 of the Aramaic text:

⁷⁶The lineage of Mordecai does turn up in the Midrashim.

O Lord, do not resign thy sceptre to them that are not [non-existent gods], and let them not laugh at our fall, but turn their plot against themselves, and make an example of him who has begun to injure us. Remember us, O Lord, manifest thyself in the time of our affliction, and encourage me, O king of gods, and ruler of all dominion. Put harmonious speech into my mouth before the lion, and turn his heart to hate him that fights against us, to the utter destruction of him and of them that consent with him.

Though this passage is not in the Semitic texts, its material is scattered throughout them (in vv. 18, 35, and 49). The language is not the same, but the motifs are similar.

- V. 18 "Let him fall into the pit which he has dug, and let him be caught in the net which he has lowered."
- V. 35 "... save the flock of Your pasture from the mouths of these lions who have opened their mouths to devour them."
- V. 49 "Humble him and all of his advisors, that he may be humbled and subdued before Your handmaid."

Among the plusses in the Semitic versions, the narrative at the end of Mordecai's Dream is of interest. The whole of vv. 11-13 in the Aramaic text are not found in the Greek texts. These verses of narrative tell of Mordecai's recounting of his dream to Esther at the time when Haman is trying to carry out his plan to destroy the Jews. Mordecai urges Esther to pray to God for help. This may be an indication of the independent nature of the Semitic additions; i.e., they were intended to stand alone, and thus narrative was added to give them continuity. The Greek had no need for this, since its additions were clearly interwoven into the main text of the book of Esther. It is also conceivable, that the Semitic texts *were* taken from an original Semitic *Vorlage* of Esther, and that LXX *deleted* this narrative as superfluous.

The Greek texts are also missing vv. 19-21 and there is much more material in the Aramaic/Josippon text of vv. 22-25 than in the Greek. In these verses, the Semitic

versions seem to make liberal use of liturgical texts and formulas than the Greek. This may attest to later additions to the Aramaic/Josippon recension. Also, v. 22 in the Aramaic relies heavily on Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Deuteronomy 32:7-9 for its language and syntax.⁷⁷ Again, this may indicate later elaboration on the original text.

An example of content shift (the movement of contextual material from one place to another) between the recensions may be found in Aramaic vv. 30-31, Esther's description of God at the beginning of her prayer. Compare the opening of Esther's prayer in the Aramaic to that of Mordecai's in the LXX:

Aramaic "Dream"
Esther's Prayer

I pray, Adonai, God of Israel, King of Kings, Creator of everything, Whose possession is Heaven and Earth, Ruler of the Heavens above and of the depths of the earth, of the seas and the depths and all of their sea-monsters—

LXX
Mordecai's Prayer

Lord God, king ruling over all, for all things are in thy power, and there is no one that shall oppose thee in thy purpose to save Israel.—For thou hast made the heaven and the earth, and every wonderful thing in the world under heaven. And thou art Lord of all, and there is no one who shall resist thee the Lord.

This lengthy introduction is not found in the LXX introduction to Esther's Prayer, nor is it found in the Aramaic introduction to Mordecai's Prayer. This would appear to be an example of shifting content between the two recensions of the prayers.

Also notable in the two recensions is the Semitic versions' reliance on Biblical language and imagery, much of which is not found in the Greek, or is certainly not as pronounced. Throughout the Semitic versions of the Esther's Prayer, Esther calls frequently upon images of the Exodus from Egypt (much as Daniel does in his prayer in Daniel 9). The Greek parallels do not mention the Exodus at all in Esther's Prayer, and only in a very cursory way in Mordecai's Prayer, in which he says, "Do not overlook thy

⁷⁷See comments on p. 77, note 22.

peculiar people (portion), whom thou hast redeemed for thyself out of the land of Egypt.”

Compare this to the extended references to the Exodus in the Aramaic of Esther's Prayer (vv. 36-41):

For I have heard from my forefathers, who told me that You led our ancestors from among the nations, brought them out of Egypt, and killed every firstborn of the Egyptians for their sake. And You led Your people from amongst them, and You revealed Your strong hand and outstretched arm to the Egyptians for the sake of Your people. You caused them to cross on dry land like a horse in the wilderness or like cattle through a valley. You gave them bread from heaven for their hunger. For their thirst You brought forth water for them from the flinty rock. Also, you carried over for them meat and quails aplenty from the Great Sea to fulfill their needs. You fed them for forty years in the wilderness—an uninhabited land—and You destroyed great and proud kings before them. You bequeathed to them their land. You gave them a land of great blessing in Your abundant goodness.

There can be little doubt that the Greek and Semitic recensions are closely related in some way. However, the number of differences between them seems to greatly diminish the possibility that either of the recensions is *directly* derived from the other. It is quite possible that they are connected, but clearly there would have to be many generations of corruption and copying separating them, or, a deliberate editorial shift.

While there are very marked differences between the primary Greek and Semitic texts of the Additions to Esther, the variations are much more subtle amongst the Semitic versions themselves. Though versions of the prayers of Mordecai and Esther are found in a number of sources,⁷⁸ the only “complete” texts are found in the Aramaic “Dream of Mordecai,” Josippon, and Esther Rabbah (though only the dream in Esther Rabbah is comparable in scope to the other versions). The dream in all three texts reads almost verbatim, with the main differences being plusses in the Aramaic. The closest of these, of

⁷⁸These include the two Targumim to Esther, Midrash Lekah Tov, and the Chronicles of Jerahmeel (which takes the text of Josippon almost verbatim).

course, are Josippon and Esther Rabbah, both being in Hebrew. There are some differences in the two texts, but there are very few plusses in either text.

Esther Rabbah parts company, however, in its version of the two prayers. While the Aramaic text and Josippon are relatively close to each other in all respects, Esther Rabbah's version of the prayers is much shorter than the others. In this way, Esther Rabbah follows the Targumim to Esther in providing very brief, paraphrastic versions of the prayers. It is possible that the prayers in Esther Rabbah, as well as in the targumim and in the minor midrashim on the book of Esther, are based on the fuller Semitic texts, or the Greek texts, or both. Such a discussion would fall outside of the scope of this study.

In comparing the major texts then, there are two general types of discrepancies between the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" and Josippon.⁷⁹ (1) The Aramaic text seems to contain a large number of clarifications, elucidations and double translations, and (2) The Aramaic text fills out and expands many of the Biblical quotes and echoes in Josippon. Sometimes the Aramaic simply substitutes a targumic quote, but at other times, the Aramaic text augments the quote by means of expansion.

There are many examples of what appear to be duplications in the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai." The first verse is an unmistakable example (Aramaic plusses are underlined):

⁷⁹The texts of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," Josippon, and Esther Rabbah are printed side by side in Appendix E, p. 106.

Aramaic Text

בשנת תרתין למלכות אחשורוש
ומרדכי יהודא חלם חילמא והא
זייעא רבא ואכליחא וקל בהולחא
על אנפי כל ארעא ודחלא ורתחא
אחדו ית יחברא ואיבהילו כל
דיירו עלמא לחדא:

Josippon

ויכר מרדכי את מחשבת המן,
ויוכר את החלום אשר ראה בשנה
השנית למלך אחשורוש: וירא
בחלום והנה רעש גדול ורעם חזק
מאד וקול בהלה על פני כל הארץ
ופחד ורעד לכל יושביה:

In this case, both the Aramaic and Hebrew verses contain "Fear and trembling seized all of its [the earth's] inhabitants." The Aramaic however, continues: "all those who lived on the earth were extremely frightened." The last five words of the Aramaic appear to be a rephrasing of the words before it—a phenomenon that is common in the Aramaic, as opposed to the text of Josippon. It is noteworthy that this type of "duplication," or parallelism, is characteristic of Semitic poetry (especially that of the Bible).

Verses 4 and 5 demonstrate another phenomenon which is common to the two texts: the addition of many details, explanatory adjectives, and adverbs in the Aramaic.

Aramaic Text

והיה היום ההוא יום חושך ואפילה
לכל העולם, ויצר לגוי הקטן מאד,
ויצעק אל יי:
הוא לחדא וקבילו וצלו קדם יי
בכל ליבא:

Josippon

והתנינים נלחמים באכזריות חימה
ואיו מציל ואין מפריד בין שניהם:
וירא מרדכי והנה מעיין מים קטן
עובר בין שני התנינים האלה ויפרד
ביניהם מן המלחמה אשר היו
נלחמים:

והתנינים נלחמים באכזריות חימה
ואיו מציל ואין מפריד בין שניהם:
וירא מרדכי והנה מעיין מים קטן
עובר בין שני התנינים האלה ויפרד
ביניהם מן המלחמה אשר היו
נלחמים:

והתנינים נלחמים באכזריות חימה
ואיו מציל ואין מפריד בין שניהם:
וירא מרדכי והנה מעיין מים קטן
עובר בין שני התנינים האלה ויפרד
ביניהם מן המלחמה אשר היו
נלחמים:

In these verses, the Aramaic plusses serve to add detail to the descriptions in the dream. The words וצלו, בכל ליבא, בכל, ליבא, מגיד, חייך, דמניחן, and פסקן simply offer greater detail than is

found in Josippon's text. There are no plusses in the Aramaic that change the meaning of the text, they only elaborate on the images that were already there in the text.

In verse 10, the Aramaic text has an extra sentence that clarifies the narrative:

Aramaic Text	Josippon
<p>ומן יומא ההוא ולהלן נשר מרדכי ית חילמא בלבביה <u>ולא אשחשי</u> <u>לנכרא אילתו לאסתר בלחודה:</u></p>	<p>ויהי מהיום ההוא והלאה, וישמור מרדכי בלבו את החלום אשר ראה:</p>

In the next verse, both texts contain Mordecai's meeting with Esther, and his recounting of the dream, but the Aramaic plus acts to reinforce the relationship between the dream and its importance to Esther.

All of Aramaic verse 23 appears to be a duplication.

Aramaic Text	Josippon
<p>ואידכר כדון ארום חולקך אנחנא ארום מן לקדמין ומככין מאחסנותך עממיא ובאפרשותך בני נשא אפרישחנא למיהוי בעדכך: <u>ולאפרישחנא מן עממיא למיהוי לך</u> <u>לחביבא וקדשחנא לשמך אפרשחנא</u> <u>מן כל עממיא:</u></p>	<p>וזכור נא כי חלקך אנחנו כי מאז בהנחילך גוים ובהפרידך בני אדם ונהי כנורלך אנחנו והפול עלינו הנורל אשר השלכת ונהי סגולים:</p>

The first part of the text demonstrates Mordecai's linking of the plight of the Jewish people to God's choosing them from all the nations. The plus in the Aramaic text simply repeats what has just come before it. The same sort of situation occurs in the following verse (v. 24).

In verses 30 and 31 there is a similar occurrence between the Aramaic and Josippon as there was between the Greek and Semitic texts. In the opening of Esther's Prayer, Esther's appellations for God are very much expanded in the Aramaic:

Aramaic Text	Josippon
<p>בבני יי אלהא דישראל מלכא על <u>כל מלכיא</u> ובארי כולא דקנייניה <u>שמיא וארעא</u>: ושליט ברנב ברנב <u>שמיא ושליט על ארעיה ארעא</u> <u>ובימיא ובתהומיא ובכל תנייהו:</u></p>	<p>יי אלהי ישראל אשר משלה מימי קדם ובורא ועושה כל העולם ומושל עליו.</p>

Verses 46 and 51 also include double translations and added phrases which appear to be superfluous or expansive.

Another distinction between the texts is the Aramaic version's tendency to fill out Biblical echoes in the text. The largest of these is the targumic expansion of Leviticus 26:44 in verse 43.⁸⁰ There are numerous other examples as well. In verse 4, both texts seem to echo Joel 2:2—יום חשך ואפלה יום עָנָן וְעָרָפֶל—"A day of darkness and gloom, A day of densest cloud". Targum Jonathan to this verse has יום חשך וקבל יום ענא ואממחא, which appears to be related to verse 4.

Aramaic Text	Josippon
<p>והוה ענא וחשוכא וקבלא על אפי כל ארעא ועקא לעמא זעירא ההוא לחדא וקבילו וצלו קדם יי בכל ליבא:</p>	<p>ויהי היום ההוא יום חשך ואפילה לכל העולם. ייצר לנו הקטן מאד, ויצעקו אל יי:</p>

Here the word ענא is added to augment the description as found in Joel since עָנָן is not accounted for in Josippon.

⁸⁰See Appendix A, p. 85.

An interesting thing happens in verse 5, where the texts have

Aramaic Text

והתנינים נלחמים באכזריות הימה
ולית מפדיש ביני תרויהון:

Josippon

והתנינים נלחמים באכזריות הימה
ואין מפדיש בין שניהם:

Note the plus in Josippon. This verse is strikingly similar to 2 Samuel 14:6—

“Your maidservant had two sons. The two of them came to blows out in the fields, where there was no one to stop them.” The Aramaic captures the actual meaning of the Biblical text, where מצייל means “to stop,” or “to separate” the combatants. Both texts use words that convey this meaning, but Josippon also includes the MT words מצייל ואין, presumably because the exact meaning of the word in the MT passage was unclear to Josippon.

In verse 37, the Aramaic again expands the Biblical echo:

Aramaic Text

ויה עמך דברחא מביניהון ויה ירך
תקיפתא ואדרעך מרמס אחזיתא
למצראי מטול עמך ואעברחנן
ביכשתא היך סוסא במדברא וביך
בעירא בבקעתא:

Josippon

ועמך הוצאת מתוכם ובירך החוקה
ובזרועך הנשניה העברתם בים
סוס במדבר

Both texts are reminiscent of Isaiah 63:13-14, מוליכם בתהמות סוס במדבר לא יקשלו, “[God] led them through the deeps so that they did not stumble—as a horse in a desert, like a beast descending into a valley.” In this case, the distinction could not be more apparent. Both versions employ the image of the horse in the desert, but the Aramaic continues the image by using the entire source verse: “Like a beast [descending] in a valley.” In addition, the Aramaic contains the more normative description of the

Israelites crossing the Sea of Reeds *on dry land* (כיבשהא), in contrast to Josippon, which reports that God crossed them *in the sea* (בים).

In addition to these differences, there are some specific examples of translational styles peculiar to these texts. In verse 29, Josippon has וּתְפַשֵּׁט אֶת בְּגָדֵי מְכֻרְתָּהּ וְאֶת עַדְיֵי שֶׁן. תְּפַרְתָּהּ וְחִלְבֵּשׁ שֶׁן. Though עַדְיֵי is an uncommon word, its counterpart in the Aramaic is תִּיקִין, which is the word with which עַדְיֵי is translated in Targums Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan.

A similar example is found in verse 49. The corresponding Aramaic phrase for the Hebrew חֵן, חֵינָא וְחִסְדָּא, which is precisely the word pair with which Pseudo-Jonathan translates חֵן in almost all cases. These examples are especially important for determining the exact relationship between the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" and Josippon.

Finally, there is one example which vividly marks this relationship. In verse 47, the Aramaic begins וְאַתָּה, "And You." At this verse, Josippon has עָהָה and Esther Rabbah has אַתָּה. From this example, it is clear that there is a close relationship between the texts. In addition, it seems apparent that the Aramaic may well be a translation of the Hebrew text, with Josippon's עָהָה likely a corruption. Much of the evidence, however, points to Josippon as the source of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai." The expansion of the Aramaic text as opposed to the Hebrew, as well as these translational peculiarities, suggest that the Aramaic is in fact based on Josippon *in some way*. However, it would be irresponsible not to suggest that the "plusses" in the Aramaic text *could be* minuses in Josippon. Nevertheless, interpreting the plusses in the Aramaic as just that, "plusses," is an easier conclusion to arrive at. How directly they are related is difficult to tell, but there is certainly cause to claim that these two texts might have originated at a similar time and

place. These facts, plus an examination of the Aramaic dialect of the "Dream of Mordecai," add yet more clues as to the origin and character of the "Dream."

The Aramaic Dialect of the "Dream of Mordecai"

The character of the Aramaic found in "Dream of Mordecai" can only be described as eclectic, at best. Upon close examination, the Aramaic of the "Dream of Mordecai" is similar to that of the "Antiochus Scroll," as published by M. Kadari.⁸¹ In turn, the language of both texts appears to be related to that of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, though Kadari does not come to that conclusion.

The language of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is generally considered to represent a mixed dialect of Aramaic, as do the Targumic fragments from the Cairo Geniza, the so-called "Fragmentary Targum," The targumim to the Hagiographa, the Aramaic book of Tobit, the Aramaic Additions to Daniel, and the "Dream of Mordecai."⁸² The Antiochus Scroll also falls into this category.

This fact is made most clear by an examination of Gustaf Dalman's chart comparing Targumic Aramaic (that of Tg. Onkelos) to Galilean Aramaic. Dalman's list of adverbial and prepositional differences will serve as an example (underlined words are attested to in the "Dream of Mordecai"):⁸³

⁸¹Menahem Tzvi Kadari, "מגילת אנטיוכוס הארמית," *Bar Ilan* 1 (1963): 81-105.

⁸²Gustaf Dalman, *Grammatik des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1894): pp. 21-30.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 34ff. Translation from German by Cory Weiss.

Adverbs

	<u>Targumic Aramaic</u>	<u>Galilean Aramaic</u>
good, well	<u>יאה</u> (not BA) חקין	טבאות, יאות
little	<u>זעיר</u>	(קליל PT), צבחד
very, many	<u>לחדא</u> (rare-BA, BA-סני)	סני, סגין
now	<u>כען</u> (also BA)	<u>כדון</u>
still, again	עוד (also BA)	(חוב PT also) חובן, עוד
yesterday	אחמלי	(אחמלי PT)
where?	<u>אן</u>	הן
why?	מדין, על מה, <u>למה</u> (על מה, למה-BA)	<u>למה</u> (PT also) מה
therefore, because of this/that	על כן (cf. BA דנה)	<u>בנין</u> , מטול היכבא (PT) בנין כן
thus	כדן, כדין, כן (כדבה, כן BA)	<u>היכדין</u> , כדין, כן

Prepositions

how	(הא כ once, BA) כוח, כ	(הי כ PT) כוח, כגון, כ
to	<u>ל</u> (also BA) לות, <u>ל</u>	<u>ל</u> , לגב
towards	(לצד BA) לצד, לציה	לציד, לציה PT
in front of, before	<u>קדם</u> (also BA)	קומי, קמי, קדם
because of	<u>בגלל</u> , בדיל (על דברה BA)	<u>בדיל</u> , <u>בגלל</u> , <u>מטול</u> (PT)
on	<u>עלוי</u> (also BA) <u>על</u>	<u>עלוי</u> , <u>על</u>

This chart serves to point out the mixed nature of the Aramaic of both Pseudo-Jonathan as well as "Dream of Mordecai." The use of prepositions such as *בנין*, *בגלל*, and *מטיל* is unusual in other texts, but all three are found in "Dream of Mordecai." This phenomena shows up in the whole of Dalman's chart, and since "Dream of Mordecai" and Targum Pseudo-Jonathan have many of these "combinations" in common, it appears that they represent a similar "dialect" of Aramaic. Dalman writes that the "Dream of Mordecai" contains fewer Galilean elements than Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.⁸⁴ In addition to this difference, there are some other peculiarities in the language of "Dream of Mordecai" found outside of the style of Pseudo-Jonathan which should be pointed out.

Characteristic of Biblical Aramaic is the word *באדין*, "then," found in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls,⁸⁵ and not in the targumim. The word is found in the "Dream" only once, in v. 2, and is probably a deliberate archaism on the part of the author (or redactor or scribe).

Also, though "Dream of Mordecai" seems to exhibit many characteristics of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, there are examples in the text of words which are representative of Western "Middle" Aramaic,⁸⁶ the language of Targum Onkelos and of Targum Jonathan to the Prophets. In "Dream of Mordecai," the ending for 2ms in the perfect tense is *הא* as found in Tg. Onkelos.⁸⁷ Examples: *קיימחא* (v. 19), *הברחא* (v. 37), *אחזחא* (v. 37), *יהבהחא* (v. 38, 41), *אפיקחא* (v. 38), *אנזחא* (v. 39), *בדיחא* (v. 40).

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 30.

⁸⁵E.g., in Daniel 2:15, 3:3, 4:4, 6:4; Ezra 4:24, 5:2, 6:1, et al. MT has 53 occurrences of the word.

⁸⁶As defined by Kutscher in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Aramaic."

⁸⁷According to Kadari, *הארמית*, *מגילת אנשיכס הארמית*, *Bar Ilan* 2 (1964).

Also uniquely characteristic to the language of Onkelos, and evident in the “Dream of Mordecai” is the “form of the first person singular of the perfect of the ל” verbs,”⁸⁸ e.g., אישחתי (v. 12), איחגיתי (v. 15). This form is not found in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. Kadari claims that the prepositional phrase על אפי is unique to Targum Onkelos. However, this construction is found numerous time in Pseudo-Jonathan as well,⁸⁹ although על אפי is the most common orthography in PsJ.

In contrast to these sparsely distributed examples, is the text’s similarity to the Aramaic of Pseudo-Jonathan, especially in the area of vocabulary. What follows is a detailed analysis of the words found in “Dream of Mordecai” which are unique to Pseudo-Jonathan and its related texts.⁹⁰

אדרע—“arm” (v. 37): This spelling is found only in Tg. PsJ and Neophyti. In Tg. Onkelos, the word is always found without the preformative *aleph*—i.e. דרע.

א”ן—“if” (vv. 34, 35): Used only in PsJ and Neophyti for MT אם. Onkelos always employs אם.

אנפ/אנפ—“face [of]” (vv. 1, 4, 8, 13, 30): Both spellings are found in the “Dream of Mordecai.” However, the word with non-assimilated nun is most common in Targum PsJ (61 times). It is only found twice in MSS of Tg. Onkelos (Num. 16:4, Deut. 25:9), and once in Tg. Neophyti (Gen. 30:27).⁹¹

⁸⁸*Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. “Aramaic,” by E.Y. Kutscher, col. 268.

⁸⁹In PsJ to Gen. 3:18, 4:15, 49:30; Ex. 19:5; Lev. 16:14; Num. 3:4; Deut. 6:15, 11:25, 14:2, 34:1.

⁹⁰E.g., the Targumim to the Five Scrolls, the Targum to Chronicles, the Antiochus Scroll, et al.

⁹¹Richard T. White, “A Linguistic Analysis of the Targum to Chronicles,” (D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1987), p. 272.

אָפֿך—“to flee” (v. 28): Appears as a translation of MT נוֹס, and once in Tg. Chronicles as a translation for בָּרוּחַ. The word only occurs in Tg. PsJ, Tg. Chronicles, and Targum to the Former Prophets.⁹²

אַרוֹם—“for, because” (14 occurrences): This word is not found in Tg. Onkelos, which uses אָרִי consistently as a translation of MT כִּי. This is an important indicator of the character of “Dream of Mordecai,” since the words אַרוֹם and אָרִי so clearly delineate the difference between Tgs. PsJ and Onkelos. Tg. Neophyti also uses אַרוֹם, and the few occurrences of אָרִי in Neophyti are likely corruptions of אַרוֹם.⁹³

בִּנְיָן—“in order that, because” (vv. 14, 15, 36, 45): This word is only found in PsJ, primarily in the book of Genesis as a translation of בָּעֵבֶר.⁹⁴ The normal Onkelos word is בְּדִיל, which is also found in PsJ 16 times. בִּנְיָן is used in PsJ 165 times.

בִּגְלָל—“in order that” (v. 51): This word occurs 133 times in PsJ and only once in Tg. Onkelos.

בִּרְחָא—“cheer” (v. 26): Occurs only once in all of the Pentateuchal Targumim, in PsJ to Exodus 18:9. In Pseudo-Jonathan, the word translates MT נִיחָד.

בִּשְׂרָא/בִּישְׂרָא—“flesh” (vv. 15, 39): In Tg. Onkelos, the spelling is בִּיסְרָא without exception. The usual spelling in PsJ and Neophyti is with ש, though there is an occasional בִּיסְרָא in PsJ as well.

⁹²Ibid., p. 199.

⁹³Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press, 1990), p. 74.

⁹⁴Richard T. White, “A Linguistic Analysis of the Targum to Chronicles,” p. 148.

ברם—"but" (vv. 17, 43, 46): As a translation of אף, ברם occurs most frequently in PsJ.

All of the Pentateuchal Targumim use ברם to translate MT אך and occasionally רק.

גדיא—"kid" (v. 48): MT עז—usually rendered עז in Onkelos, and גדיא in PsJ. "O uses גדיא meaning 'young' together with עז: גדין דעזין, 'young goats,' whereas [PsJ] and the [Palestinian] tgg. have גדיא by itself as 'young goat.'⁹⁵

גחן—"to bow down" (v. 15): גחן is the normal translation of MT כנע. It is only found in PsJ, and not in Onkelos or Neophyti.

היבל—"vanity" (vv. 24, 25): Found only once in PsJ as a translation of MT בהבליהם (Deut. 32:21). Onkelos uses טעוהון in this place, and has no occurrences of היבל throughout.

ידען/ידע—"to know" (v. 19): Non-assimilated ידע in qal imperfect of ידע is found 36 times in Pseudo-Jonathan, and does not appear in Onkelos or Neophyti, except in one variant MS of Onkelos at Gen. 43:7.⁹⁶

כען/כדון—"now, please" (15 total occurrences): In the Targumim, the words נא and עתה are treated synonymously and are translated with כדון in PsJ and the Marginal notes to Neophyti, Margins, and כען in Onkelos and Neophyti (main text). כדון is never used in Onkelos, and there are 15 occurrences of כען in PsJ.

⁹⁵Gerard J. Kuiper, *The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and its Relationship to Targum Onkelos* (Rome: Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum, 1972), p. 93.

⁹⁶Richard T. White, "A Linguistic Analysis of the Targum to Chronicles," p. 274.

כל קביל—“against” (v. 2): Used in PsJ to translate MT נבח, מול, נגד, לעמח, and נבח.

Onkelos consistently uses לקביל, and there are no occurrences of כל קביל in the text at all.

The use of כל is a feature of Palestinian Aramaic.⁹⁷

בטורל—“because, for the sake of” (vv. 13, 15, 19, 20, 37): This word translates כי, למען, and על, and is found *only* in Pseudo-Jonathan.

סייע—“to help” (v. 24, 32): As a translation of MT עזר, only PsJ and Tg. Chronicles use סייע. All other targumim use סעד, including Onkelos and Neophyti.

על נב—“upon” (v. 34): This construction is found in PsJ and not in Onkelos. In PsJ, the phrase is primarily used in plusses.

פסק—“to cease” (v. 6): In the sense of MT חדל, PsJ, Tg. Chronicles, and the Targum to the Former Prophets uses פסק. The word is found less frequently in Onkelos, which usually uses אחמנע.

צומא—“fast” (v. 29): The word is not found in Onkelos at all, but is used in PsJ, Neophyti, and the Fragmentary Targum.⁹⁸

All of these examples point to a close correlation between the language of the “Dream of Mordecai” and that of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. The true character and date and place of composition of Pseudo-Jonathan is the subject of much debate among scholars, who have come to few definitive conclusions regarding this text. It is clear, however, that the Aramaic of the “Dream of Mordecai” does belong to an established

⁹⁷Gerard J. Kuiper, *The Pseudo-Jonathan Targum and its Relationship to Targum Onkelos*, p. 90.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 94.

category of Aramaic lexicography and orthography which is preserved not only in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, but also in the targumim to the Hagiographa, the book of Tobit, the Additions to Daniel, and the Antiochus Scroll.

Date and Place of Composition of the "Dream of Mordecai"

Two issues are at hand in considering the date and place of the "Dream of Mordecai": The date of the original Semitic versions of the Additions to Esther, and the date of the Aramaic version which is the subject of this study. Since the Aramaic version and Josippon are closely related, theories on the date of Josippon are also important.

Evidence regarding the date and place of the original Additions to Esther is of two types: clues found in the context of the Additions themselves, and historical mention of the Additions in other sources. As noted above, Mordecai's dream and the prayers of Mordecai and Esther are similar to those found in the books of Daniel and Judith. These works were written in the second century B.C.E., and might serve as a possible date for the Additions as well.

Carey Moore claims that the *terminus a quo*, the earliest date for the final form of the Hebrew book of Esther, is the 4th or 5th century B.C.E. He writes that

The literary style of the Hebrew version of Esther has little in common with the first- and second-century B.C. Hebrew of Qumran, nor does the MT evidence any Greek influences. Moreover, its language and style most resemble the Hebrew of Chronicles and Ecclesiastes, books whose date of composition are being increasingly placed by scholars in the fourth or fifth centuries B.C. Then too, the book's very sympathetic attitude toward a "Gentile" king suggests a date much earlier than the Maccabean period (167-135 B.C.).⁹⁹

⁹⁹Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 161.

Even if the MT text of Esther did not exist in the fourth or fifth century B.C.E., the Semitic *Vorlage* of Esther may have been composed in that period. Also, Esther's references to King Ahasuerus as a lion ready to devour the sheep of God's flock hardly demonstrates sympathy toward a foreign king. The question that still lingers, however, is that of the date of the Additions. Were they a part of that Semitic text of Esther composed in the late Persian period?

Fuller states that a Jew from Persia might have authored the book. "Certain sentiments and expressions tend to point to a Jew of Persia as the composer of some of the 'Additions.'"¹⁰⁰ He suggests that the following contextual clues support his claim:

1. The dualism indicated in the fight between the dragons.
2. The mention of idol-worship (a late Persian practice)
3. The social customs
4. The description of the king on his throne
5. The titles given to God

All of these, writes Fuller "reflect the observations and language of one acquainted with the later Persian court, and familiar with the religion and etiquette of the palace."¹⁰¹ These Persianisms are strengthened by the use of imagery from Babylonian legends in the dream. Though these stories were probably known late in the Persian period, their memory likely faded in the Hellenistic period.

Ehrlich, on the other hand, claims that the dream's imagery is Biblical, and not Egyptian or Mesopotamian (and was thus written in Palestine).¹⁰² I would contend that even if there is Biblical imagery in the dream (and in all of the Additions), this would not

¹⁰⁰Fuller, "The Rest of Esther," p. 366.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²Ehrlich, "Der Traum des Mardochai."

preclude the influence of Babylonian religion on the author, whether he had lived in Persia or not. There are very few Jewish extra-Biblical texts which do *not* include Biblical imagery, regardless of whether they contain Persian or Greek loan-words or cultural references. However, the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" does not contain *any* loan-words from Greek or Persian, which seems to indicate a source that originated in Palestine.

Historical clues help the argument along. There is much to be derived from the colophon in Addition F in the LXX.¹⁰³ Using the reference in the colophon to the reign of Ptolemy, Moore writes that the most likely *terminus ad quem*, latest date, for the Hebrew version is either 78 B.C.E. or 114 B.C.E., based on the dates of the reigns of the Ptolemys.¹⁰⁴ Again though, this presumes that the LXX is based on the Hebrew version found in the Masoretic text.

Torrey discusses the origin of the book as well as the date the additions were removed from the text:

. . . the document of Purim must have been in circulation very soon after [130 B.C.E.]. Then, after only the briefest interval, before the document had had time to become well known, came the foolish addition of Mordecai's dream and its interpretation. No example of the unencumbered text remains. In the year 114 [B.C.E.], when the Egyptian translators made their Greek version in Jerusalem, the Dream was an accepted part of the record. So it was in the time of Josephus, 180 years later; so also when the Hebrew translation from the Aramaic was made; though both Josephus and the Hebrew translator cut off (*almost* completely!) the disturbing accretions, at last recognized as such.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³See p. 13 for a translation of the Greek text.

¹⁰⁴Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 161.

¹⁰⁵Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther," p. 39.

Thus does Torrey claim that the dream and its interpretation were “foolish addition[s]” to the book. His possible date of 130 B.C.E. is troublesome in light of Moore’s statements about the sympathetic attitude toward foreign kings in Esther. Also, Torrey does not explain exactly *why* Josephus and the “Hebrew translator” would have wanted to cut off the Additions.

One problem with Addition F, is that it does not specify *which* Ptolemy was in power when the Greek “translation” was finished. Kahana notes that

It is clear that the Greek additions whose original language was Hebrew [i.e. Adds A, C, D, and F] were not written before 114 B.C.E. The latest date would be 30 B.C.E., since that was when the Ptolemaic dynasty came to an end. So the Greek additions were written sometime in the period 114-30 B.C.E.¹⁰⁶

Most scholars, however, do pin down the date at 114 B.C.E., since the date “is quite compatible with the literary style and theological emphases of the Greek Esther.”¹⁰⁷ Two items which the colophon does not explain however, are (1) which Greek text was the colophon originally appended to,¹⁰⁸ and (2) from which text was the Greek translation (as it is described in the colophon) made? Most of the nineteenth century scholars state that the Additions were all a creation of the Greek “translator.” Moore et al. consider the *Vorlage* to be a Hebrew one, probably close to MT; and Torrey and Zimmermann claim an Aramaic *Vorlage* was the source of the Greek, and the MT as well.

Josephus’ use of the Additions adds fuel to the dispute. It is certain that Additions B, C, D, and E were in existence by 93-94 C.E., the date of Josephus’ *Jewish Antiquities*. As noted earlier, it is difficult to know whether Josephus did not know of Additions A and

¹⁰⁶Abraham Kahana, החיצונים הספרים [The Apocrypha to the Torah, the Prophets, the Writings, and the Rest of the Apocryphal Books], 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Masada Publishing, 1967), p. 541.

¹⁰⁷Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 252.

¹⁰⁸Moore emphatically claims it was the LXX, and not the AT.

F, or whether he knew of them and deliberately omitted them from his paraphrase. More specifically, both Josephus and the Old Latin translation do not have the second half of the Addition A (the plot against the king) or the conclusion to Addition C (Esther preparing to see the king). Moore writes that this is "presumably because these passages were lacking in their Greek texts."¹⁰⁹ This is a very interesting proposition, because it opens the door to the possibility that the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" and Josippon were based on a Greek text which was different from LXX and AT, the text that Josephus and the Old Latin used. There is, however, no evidence to support any part of this claim.

Torrey states that Josephus' paraphrase indicates that "the date of the Hebrew edition seems plainly to be later than the time of Josephus."¹¹⁰ This claim is unsubstantiated, and does not account for the possibility that Josephus simply knew and understood the Greek version better, and thus paraphrased that in *Antiquities* instead of the MT.

Regarding the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," few scholars theorize about its date and origin. Moore writes that the dream itself (not the Aramaic version), and the prayers may date from the second century B.C.E. based on their content,¹¹¹ but does not theorize about the Aramaic text except for calling it "medieval."¹¹²

Fuller and Kahana place the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" in the Gaonic period, which is a distinct possibility, though again, no evidence is offered. In fact, there is little evidence which is useful in trying to date the Aramaic text. But there is some.

¹⁰⁹Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 165.

¹¹⁰Torrey, "The Older Book of Esther," p. 39.

¹¹¹Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, p. 166.

¹¹²Moore, "On the Origins of the LXX Additions to the Book of Esther," p. 392.

The use of Biblical echoes from the later books of the Bible (Nehemiah, Daniel, et al.) do place the *terminus a quo* for the Aramaic version in the late Persian period or the Hellenistic period. However, this does not account for the "Dream's" close affinity to the content of Josippon and the language of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. Flusser places the origin of Josippon in Southern Italy in the middle of the 10th century C.E.¹¹³ Scholars have dated Targum Pseudo-Jonathan any time from the late Second Temple period to the seventh or eighth century. Despite these claims, the *current* recension of Pseudo-Jonathan is likely representative of a later redaction and "Babylonization" of its language. It is this text that the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" most closely resembles in its Aramaic dialect.

Thus, it seems appropriate to date the final form of the "Dream of Mordecai" in the late Gaonic period, as Fuller and Kahana did. Also, it was somehow related to the version of the Additions in Josippon, but in which direction the relationship went is unclear. The evidence points to an Aramaic translation of Josippon. The difficulty with this proposition is this: Why was a Hebrew text translated *into Aramaic* in the 10th or 11th century, when neither Hebrew nor Aramaic was still the vernacular of the Jews in that period? Though there seems to be no evidence which would assist in answering this question, it is instinctually troubling.

¹¹³David Flusser, ed., *ספר יוספון*. Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1978.

Conclusions

All of the evidence presented and studied has led to the following general conclusions about the Additions to Esther and especially the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai":

1. Some of the Additions to Esther were at one time an integral part of the pre-Masoretic book of Esther. The most likely candidates are Additions A, C, D, and possibly F—those which were originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic.
2. The Greek texts of Esther (and the Additions mentioned above) were descended from a Semitic *Vorlage*, composed in either Hebrew or Aramaic. The clearest evidence for this are the Semiticisms in the texts, as well as evidence that some of the differences in the LXX and the AT can be explained as translations of the same Hebrew or Aramaic source-word.
3. The Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" and Josippon represent a different recension of the Additions from that which is represented in the Greek. Even a cursory examination of the texts in parallel demonstrates that there are too many differences to explain the late Semitic recensions as translations of either of the Greek versions.
4. Some of the material of the additions (especially the dream) is quite old, and may even predate its association with the book of Esther. The dream itself may well have been in existence long before the Esther story, and was later adapted to it. This would explain the strange use of the dragon motif in relation to Mordecai, since most rabbinic and Biblical representations of dragons or serpents are negative. If the dream existed in advance of the Esther story, then its similarity to the Marduk legends would have made it possible to

compare Mordecai and Haman's struggle to the dream without creating too much dissonance.

5. The extant version of Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai," may represent a witness to the Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* of the Additions which preceded the Greek versions in LXX and AT. The uncertainty of its precise relationship to Josippon, as well as the difficulty in determining the sources of Josippon itself, render a *terminus a quo*, an *earliest* date for the composition of the "Dream of Mordecai," unobtainable considering the limited amount of information available. Even if the "Dream of Mordecai" was a translation of a form of the Josippon text, there is no reason that both texts could have been translations of an earlier "Josipponic" text. The *terminus ad quem*, the *latest* date for the final redaction of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai" must be set at 1189 C.E., the date of the earliest extant manuscript of the "Dream," MS Valmadonna 1.

The Extant Manuscripts of the Aramaic "Dream of Mordecai"

- B** *MS Berlin 1*. Parchment, very large, 3 columns. 4 volumes. Large, square letters. Vocalized with accents. The manuscript contains the Pentateuch with interlinear Targum Onkelos, Prophets, Writings, and Additions to Esther. Ashkenazic with colophon הסופר ברוך בר אברהם, 14th c. C.E. See also De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones* I, p. LXV; Kennicott 150.
- G** *MS Moscow-Guenzburg 119*. Oriental script, unvocalized. Manuscript contains Pentateuch with Targum and commentary of Rashi, Haftarot, and the book of Esther with Rashi's commentary and Targum. Also included is "Dream of Mordecai" and אנרת המן. After "Dream of Mordecai," the colophon reads: "חסדא" אני הכותב לעצמי שלמה בן הרב ר' The manuscript was written in the 15th century C.E.
- H** *MS Hamburg-Levy 19*. A large, illuminated manuscript; The manuscript contains Torah and Writings, as well as targumim to same, and the "Dream of Mordecai." The text is dated 1310 C.E.
- M** *MS Paris 17*. Vellum, 2 volumes. The manuscript consists of the complete Bible, including the following Targumim: Onkelos to the Pentateuch, Jonathan to the Prophets, and the various targumim to the Hagiographa (including Targum Sheni to Esther). The first volume contains the Pentateuch and Hagiographa, and the second contains the books of the prophets. "Dream of Mordecai" follows the book of Esther. Written in German square script, revised (acc. to the text) in Mantua in the year 1512 C.E. Originally written in 14th-15th c. A. Merx used this manuscript in his edition of "Dream of Mordecai" in *Chrestomathia Targumica* (he referred to it

as *Codex Pontificus*), noting its citation in G.B. de Rossi's *Varie Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, vol. 1 (1784), p. 126.

- P** *MS Paris 110*. Vellum. The text is written in Sephardic Mashait script.¹¹⁴ The manuscript was written at Tlemcen, by the scribe Nathan ben Saadia HaCohen Sholal between 1455 and 1457 C.E., according to the colophon. The manuscript consists of the Targum to the Hagiographa, "by the translator R. Joseph." Two targumim to the book of Esther are included, and "Dream of Mordecai" follows the second.
- S** *MS Valmadonna I*. Vellum, 14 ⁵/₈" x 11 ¹³/₁₆". Formerly known as MS Sassoon 282, now owned by the Valmadonna Trust under the administration of Mr. Jack Lunzer of London. Written in 1189 (acc. to colophon) in square German script. The manuscript, which contains the Pentateuch, Haftarat and Five Scrolls, has 482 pages arranged in three columns. The Scrolls contain the Targumim which are interlined with the Hebrew text. "Dream of Mordecai" follows the book of Esther, and is fully vocalized. The first three to five lines of the text were often unreadable, and where necessary, I followed the reading of A. Merx, who used this manuscript as the main text for his edition of "Dream of Mordecai" in *Chrestomathia Targumica* in 1888. Merx referred to the manuscript as Codex Kissingensi, after its sixth owner, R. Moses Aryeh Bamberger of Bad Kissingen.
- U** *MS Urbinati I*. Parchment, 979 leaves (each 56 x 40 cm), three columns per page, square script, vocalized (except "Dream of Mordecai"). According to a scribal note, the manuscript was written in 1294 C.E. by Yitzhak ben Shimeon ha-

¹¹⁴Martin McNamara, proj. dir, *The Aramaic Bible: The Targums* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1991), vol. 18: *The Two Targums of Esther*, by Bernard Grossfeld, p. 2.

Levi. Contains the entire Bible with commentaries of Rashi and others. Also included are Targumim to all books for which there is an extant Targum, written interlined with Hebrew text. "Dream of Mordecai" follows the book of Esther and appears to be in a different hand (in addition to the script being much smaller than that of the rest of the manuscript, and unvocalized). "Dream of Mordecai" is preceded by extensive, artistic micrography.

- V *MS Breslau Stadts Bibliothek 1106*. partially vocalized Ashkenazic script. Hebrew text alternates with Aramaic. "Dream of Mordecai" surrounds book of Esther in very small type.
- X *MS Parma 42 (3235)*. Italian, unvocalized, 14th-15th c. Contains Five Scrolls (ordered *Ruth, Lamentations, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther*) with Targumim interlined with Hebrew text, as well as "Dream of Mordecai," introduced by סליק ספר חלום דמרדכי. The Aramaic text is followed by חלום דמרדכי. הפלה אסתר.
- Y *MS Parma 7 (3218)*. Italian, vocalized, written in 1476 C.E. Contains Pentateuch with Targum and commentaries of Rashi and Ramban, Haftarat, Five Scrolls—all with Targum alongside, except book of Esther, which has Targum surrounding main text, and "Dream of Mordecai," followed by שלם לספר. Haftarat follow "Dream of Mordecai." Colophons read ונאם הנקדן... נחנאל טרבוט and יעקב דאיינא נאם הכותב.
- Z *MS Parma 737 (3187)*. Ashkenazic manuscript, two columns, 13th-14th c. C.E. The manuscript contains Bible with Prophets and Hagiographa, including the Five Scrolls with Targumim placed alongside main text. Also included are "Dream of

Mordecai" (after the book of Esther), and the books of Proverbs (with Targum), Job, Daniel and Chronicles. Colophon following "Dream of Mordecai" reads:

סליק ספר חרגום של בחובים וחרגום רב יוסף וסליק ספר חלום מרדכי והפילו עם אסתר:

MS Valmadonna 1 was chosen as the main text of the critical edition for two reasons: (1) It is the oldest of the eleven manuscripts, bearing the date 1189 C.E., and (2) A. Merx used the same manuscript as the main text for his edition in *Chrestomathia Targumica*, and there was no compelling reason to choose another.

Jellinek and Wertheimer, on the other hand, chose to present different manuscripts in their editions. Jellinek used MS Paris 17 as his main text, and Wertheimer appears to have used MS Urbinati 1, though he probably took this text from the transcription of De Rossi¹¹⁵ or from that of Assemanus in the Vatican Catalogue¹¹⁶. Wertheimer's variant readings, which are sparse, probably came from Jellinek's edition.

¹¹⁵De Rossi, *Varie Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*.

¹¹⁶Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Codicum Manuscriptorum Catalogus*.

“Dream of Mordecai”

according to MS Valmadonna 1

Mordecai's Dream

1 בשנת תרתי'ן למלכות אחשורוש ומרדכי יהודאה חלם חילמא והא
זייעא רבא ואכליותא וקל בהולחא על אנפי כל ארעא ודחלחא ורתיתא
אחדו ית יתבהא ואיתבהילו כל דיירי עלמא לחדא:

2 באדין תרין תניינא רברביא ובנו דין כל קביל דין לקרבא ותווחו כל
עממי ארעא לקל איתרגושיהון:

3 ודוה בין תרין תניינא האינן עם חד זעיר וקמו כל עממיא דארעא
עילויה לסלעמותיה ולהובדא דוכרניה מעילוי ארעא:

4 ודוה עננא וחשוכא וקיבלא על אפי כל ארעא ועקת לעמא זעירא ההוא
לחדא וקבילו וצלו קדם יהוה בכל ליבא:

זעייא M — זייעא — חלמא B H U X Y — חילמא — יהוד M — יהודאה — אחשור B — אחשורוש 1
כל B om. — אנפי כל — בהולחא — וכליותא X — ואכליותא — רבה G — רבא — זיעא Y
ודחלחא B G M P U V X Y — ודחלחא — ארע' Z — ארעא — כל אנפי U X — אנפי M om.
— ואיתבהילו H P U — ואיתבהילו — יתבהא B — יתבהא — אחו H — אחדו — דחלחא H
לחדא M om. ארעא H, ארעא B V — עלמא לחדא.

איתחזי X + איתחזי U + איתחזי P + איתחזי M Y, איתחזי B G H V — באדין 2
— רבביי X — רברביא — חניינא X, חניינא H M P U V Y Z, חניינא G — חניינא — איתחזי Z +
כלק לקביל H — כל קביל — יובנין Y, ונצו P, ואחו M Z, ובס H, ובנו G X U — B om. —
עממיא דארעא H — עממי ארעא — ותווחו B G U — ותווחו — לקבל Z, כל קבל P U, כל קבי M
איתרגושיהון U Y — איתרגושיהון H, איתרגושיהון B — איתרגושיהון — ארעא M om.

G om. — האינן — חניינא M X, חניינא G X om., חניינא B H P U V Y Z — חניינא — G X om. — תרין 3
ארעא H — דארעא — עממי Z, עמודי H — עממיא — עמא V, עמא P om., עמא B — עם — האנן U
לסלעמותיה G — לסלעמותיה — עלויה U — עלויה — P om. — דארעא — עילויה — דארעא M
מעילוי B U — מעילוי — דוכרניה in text — דוכרניה — ולהובדא — ודחלחא — לסלעמותיה H

— ארעא M — ארעא — כל in text om. — אפי כל — וקבלי Y, וקבלא B G H U V Z — וקיבלא 4
— B H M P U V X Y Z — יהוה — קדם M — קדם — וקבלו V Y — וקבילו — ההו M — ההוא
ליבה X, ליבה M, לבא B G U — ליבא — לחדא G

- 5 ותניינא מגיחן באכוריותא דרוגויהון ולית מפריש ביני תרויהון:
 6 ואיסתכל מרדכי והא מבועא דמאין חין נגיד בין תרין תניינא
 דמגיחן ואפריש בין תרויהון ופסקו מן קרבא:
 7 והוה מבועא לנהרא רבא ופתי תחומין הוו ימא רבא אזיל ושטיף בארעא:
 8 ודנחת שמשא ונגה נוגהה דנהורא על אנפי כל ארעא:
 9 ורבא עמא זעירא ואיתרוםם לחדא ועממא רמא וגיוחניא מאכו ושדוכת
 כל ארעא ארום רבת הימנותא והויא שלמא ליתבי ארעא:
 10 ומן יומא ההוא ולחלן נטר מרדכי ית חילמא בלבביה ולא אישתי
 לגברא אילהין לאסתר בלחודה:

[באכוריותא — מגיחין MP [מגיחן — ותניינא X, ותניינא G, ותניינא B H M P U V Y Z [ותניינא 5
 — בין H [בני — מפרש B H P [מפריש — דרוגויה G, ברוגויהון B [דרוגויהון — באכוריותא
 תרויהון P, תרויהון B [תרויהון].

[נגיד — דמאין Y Z, דמין G H M P V [דמאין — מבועין M [מבועא — ואסתכל P U [ואסתכל 6
 — בתי B G H M P U V Y Z [בין — עביר מגיד U, עביר ונגיד H V, עביר ונגיד G M P X Y Z
 [ואפריש — דמגיחין MP [דמגיחן — תניינא M X, תניינא G, תניינא B H P U V Y Z [ותניינא
 B H [ואפריש P [בין].

— רב M, רבא G [רבא — נהרא למבועא H [מבועא לנהרא — רמא + V [מבועא — והא G [והוה 7
 בארע M [בארעא — שטיף Z [ושטיף — רבא G X om. [ימא רבא.

נוגהה B G M U X Y Z [נוגהה — ונגה M U [ונגה — שימשא M [שימשא — דנחת B P [ודנחת 8
 ארע M [ארעא — אפי H P Y [אנפי — דנהורא in text [דנהורא — נהא V, נהא P, נהאה H.

לחד B [לחדא — אחרום M, ואחרוםם B G P U X Y Z [ואחרוםם — זעיר M [זעירא 9
 וגיוחניא M, וגיוחניא H P X [וגיוחניא — רממא V, רברביא B [רמא — ודו עממא B [ועממא
 [והויא — הימנותא in text [הימנותא — ארע M [ארעא — ושדוכת H [ושדוכת — מכו G [מאכו
 ארע M [ארעא — לכל יחבי P [ליתבי — והוה P, והוויא M.

בליבי M, בליביה H, בלביה G [בלבביה — חלמא G U Y Z [חלמא — ולהלאן P [ולהלן 10
 [בלחודה — אלהין Z, אלהין U Y [אילהין — אשתי G P U V X Y Z [אשתי — בליביה P V
 U Z [בלחודא U.

11 והוה כד עק ליה חמן ואעיקה ואמר מרדכי לאסתר מלכתא בת
אביחיל אח אבוהי למימר: 12 הא אתי פתגמי דאישתעיתי לך ביומי
שליוותך והא מעיקתא דאמרית לך:

13 וכדו קומי כען וצליאי קדם "אלהנא דאבהתנא ואקדימי יתיה בבעות'
למיתן לך לחסדא ולרחמין בליבא דמלכא אחשורוש ובכין תיעולי קדמוהי
למקדם אפוהי בשופריך למקום מטול עמך ומטול ייחוסך:

Mordecai's Prayer

14 וצלי מרדכי יהודאה קדם "אלהיה ואמר
בבעו רבון כל עלמאי "לא איחכסא לבבי מן קדמך ולא מן גבהה דרוחי
ורומא דלבבי עבדית דא בגין דלא למיסגוד לחמן עמלקאה הדין:

P Z [בת — לאסתר V, לאסתר — ואמ' M, ואמ' H ואמר — מעיקה X, ואעיקה B] ואעיקה 11
אחכוהי U Y, אחכוהי P [אח אבוהי — אכחי' U, אכחי' M] אכחי' — כרה

[דאישתעיתי — הלמא + G U Z, חילמא + B H M P V X Y] [פתגמי — אחיין V, אחו' P] אחי 12
שליוותך G P V X Y Z [שליוותך — לך G] לך — דאשתעיתי U, דאישתעיתי G X Y Z
עקתא B H [מעיקתא — סלאותך M]

[וצליאי — H om. — כען — וכדון H M P U Y Z, וכען B V — וכדו — G om. — וכדו ... לך 13
[דאבהתנא — אלקא H, אלהא B M P U V Y Z] [אלהנא — קד M] [קדם — וצלי H, וצליאי B
למיתן — כבעותא H M P U V X Y Z, כבעות' — ואקדימו B] [ואקדימי — דאבהתנ' Z
B G H] [בליבא — להיסדא X, לחינא לחיסדא V, לחיסד M] [לחסדא — לך B X] [לך — למתן U
תיעולי H] [תיעולי — ובכין Z, בכין P] [ובכין — אחשורוש U] [אחשורוש — בליבאי Z, בלבא U V X
אפוהי P] [אפוהי — M om.] [למקדם G H P V] [למקדם — קומי P, קד M] [קדמוהי — חעולי V Y
B H] [ייחוסך — עמיד B G H M P U V Z] [עמך — למיקסם Z, למיקסם M, למקסם B] [למקום —
ייחוסך U Y]

[רבון — זא' Z, ואמ' M, ואמ' G] [ואמר — אלקיה H, אלקי B] [אלהיה — קד M] [קדם 14
אחכסא Y, איחכסי M] [איחכסא — עלמא G H Y] [עלמאי — דכל V] [כל — ריבוי M, ריבון B H
B G H M P U X Y Z] [גבהה — דלא B] [ולא — קומך P] [קדמך — ליכבי V, לכי M] [לבבי —
[בגין — דליכבי V] [דלכבי — ורומ' in text] [ורומא — דרוחא B M V] [דרוחי — גובהה V, גובהא
P om. — למיסגוד M, למסגוד H P U V Y Z] [למיסגוד —

15 אלהין מדחלתך עבדית ואיתגריתי ביה משול דלא למגחן ליה ארום
דחלית מן קדמך אלהא עלמא דלא למיתן יקרך לבר נשא בישר' ודמא
בגין כן סריבית למגחן לערלאה מסאבא הדין אלהין לשמך רבא וקדישא
דאיתקרי עלנא:

16 ארום מאן אנא וביתי דאיכא דלא איסגוד לאינשא על פורקנא דישראל
וסייעיהון ולמלחך ית עפר ריגלוהי דהמן בחר די תידריך פרסת ריגלוהי
דהמן:

17 ברם במימרך סברת נפשן ארום עלך תליין עיינין ארום את בלחודך
לנא ולאבהתנא לאלהא:

18 וכדון אלהנא שזבנא כען מידה ויפול בשיחא דיכרא ויתאחד במצדתיה
די טמע וכמן לריגלי חסידך:

מדחלתך V, מן דחלתך P [מדחלתך — אלהן V, אילהין B H M X] [אלהין —
למינחן G M P V] [למגחן — דל' M] [דלא — in text om.] [ואיתגריתי U V] [ואיתגריתי —
אלה P V Z] [אלקא H] [אלהא — קומך P] [קדמך — דחלית M] [דחלית B V X Y Z] [דחלית
— B G H P U X Y] [בישר — למחן U] [למיתן — עמין Z] [עלמא V] [דעלמא H] [עממא B Y] [עלמא
לערלאה B] [לערלאה — למינחן ליה P] [למינחן H V] [למגחן — כין M] [כן — בישרא M V] [בשרא
Z] [אלהין — G om.] [הדין — מסאבא in text] [מסאבא — לערלאה P] [לערלאה M] [לערלאה H]
דאחקרי U Y [דאיתקרי — יקירא P] [וקדישא — אלהין Z] [אילהין U V Y] [אליהן G] [אלהן B]
עלנא M] [עלנא — עלמא + G]

דאכא B om., M V Z [דאיכא — זכא Z] [וביית H] [וביית G] [וביית — מן U] [מאן 16
דישראל — לאנשא V] [לאנשא U] [לאינשא — אסגוד U] [אסגוד H M P V Y] [אסגוד G] [איסגוד
— וסינחון Z] [וסינחון — וסינחון H P V X Y] [וסינחון B U] [וסינחון — דישר H M]
ריגלוהי P, רגלוהי M, רגלוהי H [ריגלוהי — גלמלחך P X] [גלמלחך H] [ולמחך G] [ולמלחך
— באחרא P] [באחר B H M U Y Z] [בחר — G V om.] [בחר ... דהמן — רגלוהי X] [רגלוהי U]
רגלוהי U, רגלוהי P [רגלוהי — דחודך P] [די חודך B M U Y] [די חודך]

נפשא Z, נפשין H Y [נפשן — סברית H] [סברת — כמיר' M] [מימרך H] [במימרך 17
בלחודך — H om.] [אנה — עיין Z] [עיין U] [עיין G] [עיין — B M om.] [ארום ... עיינין
לאלקא H] [לאלקא — ולאבהתנא in text] [לאבהתנא — לנא B] [לנא — בלחודך P]

ויפול B Y Z [ויפול — מן ידיה Y] [מידה — Y om.] [כען — אלקא H] [אלהא B V] [אלהא 18
ויתאחד — די כרא Y] [דכרא G H P U X Z] [דיכרא — בשיחא V] [בשיחא P] [בשוחא H Z] [בשיחא
דאכמע P] [דיסמע G H M X] [ויסמע B] [די טמע — במצדתיה G M] [במצדתיה — ויתאחד G]
לרגלי P U V [לרגלי — רבמן Z] [רבמן דמן Y] [רבמן M] [רבמן B] [רבמן — דסמע V Z] [וסמע U]
חסידיה M V [חסידיה — חסידך M V] [חסידך — לרגלי Y]

19 משול דינדען כל עממיא דלא איתנשיתא ית קיימא דקיימתא לאבהתא
עבדך ולא מסרתא בגלותא ביומא הדין מחלשות ידא אלהן בחובינא
איזדבנא ובסירחנא גלינן ארום חבנא לך:

20 וכדון אלהנא רב למפרוק פרוקין כען מן ידיה ושיזבין מבישת רעיוניה
ארום כד עיק לן קדמך נצלי ולוותר נערוק למתראם אמטולנן: 21 אתה
בלחודך למקום לימינא דחשיבייך ולמפרקין מן דקיימין עלנא:

22 ואידכר כדון ארום חולקך אנחנא ארום מן לקדמין ומכבין מאחסנותך
עממיא ובאפרשותך בני נשא אפרישתא למיהוי בעדבך 23 ולאפרשותא
מן עממיא למיהוי לך לחביביא וקדשתא לשמך אפרשותא מן כל עממיא:

[דקיימתא — אחנשית V, אחנשיתא P U Y, יתנשיתא H, יתנשיתא G, איתנשיתא B] איתנשיתא 19
[ולא ... לך — לעבדך X, עבדייך P, עבדיך M U] [עבדך — לאבהתא X] [לאבהתא — דקיימת H
— מחלשות H] [מחלשות — יומא M, ביומא B] [ביומא — בגלותא B G H V X Y] [בגלותא — Pom.
[בחובינא — אלהן M Y, אלקים H, אלהן G, אלהן B V] [אלהן — ידך V, ידא H] [ידא
[ובסירחנא — איזדבנא U] [איזדבנא — בחובינא Y Z, בחובינא M, בדלבינא H, בחובינא B V]
[חובנא B] [חבנא — גלינא M] [גלינן — ובסירחנא V X Y Z, ובסירחנא H, ובסירחנא B G M U]
חובנן G.

למפרק P, למפרוק M V Z [למפרוק — ראב V, רבא H P] [רב — אלהא P, אלקא H] [אלהנא 20
[מבישת — ושיזבין U Z, ושיזבין M, ושיזבין B] [ושיזבין — פרוקין P Y Z, פרוקין H] [פרוקין —
[כד עיק — רעיוניה V, רעיוני B M] [רעיוניה — מן בישת H P V, מבישת G M U X Y Z]
[ולוותר — נצלי H] [נצלי — קדמך P] [קדמך — לך B] [לן — עיקן G] [עיק לן — כדעיק U
[B G U V X Y] [למתראם — נערוק G P V X Z, נערוק B M Y] [נערוק — ולותר Y, לוותר G]
אמטולנן M P Y, אמטולנך H V, אמטולנך B [אמטולנן — למתראם M Z, למחכס H, למתראם
אמטולנך G.

וחשיבייך G H P, וחשיבין B [דחשיבייך — ליימינא G] [לימינא — למקם Y, למקום M] [למקום 21
[ולמפרקין B P U V Z] [ולמפרקין — וחשיבייך X, וחשיבין Y V, וחשיבין U, דחשיבין M]
[דקיימין U V, דקיימא G H] [דקיימין — ולמפרקין Y, ולמפרקין H].

ומכבין H, ומכבין G P U X Y Z [ומכבין — מלקדמין B G] [מן לקדמין — ואידכר U] [ואידכר 22
[עממיא — מאהסנה V. om., מאחסנתא M, באחסנותך B G H P X] [מאחסנותך — ומכבין M]
— אנשא X] [נשא — באפרשותך Y, באפרשותך H] [ובאפרשותך — דעממיא Y, דעממיא M, עממיא H]
[בעדבך — למיהוי כען H P, למיהוי B U Y] [למיהוי — אפרישתא X, אפרישתא B] [אפרישתא
בעדבך G.

למיהוי G M P V X Z [למיהוי — עממיא B V] [עממיא — ולא פרשא יתנא Z] [ולאפרשותא 23
[מן כל — וקדשתא M V Z] [וקדשתא — לאומא חביבא P, לחביבא B G M U V X Z] [לחביבא
עממ B] [עממיא — מכל P].

24 וכדון אלהנא למא יימרון מעיקנא ארום לית להון אלהא למיפרוקיהו
ויתפתחון פומהון לסלעמותא חולקך ולשבחא ית פסיליהון והיכליהון למימר
בכנ איסחיענא למכבש ית עמא הדן:

25 בבעו אלהא פרוקנן כדון מן ידיהון ויבהתון עממא מפסיליהון והבליהון
ושעוהתון וישוון ידא לפומא במיחזיהון ית פורקנן יי וחוס כדון על
עמך ועל אחסנתך ולא יסתחמון פומא משבחחא דמיחדן ית שמך רמשא
וצפרא הדירא:

26 והפך אבלין לבדחא וחדוא וניחי ונשבחין על פורקנא טבתא
דיפרקין:

חצי הספר:

[יימרון — למא B G H M V X Y — עממא Y, אלקנא H — אלהנא — וכדון — וכדון] 24
למיפרוקיהו G M U V, למפרוקיהו B Y [למיפרוקיהו — B om., אלהא — יימרון]
[לסלעמותא — פומיהון Z] פומהון — ויתפתחון — למפרוקיהו P Z, למפרוקיהו H X
ולשבחא M — ח ואחסנתך B [חולקך — לסלעמותא P, לסלעמותא M V, לצלעומתא G
והבליהון G P Z, והיכליהון B [היכליהון — פסיליהון G Y, פסיליהון B M V X] [פסיליהון
— בכין V X Z, בען U, בהון M, בכון B H Y] [בכין — היכליהון Y, והיכליהון H M U V X
למיכבש G H V Z] [למכבש — אסחיענא U, אסחיענא P Y, איסחיענא M, איסחיענא B] [איסחיענא

פרוקינן P Y Z, פרוקין B G U V X [פרוקין — אלקנא H, אלהנא B G M U X Y Z] [אלהא 25
— מן עממא X] [עממא — סנאיהון M + ויבהתון — ידיהון V Z] [ידיהון — קדום G] [כדון
והבליהון — מפסילהון V, מפסילהון U Y, מן פסילהון G, מפסילהון B H P] [מפסילהון
שעוהתון V Z] [ושעוהתון — היכליהון Z, והיכליהון Y, והיכליהון V, והיכליהון M U X, והיכליהון B
— במיחזיהון H] [במיחזיהון — לפומא X] [לפומא — ידיהון in text] [ידא —
[משבחחא — פומא M Z, פומא G] [פומא — כדון חוס H] [כדון — וכדון חוס P] [חוס כדון
[רמשא — B om.] [ית — למיחדן H, דמיחדן P U X] [דמיחדן — משבחחא M, משבחחך H
ובצפרא P] [וצפרא — ברמשא P, רמשא M]

וחדוא M, וחדוא B Y [וחדוא — איבלין M, אבלנא H P Y] [אבלין — והפך M Z] [והפך 26
ונשבחין G H P V X Y Z] [ונשבחין — נייה V, ונייה M, ונייה P, ונייה B] [ונייה — וחדויא Z,
דהפרקין B G, דהפרקין H] [דהפרקין — סכא P] [סכא — ונשבחך U, ונשבחך M,
דהפרקין Z, דהפרקין X, דהפרקין P, די תפרקין M]

M P om., פלגות חילמא G [חצי הספר

Esther's Prayer

27 וכל ישראל ויהודה קבילו כחדא קדם יי אלההון על עיסק עקתא
דאשיק להון בזמן דאשיקנין המן בר המדתא עמלקאה דמזרעיית אנג:
28 ולחוד אסתר מלכתא ערקת ואפכת עד יי לאקדמותיה בצלו ארום
דחלתא מן קדם בישתא די צמחת מן מחשבתא דהמן רשיעא:

29 ואשלחת ית לבושי מלכותא וית תיקון תושבתהא ולבשת שקא ופרעת
ית שער רישיה ומלאתנין עפר וקטם ועניאת בצומא ואיטמרת בטומרא:
30 ונפלת על אפהא וצליאת ואמרת

בבעו יי אלהא דישר' מלכא על כל מלכיא ובארי כולא דקנייניה שמיא
וארעא: 31 ושלש ברום מרומי שמיא ושלש על ארעית ארעא ובימא
רבחה ובתהומיא ובכל תנייהון:

—אלקתון H [אלההון —כלודא M [כחדא —קבילו P V [קבילו —ישר H M Z [ישראל 27
—דמזרעית B G M P U V X Z [דמזרעיית —המדתא M [המדתא —דאשיקנין H U [דאשיקנין
אנג H [אנג.

28 לאקדמותי B [לאקדמותיה —ואיפכה Z, ואפכת מימרא P [ואפכת —עקת M [ערקת
[קדם —דחילה P Y, דחלה B G H M U V [דחלה —בכעו ובצלו P [בצלו —לאקדמא P
G H P, בישתא B M [רשיעא —צמחת X [מחשבתא —דיצמחת G [די צמחת —קדם יי על H P
U V X Y Z א. ב. ש. מ. א.

29 [תושבתהא —תקני Z, תקון B P U [תיקון —דמלכותא H [מלכותא —ואשלח M [ואשלחת
—רישא G Z, רישה B H P U V X Y [רישה —ולבשת Z [ולבשת —דחילתהא Z, תושבתהא M
—בצומא נפשה P [בצומא —עניא G [עניא —עפרא P [עפר —ומלאתנין M [ומלאתנין
בטומרא G [בטומרא —ואיטמרת P U, ואיטמרת H [ואיטמרת.

30 —אלקא H [אלהא —V om., וצליא M Z, וצליאת G [וצליאת —אנפהא M, אבוהא H [אפהא
וברי M P Z [ובארי —מרי מלכיא P, עמי מלכיא H [מלכיא —דישראל B G P U V X Y [דישר
in text [שמיא —דקנייניה V X Z, דקנייניה P, דקנייניה M, דקנייניה H, דקנייניה G [דקנייניה —
שמי.

31 ובימ B [ובימא —ועל V X Y, ועל M [על —M V X om. [ושליש —שמי P [מרומי 31
ובתהומא B M [בתהומיא —all others om. [רבחה —ובימא U V Y, ובימא H M P X
תנייהון X [תנייהון —ובחר ימיא X.

32 בבנו סייע כדון לאמתך דיתבה בלחודה דלית לה סעיד בר מינך
ארום בלחודי יתבית הלכה ובלחודי אנא יתבא בבית מלכא הדין בלא אבא
ואימא:

33 ולחוד כיתמא ענייתא דשאלה מזונא בחד מן ביתא לביתא הכדין
שאלית רחמך וחסדך מן כוותא לכוותא בבית מלכא אחשורו הדין
למן יומא דאיתדברית הלכה ועד יומא הדין: 34 וכדון אלהנא הא
נפשי כד על גב ידי לאיתקטלא סביתיה מן ידיי אין שפיר קדמך

35 ואין לא תיצבי למיענה שזב כדין ית עאן רעיתך מן פום אריות
האילין דפתחו ית פומהון למכול יתהון:

36 ארום שמעית מאבהתי ולחוד אשתעא לי ארום אנת דברתא ית אבהתא
מביני עממא ואפקתון ממצרים וקטלתא כל בוכריא דמצראי בנינהון:

בלחודא B Z [בלחודה — דיתבא B P U Y Z [יתבה — לאמיתך G, לאמתך B [לאמתך 32
[יתבית — בלחודי M X Z, בלחודי B G P U V [בלחודי — מנך U [מינך — ליה M [לה
ובלחודי X Y Z, ובלחודי H [ובלחודי — הלכא B G H M P U Y Z [הלכה — יתבית H, ותבית H
ואמא H U [ואימא — מלכ' in text [מלכא — אנלי יתב' M [אנא יתבא — יתבה Y [יתבא —
ואמ' M.

[דשאלה — ענייתא G [ענייתא — כיתמא M U, ביתי H, כיתמא G P V X Y [כיתמא 33
— שאליה B [שאלית — בחוסדא M V, Hom., בחוסדא B G P U X Y Z [בהסד — דשאלא M U
[הדין — אחשור' G, אחשור' B H M P U V X Y Z [אחשור' — וחוסדך M, וחוסדך G [וחוסדך
— דאיתדבר' Z, דאיתדבר' P U, דאיתדבר' B [דאיתדבר' — ולמן in text [למן — הדין P
— X om. [הדין — עד B [ועד — מלכא H, Gom., הלכא B M P U V Y Z [הלכה

[גב — כדעל Y [כד על — נפשא X [נפשי — אלקא H [אלהנא — וכד X, וכדין B Y [וכדון 34
G H M, סב B [סביתיה — לאתקטלא P U V Y Z [לאיתקטלא — דיא P, ידי G H Y [ידיי — נאב P
P U V X Y Z [ידיי — מידי H Y, מידי B M [מן ידיי — סב יתה P U V X Y Z

למעציה M, למיסבא G H, למסבא B U [למענה — יתצבי X, תצבי B M U Y [יתצבי 35
[עאן — כדון G P V X Y Z, כען B [כדין — שזיב M P X Y Z [שזיב — למיסבא P V X Y Z
[אריות — רעויתך V, רעיתך P, רעיתך B G H M U X Y Z [רעיתך — ענאן X, עאן H
[דפתחי — האילין U, האילין H [האילין — אריותא P U V X Y, אריותא M, אריותא B G H Z
למכיל M X, למיכל G P Y Z, למיכל B H V [למכול — פומהון B [פומהון — די פתח M

[לי — אשתעא Z, אשתעי M, אישהת H, אשתעא B [אשתעא — מאבהתי H V X [מאבהתי 36
[ואפקתון — עממי B [עממיא — דברתא B G H M P U [דברתא — אתה P [אתה — ולי Z
בוכריא B [בוכריא — וקטלתא Y, וקטלתא B [וקטלתא — ואפקתון M P X Z, ואפקתון B
V om. [בנינהון — דמצרי' X, דמצרי' M, דמצרי' H, מצראי B [דמצראי — בוכריא M X

37 ויה עמך דברתא מביניהון ויה ירך תקיפתא ואדרעך מרמס אחזיתא
למצראי משול עמך ואעברתון ביבשתא היך סוסא במדברא והיך בעירא
בבקע: 38 ויהבתא לחמא מן שמיא לכפנהון ולצחותהון אפיקתא להון
מיא מן שמיר טינרא:

39 ולחוד מזונא דבישרא וציפרי שמיא לשובעא אגוזא להון מן ימא רבא
לאשלמא רעותהון: 40 ונתנהון ארבעין שנין במדברא לארעא דלא יתבא
ומחיתא קדמיהון מלכין רברבין וגיוותי: 41 ואחסנתהון ית ארעהון
ויהבתא להון ארעא משבחתא אחסנתך טבתא בסוגעי טובך:

42 וכד חבו אבהתא לשמך רבא מסרתהון ביד שוביהון והא אינון בגלותא
יומא הדין:

[ואדרעך — תקיפא V, תקפתא H | תקיפתא — דברתא Z | דברתא — עמא B G | עמך 37
— חזיתא M, אחזתא B | אחזיתא — מרמס P, מרמס H | מרמס — גאדרעך Y, גאדרעך M
— ביבשתא G X Y Z | ביבשתא — ואעברתון M Y Z, ואעברתון H, ואעברתון B P U V X | ואעברתון
בבקעתא B M P U V X Y Z | בבקע — M om. | בעירא — סוסא B H P X | סוסא —
בקעתא H, בבקעתא G.]

[לכפנהון — לחמן G | לחמא — ויהבת להון V, ויהבת M X, ויהבת H, ויהבת להון B | ויהבתא 38
— אפקתא P, אפיקתא B | אפיקתא — ולינקתהון H, ולצחותהון B V | ולצחותהון — לכפנהון B V
— טנרא U | טינרא.]

39 דשמיא Y | שמיא — וציפרי B H M P U Y Z | וציפרי — דכשרא B H M P U V Y Z | דכשרא
[להון — אגוזא Y, אגוזא G M X | אגוזא — לשובעא V, לשובעא B G H M U X | לשובעא —
לאשלמא G | רבא — ימ' Z, ימא B | ימא — מן M | מן — ימא — פדיוני P +
רעותהון H P | רעותהון — לאשלמא X, ית + P V, לא שלמא H.]

40 בארעא B G H V Y Z | לארעא — ונתנהון X, ונתנהון M, ונתנהון B H Y Z | ונתנהון
B G H P U | וגיוותי — רברבין Y | רברבין — מ' X | מלכין — יתבה in text | יתבא — M P om.
וגיוותי M V X | וגיוותי Y Z.]

41 ארעא M | ארעהון — ואחסנת H, ואחסנתהון G P U V X Y Z, ואחסנתהון B M | ואחסנתהון
אחסנת Z, אחסנתה X Y, אחסנתא M V | אחסנתך — משבחת in text | משבחת — ויהבת H | ויהבתא
— טבתא M | טובך — כסטי H, כסטי B G M U Z | כסוגעי —

42 אן. Z, אנון G U | אינון — שוביה V | שוביה — מסרתהון M Z | מסרתהון 42

43 ולחוד אנא אישטעא לי למימר דמלילתא בידא דמשה עבדך
ולחוד ברם דא במהויהון בארע בעלי דבביוהון לא ארחיקינון במלכות
דבבל ולא אשבקינון במלכותא דמדי ופרס לשיציותהון במלכותא דיון
לאשנאה קיימי עמהון במלכותא דאדום אנא הוא יי אלההון ביומי דנגז ומגז:

44 וכדון לא סגי אנא גלותא דהינון מפלחין יתא בקשיו אינון אילהין
אמרין אתה לא מסרתא את בידהון אילהין ית פיסליהון יודון ולהון
יסגדון וישבחון למימר ארום אתון מסרתון ית עמא דיהודאי בידנין:

45 בגין כן עקת נפשא דאמהתך לרחקא ית עמא דדין ולמיסני יתהון היך
ריחוק ביזעא דלבוש איתחא דווחא הכדון סגיתונון:

דא — ז"ל + Z [עבדך — אשטעא P U Y om. — אישטעא B om. — אנא — ברם + in text] [ולחוד 43
— בארע' G, בארעא B M — בארע — במהויהון M, במהויהון B G P V X [במהויהון — H om.
— במלכותא M, במלכותא B G H P U V X [במלכות — ארחיקינון U, ארחיקינון P V Y [ארחיקינון
אמדי H [דמדי — אשבקינון X, אשבקינון U, אשבקינון H, אשבקינון B [אשבקינון — G om. [דבבל
לא שנאה H [לאשנאה — דיוון G V X Z [דיון — במלכות M V [במלכותא — ואפרס H [אפרס —
— B G H M U Z, אדוב P, דאדוי M [דאדום — P om. [במלכותא — עימהון Z [עמהון —
ומגז — אלההון Y, אלקהון H [אלההון — G om. — יי — B M P V X Y om. [הוא — ארום +
מגז: B H U X Y Z.

[מפלחין — דהנון U, דאינון B H [דהנון — לנא B G H M P U V Y Z [אנא — וכאן Y [וכדון 44
V om., אלהי G, אלהי B U Z [אילהין — בקשין H Z, בקשיו G [בקשיו — מפלחין Z, מפלחין Y
G H M P U Z, איתון ארום B [אתה — דהנון U, דהנון M P Y Z, איתון B V [איתון — אילהין Y, אי- X,
— V om. [אתה — מסרתא Z, מסרתונון M [מסרתא — דלא Y [לא — Y om. [דהא V, ארום
פסיליהון H, פסיליהון B G P [פיסליהון — אלהון U Z, אלהון M Y, אלהון B G V [אילהין
[מסרתונון — V om. [ארום — למימ' in text] למימר — יודון G [יודון — פסליהון Y, פרס להון U
מסרתונון B G M P U V X Y Z.

45 (in B is crossed out) נפשא B G — נפשא — עקא in text] עקת — כין Z, כד M [כן — כדון מן H [בגין כן 45
— ולמסני H P U, ולמסני B [ולמסני — סנא P [עמא — דאמהתך M Y [דאמהתך —
דלבושא H, דלבושי B [דלבוש — בנצא P, בנצא B G H M U V X Y Z [ביזעא — יתהון G [יתהון
סגיתונון G [סגיתונון — דווחא V [דווחא — איתחא U Y, איתחא H [איתחא — די לבוש
סגיתונון V.

46 וברם אסני וארחיק ית כל לבושי תושבחת וית כל מאני תקוני שיבהורי
וית כלילא דמלכותא דברישי ולא חדתי מן יומא דאתיוני הלכא עד הכא
אילהין במימרך בלחודך מלכי ואלהיי:

47 ואנת אלהא אבוהון דיחמי קום כדון לימינא דאמתך יתימתא יומא הדין
די סברית במימרך בשובך וברחמך:

48 ורב לי רחמין קדם אחשורוש מלכא ארום דחילא אמתך יתיה היכמה
דדחיל גדיא מן קדם אריייה:

49 בבנו אלהא אמאיך יתיה עם כל יעשוהי למהוי כניע ומתכביש קדם
אמתך בחינא לחיסד' ובשיבהורא ובשופרא די תתן לאמהתך אלהי:

46 H om. [וית — תושבחת' P [תושבחת — וארחיק — אסני V [אסני — ובכן H [וברם
[דברישי — שבהורי H M U Y [שיבהורי — תיקוני G H M P V X Z [תקוני — וכל H [כל —
M V [דאיתיוני B G H P U X [דאיתיוני — מיומא P [מן יומא — חזיתי H [חדתי — דברישיה X
אלהן U V Y Z [אילהן M [אלהין G [אילהין — P om. [הלכא — דאיתיוני Z, דאיתיוני Y, דאיתיוני
B G M P U V X Y Z [ואלהי — בלחודך P [בלחודך — בשובך וברחמך + X [במימרך —
ואלקי H, ואלהי.

47 אבוהו V, אבוהי M, דאבוהון H [אבוהון — אלקא H [אלהא — זאחא, הוא G [ואנת
B H [הדין — יתימתא G [ייתמתא — דאמתך G [דאמתך — לימינא M [לימינא — כדון X Y [כדון
P om. [במימרך — דסברית P [די סברית — דין P U Y Z.

48 אחשור' M, אחשורש G [אחשורוש — קד' V, גברא הדין P, דם G [קדם — לרחמין P [רחמין
[דחיל — הדין Z, הי כמה P [היכמה — דחילא B [דחילא — P om. [מלכא — אחשור'
אריייה P, אריייה M, אריייה H, אריייה B G U Z [אריייה — גדיי P [גדיא — די דחיל
X, אריייה Y, אריייה X.

49 G H M [למהוי — יעשוהי P [יעשוהי — עיב' M [עם — אמיך + Z, אלקי H, אלקי G [אלהא
[לחיסד' — ומתכביש Z, ומתכביש M V [ומתכביש — כניע H [כניע — למיהוי P V X Y
[ובשיבהורא — לחיסדא X, ובחיסדא P V Z, וחיסדא M, ובחיסדא H U, לחסדא G, וחיסדא B Y
[די תתן — X om. [די — יבשיבהורא Z, ובשופרא — ובשופרא Z, ובשופרא P U
אלקי H [אלהי — לאמתך G M P Y [לאמתך — חתין M [חתן — דיתן G.

50 והב בליביה למיסני ית בעלי דבביהון ולמרחם ית עבדך ארום
לבהון דמלכיא בידך אלהא משבח ודחילא ותקיפא

51 ושיזבני כדון מדחלתיה דדחלית ואיסתפיתי ועלית קדמוהי בשום מימרך
יהב דחלתך עלוהי ומיתכרך דתעיל בלבביה למידחל מן קדמך מן בגלל
דאפוק מקדמוהי בשלם:

מנין פסוקי דסיפרא נא

ושלם החומש עברי ותרנום

וחמש מגילוח עברי ותרנום

סליק ספר חלום מרדכי

עם הפטרות וחמש מגילוח ואיוב בתמשה עשר בתמוז בשנת תתקמט לפריס

דבביהון — למסני U [למיסני — בלבביה G U Y, בליביה B H M P V X] בליביה 50
— ולמירח B M V [ולמרחם — דבביי Z, דבכהון Y, דעמך בית ישראל + V, אלהא דישראל + P
— דלמלכיא X, דמלכא H] דמלכיא — ליבהון P V X Y Z, לבכהון B [לבהון — אמתך Z] [עבדך
משבחא B G H M U V X Y Z] [משבח' — אלקנא H, אלהא B G M P U V X Z] [אלהא
ודחיל' M + [ודחילא — משבחא P

— די דחלית P, דדחלית H M Z [דדחלית — כדון H] [שיזבני Y, ושיזבני B] [שיזבני 51
קדמי P] קדמוהי — ואיסתפית Y, ואיסתפית X, ואסתפית V, ואסתפית P U, ואסתפית G [ואיסתפית
M V, ומתברך B G H P U Y] [ומיתכרך — עלוי P] [עלוהי — והב B G H P V X Y Z] [יהב —
למידחל — בליביה H P V] [בלבביה — דהיעול H, G om., דתעיל B] [דהעיל — ומיתברך X Z
B G H] [מקדמוהי — דאפיק H, דאפיק B M P Y] [קדמך — קדמך P] [קדמך — למדחל B U Y
מן קדמי Y, מן קדמי P, מן קדמוהי M U Z

Translation of “Dream of Mordecai”¹

Mordecai's Dream²

1 In the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus, Mordecai the Jew dreamed a dream: behold, a great earthquake, with noise and the sound of panic over the face of the entire earth. Fear and trembling seized its inhabitants—all those who lived on the earth were extremely frightened.³

1 בשנת תרתין למלכות אחשורוש
ומרדכי יהודא חלם חילמא והא
זייעא רבא ואכליוותא וקל בהולתא
על אנפי כל ארעא ודחלא ורתיתא
אחדו ית יתבהא ואיתבהילו כל
דיירי עלמא לחדא:

2 Then, two great sea-monsters were seen,
and they strove⁴ against each other in
battle⁵, and all of the peoples of the earth
shuddered at the sound of their cries.

2 בארין איתחזיאו תרין תניניא
רברביא ונצו דין כל קביל דין
לקרבא ותווהו כל עממי ארעא
לקל איתרגושיהו:

3 And between these two sea-monsters
was one small nation, and all of the nations
of the earth rose up against it to swallow it
and to eradicate its memory from upon the
earth.

3 וְהָיָה בֵּין תְּרֵין תַּנְיִנָא הַאֲמִינִן עִם
 חַד זַעִיר וְקָמוּ כָל עַמְמֵי אֶרֶץ
 עִלּוּיָה לְסַלְעֻמּוּתִיהָ וּלְהוֹבְדָא
 דְּכּוֹכְבֵּי מַעְלֵי אֶרֶץ:

4 There was a cloud, and darkness and gloom⁶ fell over the face of the earth. The small nation was greatly distressed, and they cried out and prayed to Adonai with all their heart.

4 וְהָיָה עֲנָנָא וְחֹשֶׁכָא וּקְבֵלָא עַל אִפִּי
כָל אֲרֶעָא וְעַקְתָּ לַעֲמָא זַעִירָא
הָהוּא לְחֹרָא וּקְבִילוּ וְצִלוּ קֶדֶם יי
בְּכָל לֵיבָא:

¹The text translated here is a *discrete* text, created primarily by choosing the majority reading from amongst the eleven manuscripts. Apparent errors in the main text were corrected as well.

²In LXX, Mordecai's Dream is found at the beginning of the book of Esther.

³Compare content and language of the second half of v. 1 to Tg. PsJ to Exodus 15:14-15:

14 שמעו אומיאי יתרון דחילא אהם יתרו כל עמודי יידי ארעוה דפלישתאי: 15 הא בכן אבהלנו דברבי אדומאי תקיפ' מואבי אהם יתרון דחילא אהם לבחון בנורוהן כל עמודי יידי ארעוה דברביא: Tg. Onkelos and Neophyti are similar in content.

44 Your maidservant had two sons. The two of them came to blows out in the field where there was no one to stop them." —Cf. 2 Samuel 14:6—

⁵Cf. *Sanhedrin* 96b – סלחמה תניינן, which refers to one of the events that will occur at the end of days. The same passage mentions ונגזר סלחמה ונגזר סלחמה, for which see note to verse 43 below.

6 "יום חשך ואפלה יום ענן וערפל—Cf. Joel 2:2—עננה וחשוכה וקבלה
 day of densest cloud". Targum כנהור צפרא יום עננה ואמסתא כנהור צפרא יום חשך וקבלה, which appears to be

5 The sea-monsters waged war with fierce anger, and nothing could separate them.⁷

5 ותנינא מגיחן באכוריותא דרוגיהון
ולית מפריש ביני תרויהון:

6 And Mordecai looked, and behold, a spring of fresh water flowing between the two battling sea-monsters, and it separated the two of them and their battle ceased.

6 ואסתכל מרדכי והא מבוטא
דמאין חיינ עביר וגניד ביני תריין
תנינא דמגיחן ואפריש בין תרויהון
ופסקו מן קרבא:

7 The spring became a great and broad river, just as the great sea continually floods the earth.

7 והיה מבוטא לנהרא רבא ופתי
תחומין היך ימא רבא אזיל ושטיף
בארעא:

8 The sun rose and the great morning light⁸ shone over the face of the entire earth.

8 ודנחת שמשא וגנה דנהורא
על אנפי כל ארעא:

9 And the small nation became great and exalted, and the lofty and proud nations were humbled. All the earth was quiet⁹, and faith was abundant, and peace¹⁰ came to all the inhabitants of the earth.

9 ורבא עמא זעירא ואיתרומם לחדא
ועממיא רמיא וגיותניא מאכו
ושדוכת כל ארעא ארום רבת
הימנותא והויא שלמא ליתבי ארעא:

related to verse 4. In addition, צפירא may be echoed in verse 8, נגהא דנהורא, "the great morning light."

ולשפחהך שני בנים וינצו שניהם בשדה ואין מציל—Cf. 2 Samuel 14:6—ולית מפריש ביני תרויהון⁷ "Your maidservant had two sons. The two of them came to blows out in the fields where there was no one to stop them." Josippon, at this verse, has מפריד בין שניהם ואין מפריד, which appears to be a double translation of sorts. For further discussion, see p. 37.

⁸The great morning light—"The great morning light"—according to Sokoloff, the word בנהורא appears in a gloss to Tg. Neophyti to Genesis 44:3 (MT אור). Also, see Daniel 6:20, יקום בנהורא, "He arose at the first light of dawn." The analogy to light as the reward for the Jewish victory is an echo of Esther 8:16—"The Jews enjoyed great light (MT אור) and gladness." Also, Tg. Sheni to Esther 8:16, וחדותא ונהורא ודנחתא ויקרא ודיצא ויקרא.

⁹ודינא ויקרא. "All the earth was quiet"—Cf. Isaiah 14:7, נחה שדוכת כל ארעא, to which Tg. to Prophets has שדוכת כל ארעא. Also, compare Joshua 11:23 et al., ונחה שדוכת כל ארעא, and Targum to same which has שדוכת כל ארעא.

¹⁰שלום ואמא—רבת הימנותא והויא שלום is a common Biblical word pairing. Cf. Esther 9:30, וישלח ספרים אל-כל-היהודים אל-שבע ועשרים ומאה מדינה מלכות אחשורוש דברי שלום ואמא. For other examples, see 2 Kings 20:19; Isaiah 39:8; Jeremiah 14:13, 33:6; Zechariah 8:19.

10 And from that day on, Mordecai kept the dream in his heart¹, and did not tell it to anyone but Esther alone.

10 ומן יומא ההוא ולהלן נטר מרדכי
יה חילמא בלבביה ולא אשתעי
לנברא אילהין לאסתר בלחודה:

11 And when Haman distressed him, Mordecai said to Esther the Queen, the daughter of Avihail, his father's brother:

11 והוה כד עק ליה המן ואעיקה
ואמר מרדכי לאסתר מלכתא בת
אביחיל אח אבוהי למימר:

12 "Behold, the events of the dream I told you about in your childhood have come, and this is the oppression of which I told you.

12 הא אתי פתגמי חילמא
דאישתעיתי לך ביומי טליותך והא
מעיקתא דאמרית לך:

13 Now rise and pray to Adonai, the God of our ancestors. Go before Him in prayer, that He may place kindness and mercy in the heart of King Ahasuerus for you; that you may go before him with your beauty, to stand up on behalf of your people and your family."

13 וכדון קומי כען וצליאי קדם יי
אלהא דאבהתנא ואקדימי יתיה
בבעותא למיתן לך לחסדא
ולרחמין בלבא דמלכא אהשוורוש
ובכן תיעולי קדמוהי למקדם אפוהי
בשפריך למקום מטול עמיד ומטול
ייחוסיד:

¹ "Mordecai guarded the dream in his heart"—Cf. Genesis 37:11, in which Joseph's dream angers his brothers, the result of which is, "and his father kept (MT שמר) the matter in mind." At this verse, Tg. PsJ has פיתגמא ית פיתגמא ית בליביה ית פיתגמא ית. The other Targumim are essentially the same.

Mordecai's Prayer¹²

14 Mordecai the Jew prayed to Adonai, his God, and said: "I pray, Master of the Universe, Adonai: my heart was not hidden from You, nor was it from pride or haughtiness that I acted thus, not bowing down to this Haman the Amalekite.

14 וצלי מרדכי יהודא קדם יי
אלהיה ואמר בבוע רבין כל עלמא
יי לא איתכסא לבבי מן קדמך ולא
מן גובהא דרוחי ורומא דלבבי
עבדית דא בגין דלא למסגוד להמן
עמלקא דהין:

15 "Rather, it was for fear of You that I contended with him, so as not to bow down to him. For I fear You, God of the Universe, and I would not assign Your honor to a man of flesh and blood. Therefore did I refuse to bow down to this unclean gentile¹³; I would only bow to Your great and holy Name, which has been manifested to us.¹⁴

15 אילהין מדחלתיך עבדית
ואיתגריתי ביה משול דלא למגחן
ליה ארום דחילית מן קדמך
אלהא עלמא דלא למיתן יקרך
לבר נשא בשרא ודמא בגין כן
סריבית למגחן לערלאה מסאבא
הדין אילהין לשמך רבא וקדישא
דאיתקרי עלנא:

¹²In LXX, Mordecai's Prayer is found after Esther 4:17.

¹³In "Dream of Mordecai", Mordecai will not bow down to Haman because he is a man of flesh and blood. Others texts offer different reasons for Mordecai's refusal. Midrash *Panim Aherim* (23b) supposes that Mordecai wouldn't bow down because Haman wore an embroidered image on his clothing:

ועשה לו צלם מרוקם בבגדו, כנגד לבו, והיו משתחווים לו, וכל מי שהיה משתחוה לו היה משתחוה לע"ן, ראהו מרדכי ולא קבל עליו לעבוד ע"ן, שנאמר ומרדכי לא יכרע ולא ישתחוה (אסתר ג, ב)

Targum Rishon (to Esther 3:2) explains that Mordecai would not bow because all of the King's servants bowed down to an image on his (the King's) chest:

וכל עבדי המלכא דבהרע פלטירין דמלכא חמטין ונחנין לאנדרא (Gr. ἀνδρᾶς) די הקים המן בהדיה:

Midrash *Lekah Tov* (49a) and Midrash *Abba Gurion* assert that it was because Haman himself was an idolator, and not because of Mordecai's pride (as explained by Mordecai himself in the text above):

לא יכרע ולא ישתחוה. לא דרך יהדות, אלא מפני שעשה עצמו ע"ן, ולא היה יכול להשתחוה לו:

¹⁴הנה אלהי העברים נקרה עלינו, Cf. Exodus 3:18, "which has been manifested to us"—The language and orthography here is the same as found in Tg. Psf: **איתקרי עלנא**. Tg. Onkelos has **איתקרי עלנא**. Tg. Onkelos has **איתקרי עלנא**. A variant in Onkelos, as well as Neophyti, has **איתקרי עלנא** in place of **איתקרי עלנא**. So also Peshitta.

16 "For who am I¹⁵ and my battered house¹⁶, that I would not bow down to a human being? For the sake of Israel's redemption and help I would lick the dust of Haman's feet wherever the soles of his feet may tread¹⁷.

16 ארום מאן אנא וביתי דאיכא דלא
אסגוד לאינשא על פורקנא דישראל
וסיועיהון ולמלחך ית עפר ריגלוהי
דהמן באחר די תדריך פרסת
ריגלוהי דהמן:

17 "But our souls trust in Your word, for our eyes are raised toward You — because You alone are our God and the God of our ancestors.

17 ברם במימרח סברת נפשן ארום
עלך תליין עיינינן ארום את
בלחודך לנא ולאבהתנא לאלהא:

18 "Now, our God, save us from his hand. And let him fall into the pit which he has dug, and let him be caught in the net which he has lowered, lying in wait for the feet of Your pious ones¹⁸,

18 וכדון אלהנא שזבנא כען מדיה
ויפול בשיחא דכרא ויהאחד
במצדתיה די טמע וכמן לריגלי
חסידך:

19 "so that all of the peoples will know that You have not forgotten the Covenant that You made with our ancestors—Your servants, and that You did not deliver us into exile on that day because Your hand was weak. Rather, it was because of our sin that we were sold, and because of our offenses that we were exiled, for we have sinned against You.

19 מטול דינדעון כל עממא דלא
איתנשיתא ית קיימא דקיימא
לאבהתנא עבדך ולא מסרתנא
בגלותא ביומא הדין מחלשות ידא
אילהין בחובינא איודבנא ובסרחנא
גלינן ארום חבנא לך:

¹⁵For who am I and my [battered] house"—Cf. 2 Samuel 7:18:

מי אנכי אדני יהוה ומי ביתי "Who am I, O Lord God, and what is my family?"

¹⁶[my] battered [house]—Wertheimer (פ. של, בתי מרשנה) considers this a scribal error, and amends to דאבא, "of my father," which is attested to in MSS Paris 17, Vratislav, and Parma 737. MS Berlin omits the word entirely, and all other MSS have דאיכא. Though the structure is unusual, I have chosen to translate the word based on the passive participle of the root פג, "to pound," or "to crush." Wertheimer's supposition is not supported by the majority of manuscripts, and appears to be a scribal simplification due to the difficulty of the verse. The root is attested to in MT Numbers 11:8 (פג—"they grind"), as well as in Tg. Onkelos, Tg. PsJ, and Tg. Neophyti to the same verse.

¹⁷According to *Cyropaedia* VII, 5, 32, it was a Persian custom to kiss the soles of the feet of kings.

Cf. Isaiah 49:23, ונעפר רגליך ילחכך, "Face to the ground, they shall lick the dust of your feet."

¹⁸Cf. Psalms 9:16, קבעו גוים בשחא עשו ברשתהו קבעו נלכדה רגלם: "The nations sink into the pit they have made; their own foot is caught in the net they have hidden." The similarity is even more striking in the Targum to Psalms 9:16, רכמנו אתהרס רגליהו, "כמעט עממא בשחא דעבדו במצדתא דנא רכמנו אתהרס רגליהו."

20 And now, our God who is mighty to save, redeem us now from his hand, and save us from his evil thoughts—for when we are oppressed we pray to You and to You we flee to be a shield¹⁹ for us.

20 וכדון אלהא רב למפרוק
פרוקין כגן מן ידיה ושיבין
מבישות רעיוניה ארום כד עיק לן
קדמך נצלי ולוותרך ניערוק למחרס
אמשולנן:

21 "You alone will stand up at the right hand of Your poor ones, redeeming us from those who rise up against us.

21 אנת בלחודך למקום לימינא
דחשיכייך ולמפרקין מן דקיימין
עלנא:

22 "Remember that we are Your portion. In ancient days, [we were] the humblest²⁰ when You gave out Your portions to the nations. And when You separated human beings²¹, You set us aside to be among Your lot²²,

22 ואידכר כדון ארום חולקך אנחנא
ארום מן לקדמין ומככין באחסנותך
עממא ובאפרשותך בני נשא
אפרשתנא למיהוי בעדבך:

23 "and separated us from the nations to be beloved to You, and made us holy for the sake of Your name—separate from all the nations.

23 ולאפרשותנא מן עממא למיהוי
לך לחביבא וקדשתנא לשמך
אפרשותא מן כל עממא:

¹⁹To be a shield"—Wertheimer has למחרס, which is not attested to at all. Main text (MS Valmadonna) has למחרס, and all others but MS Hamburg-Levy have למחרס.

²⁰"the humblest"—Wertheimer records מהיבבין which he may have taken from MS Paris 17, though the actual reading there is מ"בבין. He compares his reading to Deut. 33:3, חבב עמי, which in fact refers to God as Lover, and not the people of Israel as beloved. The more fully attested reading of מ"בבין ("humble") is found in Tg. PsJ to Deut. 7:7, ונענוחנן מכל עממא. The root מ"בב is found only in PsJ.

²¹I.e., the division of humans by language at Babel—Genesis 11.

²²The entire verse echoes Tg. PsJ to Deut. 32:7-9:

Dream of Mordecai

ואידכר כדון... מן לקדמין
ארום חולקך אנחנא
באחסנותך עממא
ובאפרשותך בני נשא
אפרשתנא למיהוי בעדבך

Targum PsJ—Deut. 32:7-9

ואידכרו מן יומא עלמא
ארום חולק טב דשום מימרא דיי עמיה
באחסנות עילא עלמא לעממא
באפרשותיה מכתבין ולישנן לבני נשא
יאמר דבית יעקב ערב אחסנותיה

24 "Why, our God, should our oppressors say²³ that they²⁴ have no God to redeem them? Why should they open their mouths to swallow up Your portion and praise their idols and their vanities saying, 'thus were we aided in conquering this people'?"

24 וכדון אלהנא למה יימרון מעיקנא
ארום לית להון אלהא למיפרוקהון
ויתפתחון פומהון לסלעמוהא
חולקך ולשבחא ית פסיליהון
והיבליהון למימר בכנ איסתייענא
למכבש ית עמא הדין:

25 "I pray, our God, redeem us now from their hands. Let the nations be put to shame because of their hewn images, their vanities and their idols. Let them place their hands to their mouths when they see Your redemption, Adonai. And now, spare Your people and Your inheritance²⁵. Do not let the mouths of those who praise You and unify Your name steadily evening and morning be closed.

25 בבשו אלהנא פרוקין כדון מן
ידיהון ויבהתון עממא מפסיליהון
והיבליהון וטעוהתון וישוון ידא
לפומא במיחזיהון ית פורקך יי
וחוס כדון על עמך ועל אחסנתך
ולא יסתחמון פומא משבחהא
דמיחדן ית שמך רמשא וצפרא
תדירא:

26 "Turn our mourning into cheer and rejoicing, that we may live²⁶ and praise Your name for the great redemption by which You have redeemed us."

26 והפך אבלין לבדחא וחדוא וניחי
ונשבחיך על פורקנא טבתא
דתפרקין:

חצי הספר

²³ לקח יאברו מצרים לאמר בקעה הוציאם להרג אדם, Cf. Exodus 32:12, —למה יימרון מעיקנא (Targumim all translate literally); and Psalms 79:10, אלהים אלה יאברו קמוים אלה אלהיהם.

²⁴ I.e., the Jews.

²⁵ "And now, spare Your people and Your inheritance."—Cf. Joel 2:17. (הוס יי על עמך ולא תתין אחסנתך, Tg. Joel.) חוסה יהיה על-עמך ואל-יתתן נחלתך לחרפה. The word pair עמ/נחלה is found often in MT (Deut. 4:20, 9:26, 9:29, 32:9; I Kings 8:51, 12:16; Isa. 47:6; Micah 7:14; Ps. 28:9, 78:62, 78:71, 94:5, et al.)

²⁶ וניחי is probably from MS Paris 17. Wertheimer's reading "That we may live" is the preferred reading and the context seems to support a reading of the root חי in the imperfect common plural rather than the root נח because of the pairing with the imperfect common plural נשבחיך as found in the Hebrew texts as well. Wertheimer's argument, however, that וחדוא וניחי parallels Esther 8:17, is a compelling one which is supported by BT Meg. 5b. In addition, cf. Targum Rishon to Esther 8:17, ויבא ליהודאין משתיא יומא פבא, שמהה ומשחה ויום טוב.

Esther's Prayer²⁷

27 And all of Israel and Judea cried out together to Adonai their God on account of the oppression that had come upon them because of Haman the son of Hamad'ta the Amalekite, who was of the descendants of Agag.

27 וכל ישראל ויהודה קבילו כחדא קדם יי אלההון על עיסק עקתא דאעיק לחון בזמן דאעיקינן חמן בר המדתא עמלקאה דמזרעית אגג:

28 But only Esther fled²⁸ and turned to Adonai—going before Him in prayer—for she was afraid of the evil that was growing out of the sinister Haman's plan.

28 ולחוד אסתר מלכתא ערקת ואפכת עד יי לאקדמותיה בצלו ארום דחלת מן קדם בישתא די צמחת מן מחשבתא דחמן בישא:

29 She threw off her royal clothing and her glorious adornments, and she wore sackcloth²⁹. And uncovering the hair of her head³⁰, she filled it with dust and ashes³¹. She afflicted herself with fasting and hid herself in a secret place.

29 ואשלחת ית לבושי מלכותא ויה תיקון תושבחתא ולבשת שקא ופרעה ית שער רישה ומלאתנן עפר וקטם ועניאת בצומא ואיטמרת בטומרא:

30 She fell on her face and prayed, saying: "I pray, Adonai, God of Israel, King of Kings, Creator of everything, whose possession is heaven and earth,

30 ונפלת על אפאה וצליאה ואמרת בבכו יי אלהא דישראל מלכא על כל מלכיא ובארי כולא דקנייניה שמיא וארעא:

31 "Ruler of the heavens above and of the depths of the earth, of the seas and the depths and all of their sea-monsters—

31 ושליט ברום מרומי שמיא ושליט על ארעית ארעא ובימיא ובחחומיא ובכל תניייהון:

²⁷In LXX. Esther's prayer follows immediately after Mordecai's Prayer.

²⁸Cf. usage in Tg. I Samuel 4:10 גבר לקרווהי (MT וינחמו) ואחברו ישראל ואפכו (וינוחו).

²⁹Compare the actions of the King of Nineveh in Jonah 3:6— "He rose from his throne, took off his robe, put on sackcloth, and sat in ashes." Also, compare Judith 8:5— "And she made a tent upon the top of her house, and put on sackcloth upon her loins, and wore her widow's apparel."

³⁰וּפָרַע אֶת־רֹאשׁ הָאִשָּׁה, "uncovering the hair of her head"—Cf. Numbers 5:18, Tg. PsJ to Numbers 5:18 includes reference to "her hair": "[The priest] uncovers the hair of the woman's head." Tg. PsJ to Numbers 5:18 includes reference to "her hair": "ויפרע ית רישה דאיהתא ממול דיהי קלעה סער רישה." Perhaps Esther acts in the manner of an adulteress because of her feelings about marrying the king.

³¹For the use of the word pair קטם עפר/אפר (Heb. עפר/אפר), compare Ezekiel 27:30, וְיַעֲלֻ עָפָר, "They shall cast dust on their heads and strew ashes on themselves."

32 "please help Your handmaid who dwells alone³² without any help³³ except from You, for I live here by myself—by myself I dwell in this king's house without father or mother.

32 בבֵּעוּ סִייעַ כְּדוֹן לֵאמֹתְךָ דִּתְבָּה
בְּלַחֲדָה דְּלִית לָהּ סִיעִיד בֵּר מִינִךְ
אֲרוֹם בְּלַחֲדוּרִי יִתְבִּית הַלֵּכָא
וּבְלַחֲדוּרִי אֲנִי יִתְבֵּא בְּבֵית מַלְכָא
הַדִּין בְּלֹא אָבִא וְאִמָּא:

33 "Like a poor orphan who begs for handouts of food from house to house, so do I beg for Your mercy and Your grace from window to window³⁴ in the house of King Ahasuerus—from the day I was brought here until this very day.

33 וּלְחֹדֶר כִּתְיִמָּתָא עֵינִיתָא דְשָׂאֵלָא
מְזוּנָא בְּחֶסֶדָא מִן בֵּיתָא לְבֵיתָא
הַכְּדִין שְׂאֵלִית רַחֲמֶךָ וְחֶסֶדְךָ מִן
כוֹוֶתָא לְכוֹוֶתָא בְּבֵית מַלְכָא
אַחְשֻׁרוּשׁ הַדִּין לְמֵן יוֹמָא
דְּאִיתְדַּבְרִית הַלֵּכָא וְעַד יוֹמָא הַדִּין:

34 "Our God, my soul is in my hands³⁵ to be killed. Take it from my hands if it is pleasing to You.

34 וְכְדוֹן אֱלֹהָנָא הָא נַפְשִׁי כְּדֵּי עַל גַּב
יְדֵי לֵאחֲקָטְלָא סָב יִתָּה מִן יְדֵי אִין
שְׁפִיר קְדַמְךָ:

35 "And if You do not choose to take it, then save (now) the flock of Your pasture³⁶ from the mouths of these lions³⁷ who have opened their mouths to devour them.

35 וְאִין לֹא תִיצְבִי לְמִסְבָּה שִׁזִּיב
כְּדוֹן יֵת עֲאֵן רַעֲיוֹתְךָ מִן פִּי
אֲרִיוֹתָא הָאִילִין דְּפִתְחוּ יֵת פּוֹמָחוֹן
לְמִכּוֹל יִתְחוּן:

³² ("יתבא בלחודרה J. Tg.) אִיקָה נִשְׁקָה קָדָר, "who dwells alone"—Cf. Lamentations 1:1, דִּתְבָּה בְּלַחֲדָה³².
³³ (וְלִית דִּסִּיעַ לָהּ J. Tg.) וְאִין עִוָּר לָהּ, "without any help"—Cf. Lamentations 1:7, דְּלִית לָהּ סִיעִיד³³. In addition, cf. Psalms 22:12, עִוָּר כִּי־אִין קְרוּבָה כִּי־אִין עִוָּר, "Do not be far from me, for trouble is near, and there is none to help." Also compare Job 29:12, וְיָתוֹם וְאִדְוָר לֹא, "The orphan with none to help him."

³⁴ Wertheimer (p. שְׁלוֹ) notes that it was customary to pray at a window according to Daniel 6:11, עַל לְבָנֶיהָ וְקִוִּין פִּתּוּן לָהּ בַּעֲלִיתָהּ נֶגֶד יְרוּשָׁלַם וּמִנֵּי חֲלָקָה בִּינְקָא הוּא קָרַךְ עַל־כִּרְסוֹהִי וּמִצְלָא. "[Daniel] went to his house, in whose upper chamber he had had windows made facing Jerusalem, and three times a day he knelt down and prayed." Also, compare Berakhot 31a, אֲדָם יִפְלֹל לְעוֹלָם יִפְלֹל אֲדָם, "Let us lift our hearts to our hands to God in heaven."

³⁵ "My soul is in my hands"—Compare Ta'anit 8a, אִם כֵּן מִשִּׁים נַפְשִׁי, "The prayer of a man is not heard unless he places his soul in his hands." Also Lamentations 3:41, (נִמְלֵל לְבָנָא בְּדִיר וְנִרְכִּי יִדְנָא, Tg. Lam.), נִשָּׂא לְקַבְנֵי אֱלֹהִים אֱלֵאֵל בְּשָׁמַיִם, "Let us lift our hearts to our hands to God in heaven."

³⁶ "We are Your people, the flock of Your pasture."—Cf. Psalms 79:13, עֲאֵן רַעֲיוֹתְךָ, "the flock of Your pasture." Tg. Psalms 79:13 has עֲאֵן רַעֲיוֹתְךָ, "We are Your people, the flock of Your pasture."

³⁷ "These lions"—Cf. Psalms 22:22, הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אֲרִיָּה, "Deliver me from a lion's mouth." In Megillah 15b, this text is a prooftext for a statement about King Ahasuerus: וְקִדְּמוּ לְאַחְשֻׁרוּשׁ אֲרִיָּה שְׂמֹמֶר, הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אֲרִיָּה.

36 "For I have heard from my forefathers³⁸, who told me that You led our ancestors from among the nations, brought them out of Egypt, and killed every firstborn of the Egyptians for their sake.

36 ארום שמעית מאבהתי ולחוד
אשחנא לי ארום אנת דברת ית
אבהנא מביני עממיא ואפקתון
ממצרים וקטלתא כל בוכריא
דמצראי בניהון:

37 "You led Your people from amongst them, and You revealed Your strong hand³⁹ and outstretched arm to the Egyptians for the sake of Your people. You caused them to cross on dry land like a horse in the wilderness or like cattle in a valley⁴⁰.

37 וית עמך דברתא מביניהון וית
ידך תקיפתא ואדרעך מרמם
אחזיתא למצראי מטול עמך
ואעברתון ביבשתא היך סוסא
במדברא והיך בעירא בבקעתא:

38 "You gave them bread from heaven for their hunger⁴¹. For their thirst, You brought forth water for them from the flinty rock⁴².

38 ויהבתא לחמא מן שמיא לכפנהון
ולצחותהון אפיקתא לחון מיא מן
שמיר שינרא:

38—"For I have heard from my forefathers"—Cf. Psalms 44:2, "We have heard, O God, our fathers have told us." Also

Psalms 78:3, "things we have heard and known, that our fathers told us."

39—"You led Your people . . ."—Cf. Daniel 9:15, "Now, O Lord our God—You who brought Your people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand." This passage differs from other descriptions of the redemption from Egypt (Ex. 6:1, 13:9, 32:11; Deut. 4:34, 5:15, et. al.; Jer. 32:21; Psalms 136:12) in that it is used liturgically.

40—"Like a horse in the wilderness or like cattle in a valley"—Cf. Isaiah 63:13-14, "Like a horse in the wilderness or like a beast descending into a valley through the deeps so that they did not stumble—as a horse in a desert, like a beast descending into a valley."

41—"You gave them bread from heaven when they were hungry, and produced water from a rock when they were thirsty."

42—"Cf. Nehemiah 9:15, "You gave them bread from heaven when they were hungry, and produced water from a rock when they were thirsty." Cf. Tg. PsJ to Deuteronomy 8:15, "You gave them bread from heaven when they were hungry, and produced water from a rock when they were thirsty." (בצור הקלמיש).

39 "Also, you carried over for them meat and quails aplenty from the Great Sea to fulfill their needs.

39 ולחוד מזונא דבשרא וצפרי שמיא
לשובע אנותא להון מן ימא רבא
לאשלמא רעותהון:

40 "You fed them for forty years in the wilderness⁴³—an uninhabited land—and You destroyed great and proud kings before them.

40 וזנתהון ארבעין שנין במדברא
בארעא דלא יתבא ומחיתא קדמיהון
מלכין רברבין וגיוותין:

41 "You bequeathed to them their land. You gave them a land of great blessing in Your abundant goodness⁴⁴.

41 ואחסנתון ית ארעהון ויהבתא להון
ארעא משבתתא אחסנתך טבתא
בסוגי טובך:

42 "But when our ancestors sinned against Your great name⁴⁵, You delivered them into the hands of their captors; and behold, we are in exile to this day.

42 וכד חבו אבהתבא לשמך רבא
מסרתנן ביד שוביהון והא אינן
בגלותא יומא הדין:

43 "My forefathers also told me that through the hand of Moses Your servant You said⁴⁶: 'Even then, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them in the kingdom of Babylon, and I will not abandon them in the kingdoms of Medea and Persia so as to destroy them in the kingdom of Greece and to break my Covenant with them in the kingdom of Rome; for I am Adonai their God, even in the days of Gog and Magog⁴⁷.'

43 ולחוד אנא אישתעא לי למימר
דמלילתא בידא דמשה עבדך
ולחוד ברם דא במיחיהון בארע
בעלי דבביהון לא ארחיקין
במלכותא דבבל ולא אשבקינן
במלכותא דמדי ופרס לשיציותהון
במלכותא דיון לאשנאה קיימי
עמהון במלכותא דאדום ארום אנא
הוא יי אלההון ביומי דגוג מגוג:

43 "Forty years," וארבעים שנה כלללם במדבר, Nehemiah 9:21, "You fed them . . ."—Cf. Nehemiah 9:21, "You sustained them in the wilderness."

44 "the," ובסוגי קרב אשר-נתת להם, Nehemiah 9:35, "in Your abundant goodness"—Cf. Nehemiah 9:35, "the abundant good You gave to them." Also, the variant spelling בסוגי is attested to only in Tg. PsJ (Genesis 17:5, 35:16, 48:7) and in Tg. Psalms 33:16.

45 Cf. Daniel 9:15, in which a description of the Exodus from Egypt is followed by a confession of sins: ועתה אדני אלהינו אשר הוצאת את ישראל מארץ מצרים ביד חזקה ונתעשילך שם ביום הזה קטאנו רשענו "Now, O Lord our God—You who brought Your people out of the land of Egypt with a mighty hand, winning fame for Yourself to this very day—we have sinned, we have acted wickedly."

46 Leviticus 26:44. Josippon quotes as follows: ואף גב זאה בהיותם בארץ אויביהם וגו'.

47 For complete commentary on this Biblical/Targumic quotation, see Appendix A, p. 85.

44 "And now, is our exile not enough for us, that they should work us with severity? They say that You did not deliver us over into their hands, rather they give thanks and bow down to their idols, and praise them saying, 'you delivered the Jewish people into our hands!'⁴⁸

44 וכדון לא סגי לנא גלותנא דהינון
מפלחין יתנא בקשו אילחין אינון
אמרין ארום לא מסרתנא אנת
בידיהון אילחין ית פסיליהון יודון
ולחון יסדרון וישבחון למימר ארום
אתון מסרתון ית עמא דיהודאי
בידינן:

45 "Therefore the soul of Your handmaid is distressed [enough] to reject this people and to hate them. Just as the rent clothes of the menstrual woman are rejected⁴⁹, thus do I hate them.

45 בגין כן עקת נפשא דאמהתך
לרחקא ית עמא דדין ולמיסני יהון
היך ריחוק בזעא דלבוש איתחא
דווחא הכדין סניתינון:

46 "Truly I hate and reject⁵⁰ all of my royal clothing and all of my ornate and splendrous garments and the royal crown⁵¹ on my head. I have not rejoiced from the day that I was brought here until now, except for [rejoicing] in Your word alone, my King and God.

46 וברם אסני וארחיק ית כל לבושי
תושבתי וית כל מאני תיקוני
שיבחורי וית כלילא דמלכותא
דברישי ולא חדתי מן יומא דאיתיוני
הלכא עד הכא אילחין במימרך
בלחודך מלכי ואלהי:

48... לא מסרתנא... "You did not deliver us over..."—Cf. Megillat Antiochus (Kadari, Bar Ilan 1): לא תמסרינני ביד ערלא דדין דלמא יקטליני ויהך וישחבה בבית דגון מעותיה ויאמר מעותי מסרתיה לבידי "You did not deliver me into the hands of this gentile, lest he kill me and go and glorify himself in his house of idolatry saying, 'My idol delivered him into my hands.'" For reference to Haman as a gentile (ערלאה), see verse 15.

49... דלבוש איתחא דווחא... "the rent clothes of the menstrual woman"—This unusual reference may be an echo of Isaiah 64:5, ונמי כעמא כלני וכבגד עדים קל-צדקתינו, "We have all become like an unclean thing, and all our virtues like a stained [menstrual] garment." In Isaiah, עדים parallels the word טמא, bestowing upon it the meaning "unclean." In the case of Esther's Prayer, עדים is directly translated as דווחא, "the menstrual woman," thus adopting the word's more specific meaning.

50 Note the transposition in verses 45 and 46 of the roots רחק and סני, "to reject and to hate" and "I hate and reject." Also note the juxtaposition of terms between verses 29 and 46: מלכותא, מאני תיקוני שיבחורי, לבושי תושבתי, חיקון כלילא דמלכותא, לבושי מלכותא.

51 כלילא דמלכותא, "royal crown"—Cf. Tg. Rishon to Esther 1:11, 6:8, כלילא דמלכותא.

47 "Now, God, Parent of orphans⁵², stand at the right hand of Your handmaid the orphan this day, for I have trusted in Your word, Your goodness and Your mercy.

47 ואנת אלהא אבוהון דיתמי קום
כדון לימנא דאמתך יתימא יומא
דין די סברית במימך בטובך
וברחמך:

48 "Grant me mercy before King Ahasuerus, for Your handmaid fears him just as the kid fears the lion.

48 והב לי רחמין קדם אחשורוש
מלכא ארום דחילא אמתך יתיה
היכמה דרחיל גדיא מן קדם
אריה:

49 "God I pray: Humble him and all of his advisors, that he may be humbled and subdued before Your handmaid and the grace, kindness and beauty that You have given to Your handmaid, my God.

49 בבועו אלהא אמאיך יתיה עם כל
יעשויה למיהוי כניע ומתכביש קדם
אמתך בחינא ובחיסדא ובשיבהורא
ובשופרא די תתן לאמהתך אלהי:

50 "Cause his heart to hate the enemies of our people and to love Your servant, for the hearts of kings are in Your hand⁵³, our God, who is praised, awesome and mighty.

50 והב בליבביה למיסני ית בעלי
דבביהון ולמרחס ית עברך ארום
לבהון דמלכיא בידך אלהא
משבחא ודחילא והקיפא:

51 "And now, save me from the great fear I have of him, that I may go before him on behalf of Your word. Place the fear of You upon him, and let the one who fears You in his heart be blessed, in order that I may go out from his presence in peace."

51 ושיובני כדון מרחלתיה דרחלית
ואיסתפיתי ועלית קדמוהי בשם
מימך והב דחלתך עלוהי ומתברך
דהעיל בלבביה למידחל מן קדמך
מן בגלל דאפוק מן קדמוהי בשלם:

⁵² "Parent of orphans."—Cf. Psalms 68:6, אבוי יתומים ודין אלמנות, "Parent of orphans, Champion of widows." (Tg. Psalms 68:6, דאלהא באידוי דמלכא ליביה דמלכא באידוי דמלכא).

⁵³ "the hearts of kings are in Your hand"—Cf. Proverbs 21:1, פלניקס לבסלך, "the hearts of kings are in Your hand."—Cf. Proverbs 21:1, ביד יידיה, "Like channeled water is the mind of the king in the Lord's hand."

לכלתם	MT
לשיצוההון	DoM
לשיצוההון	Val. I
לשיצוההון	Tg. O
למשיצא	Tg. PsJ
ולא שיצית	Tg. N
ולא שיצית	Frag. V

לכלתם	MT
לשיצוההון	DoM
לשיצוההון	Val. I
לשיצוההון	Tg. O
למשיצא	Tg. PsJ
ולא שיצית	Tg. N
ולא שיצית	Frag. V

כי אני יהנה אלהיהם:	MT
אני הוא יי אלההון	DoM
אני הוא יי אלההון	Val. I
אני הוא יי אלההון:	Tg. O
אני הוא יי אלההון	Tg. PsJ
אני הוא יי אלההון:	Tg. N
אני הוא יי אלההון	Frag. V

It is difficult to determine the relationship between this quote as it appears in the "Dream of Mordecai" and this quotation attributed to Targum Yerushalmi at Leviticus 26:44 in MS Valmadonna 1. None of the other witnesses to Onkelos used by Sperber have this particular version of Leviticus 26:44. Even if the "Dream of Mordecai" in Valmadonna 1 is quoting itself, it does not do so exactly. These inconsistencies make it difficult to make any accurate conclusions about the targumic quote in "Dream of Mordecai."

The text of *Megillah* 11a, though different from the targumim, introduces the idea of breaking the MT passage into parts by various kingdoms. Of significance is the inclusion of the Esther story:

ושמאל אמר לא מאסתם ולא געלתם לכלותם לא מאסתם בימי יוונים ולא געלתם בימי נבוכדנצר לכלותם בימי המן להפך בריתי אהם בימי פרסיים כי אני ה' אלהיהם בימי גוג ומגוג

במחנהא תנא לא מאסתם בימי כשדים שהעמדתי להם דניאל חנניה מושאל ועזריה געלתם ימי יוונים שהעמדתי להם שמעון הצדיק וחשמונאי ובניו ומתחיתו כה"ג לכלותם בימי המן שהעמדתי להם מרדכי ואסתר להפך בריתי אהם בימי פרסיים שהעמדתי להם של בית דבי וחכמי דורות כי אני ה' אלהיהם לעתיד לבוא שיון כל אימה ולשון יכולה לשלוש בהם

Samuel quoted: *I did not reject them, neither did I abhor them to destroy them utterly.* (Lev. 26:44) '*I did not reject them*' in the days of the Greeks; '*neither did I abhor them*'—in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, '*to destroy them utterly*'—in the days of Haman; '*and to break my covenant with them*'—in the days of Gog and Magog. In a Baraita it was taught: '*I have not rejected them*'—in the days of the Chaldeans, when I

raised up for them Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah; 'neither did I abhor them'—in the days of the Greeks, when I raised up for them Simeon the Righteous and Hasmonai and his sons, and Mattathias the High Priest; 'to destroy them utterly'—in the days of Haman, when I raised up for them Mordecai and Esther; 'to break my covenant with them'—in the days of the Persians, when I raised up for them the members of the house of Rabbi and the Sages of the various generations. 'For I am the Lord their God'—in the time to come, when no nation or people will be able to subject them.

Esther Rabbah Petikhta 4 contains a similar passage:

שמאל פתח ואף גם זאת בהיותם בארץ אויביהם לא מאסיהם ולא געלהם במדין. להפך בריתי אהם כי אני ה' אלהיהם. לא מאסיהם בכלל. ולא געלהם במדין. להפך בריתי אהם במלכות הרשעה. כי אני ה' אלהיהם לעתיד לבא.

תני ר' חייא לא מאסיהם בימי אכשסיאנוס. ולא געלהם בימי שרקיונוס. לכלותם בימי חנן. להפך בריתי אהם בימי רומים. כי אני ה' אלהיהם בימי גוג ומגוג.

Samuel opened with the text: *And yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I did not reject them, neither did I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, to break My covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God. 'I did not reject them,' in Babylon; 'Neither did I abhor them'—in Media. 'To destroy them utterly'—in Greece. 'To break My covenant with them'—in the kingdom of wickedness.¹ 'For I am the Lord their God'—in the Messianic era. R. Hyya taught: 'I did not reject them'—in the days of Vespasian; 'Neither did I abhor them'—in the days of Trajan. 'To destroy them utterly'—in the days of Haman.² 'To break My covenant with them'—in the days of the Romans. 'For I am the Lord their God'—in the days of Gog and Magog.*

Semakhot 8:14 also uses the text in relation to Esther (also quoted in *Yalkut Shimoni* I, 271):

ראוין היו ישראל לינאל בימי חנן שנאמר ואף זאת וגו' אילולי עמדו מרדכי ואסתר.

Israel would have been worthy to be redeemed in the days of Haman even if Mordecai and Esther had not arisen, as it is stated, *And yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them, neither will I abhor them, to destroy them utterly, to break My covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God.*

¹I.e., Rome.

²"We should rather expect Hadrian, though it is probably applied to Haman because this is a commentary on the story of Esther." This according to Maurice Simon, in H. Freedman and Maurice Simon, eds., *Midrash Rabbah*, 10 vols., 3rd edition (London: The Soncino Press, 1983), vol. 9: *Esther*, translated by Maurice Simon.

Appendix B

“Dream of Mordecai”—Word Counts

	M's Dream	M's Prayer	Subtotal	Esther's Prayer	Total
Berlin 1	217	266	483	490	973
Moscow 5	204	264	468	487	955
Hamburg 19	217	271	488	494	982
Paris 17	215	269	484	489	973
Paris 110	216	259	475	498	973
Parma 7/4	218	273	491	490	981
Parma 42	217	272	489	489	978
Parma 737	218	274	492	496	988
Urbinati 1	218	270	488	492	980
Valmadonna 1	215	271	486	490	976
Vratislav 1106	221	265	486	490	976

In all but two of the manuscripts of the “Dream of Mordecai” (MSS Paris 110 and Paris 17), the words **הַצִּי הַסֵּפֶר** (or, in the case of MS Moscow, the words **הַסֵּפֶר הַלְבָּא**) are

found following verse 26 of the text. A word count of each section of the text demonstrates that there is a close correlation between this demarcation and the number of words in each half of the "Dream of Mordecai." In each manuscript, the two halves of the text are very close in number, indicating that at some early point in the text tradition, the two halves of the text may have been composed or adjusted so as to be equal.

Despite the fact that two of the manuscripts show numbers very close to equal in both halves of the text, and that three of the manuscripts have the same total word count, there is little to be gleaned from this information. Even if MS Parma 42 *was* adjusted so that *הַחֲצִי הַסֵּפֶר* was just that, exactly half of the book, this indicates nothing of value in terms of its age or position amongst the other manuscripts. The phenomena of the word counts is still interesting and worth pointing out in the course of this study.

Appendix C

Colophons and Terminations in the MSS of the "Dream of Mordecai"

MS Berlin 1 (B)

חזק

MS Urbinati 1 (U)

NONE

MS Moscow-Guenzberg 119 (G)

סכום פסוקיא דסיפרא נ"א
אני הכותב לעצמי שלמה בן
הרב ר' חסדאי עם ישי

MS Breslau Stadts Bibliotek 1106 (V)

מנין פסוקי דסיפרא
אחד וחמשים
וסימ
נא

MS Hamburg-Levy 19 (H)

סליק

סליק ספר חלמיה
דמרדכי יהודא
וצלותיה
עם

MS Paris 17 (M)

מנין
פסוקיא דסיפרא
נ"א סליק תפלתו של
מרדכי ותפלת
אסתר
וחלומותו

צלוחא
דאסתר מלכתא

MS Parma 42 (X)

מנין פסוקיא דסיפרא נא
סליק ספר חלום דמרדכי
ותפלתו ותפלתו
אסתר

חזק

MS Paris 110 (P)

תם עד כאן

MS Parma 7 (Y)

NONE

MS Parma 737 (Z)

מניין
 פסוקיא
 דסיפרא נ"א
 סליק ספר הרגום
 של כתובים דהרגום רב
 יוסי: וסליק ספר חלום
 מרדכי ותפילתו עם תפלת
 אסתר:

חזק:

MS Valmadonna 1

סליק ספר חלום מרדכי וחמש מגילות עברי והרגום נשלם החיובש עברי והרגום

עב הפטרה וחמש מגילות ואיוב בחמשה עשר בתמוז בשנת תתקמט לפרט

Appendix D

"Dream of Mordecai"

Aramaic Text, Greek Texts and Josippon (translations)

Aramaic text	LXX	A-Text	Josippon/Jerahmeel
Dream of Mordecai			
In the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus, Mordecai the Jew dreamed a dream:	In the second year of the reign of Artaxerxes the great king, on the first day of Nisan, Mardocheus the son of Jairus, the son of Semeias, the son of Cisseus of the tribe of Benjamin, a Jew dwelling in the city Susa, a great man, serving in the king's palace, saw a vision. Now he was of the captivity which Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon had carried captive from Jerusalem, with Jechonias the king of Judea. And this was his dream:	In the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus the Great, on the first day of the month Adar-Nisan (that is, Dystros-Xanthikos), Mordecai the son of Jair, son of Shimei, son of Kish, of the tribe of Benjamin, had a dream. He was a great man, from among the captives taken by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon with Jeconiah king of Judea. And this was his dream:	Mordecai . . . remembered the dream he had in the second year of the reign of Ahasuerus. It was the following:
Behold, a great earthquake, with noise and the sound of panic over the face of the entire earth. Fear and trembling seized its inhabitants—all those who lived on the earth were extremely frightened.	Behold, voices and a noise, thunders and earth-quake, tumult upon the earth.	Behold, a noise and the sound of confusion, thunders and earthquake and tumult upon the earth!	There was a great earthquake, accompanied by a noise and the sound of wailing in the land, so that fear and terror fell upon all the inhabitants,

Then two great sea-monsters were seen, and they strove against each other in battle, and all of the peoples of the earth shuddered at the sound of their cries.

And between these two sea-monsters was one small nation, and all of the nations of the earth rose up against it to swallow it and to eradicate its memory from upon the earth.

There was a cloud, and darkness and gloom fell over the face of the earth. The small nation was greatly distressed, and they cried out and prayed to Adonai with all their heart.

The sea-monsters waged war with fierce anger, and nothing could separate them. And Mordecai looked, and behold, a spring of fresh water flowing between the two battling sea-monsters, and it separated the two of them and their battle ceased.

And, behold, two great serpents came forth, both ready for conflict, and there came from them a great voice, and by their voice every nation was prepared for battle, even to fight against the nation of the just.

And, behold, a day of darkness and blackness, tribulation and anguish, affliction and great tumult upon the earth. And all the righteous nation was troubled, fearing their own afflictions; and they prepared to die, and cried to God:

and from their cry there came as it were a great river from a little fountain, even much water.

And behold, two dragons, who came forward to fight! Their cry was heard, and everything was troubled by the sound of this cry. There was witnessed by all nations a day of darkness and gloom and a tumult of battle; and every nation made ready for war. And we cried to the Lord because of the sound of their cry.

Living among them was a small nation, and all the nations round about it rose up to destroy their memory from the face of the earth.

On that day everywhere it was thick darkness, and the small nation, being much oppressed, cried unto the Lord.

The dragons continued to fight furiously and nobody could separate them; when lo! Mordecai saw a small brook of water passing between the two dragons, which separated them,

The spring became a great and broad river, just as the great sea continually floods the earth.

The sun rose and the great morning light shone over the face of the entire earth.

And the small nation became great and exalted, and the lofty and proud nations were humbled. All the earth was quiet, and faith was abundant, and peace came to all the inhabitants of the earth.

And from that day on, Mordecai kept the dream in his heart, and did not tell it to anyone but Esther alone.

And when Haman distressed him, Mordecai said to Esther the Queen, the daughter of Avihail, his father's brother: "Behold, the events of the dream I told you about in your childhood have come, and this is the oppression of which I told you

for the brook soon grew into an overflowing river, like the overflowing of the Great Sea, so that it flooded the whole earth.

The sun then shone upon the earth,

and the small nation was raised to exaltation, while the proud ones were humbled, and peace and truth were restored in the world.

Mordecai from that day always nursed the dream in his heart,

and when Haman oppressed him, he said to Esther, "Remember the dream I narrated to you in the days of your youth.

Light, the sun, arose;

And the rivers were exalted, and they swallowed up those held in honor.

When Mordecai arose from his sleep, he pondered over the meaning of his dream, and over what the Mighty One was preparing to do. His dream was hidden in his heart, and at every opportunity he kept seeking to understand it.

And light and sun arose,

And the lowly were exalted, and devoured the honorable.

And Mordecaus who had seen this vision and what God designed to do, having awoke, kept it in his heart, and desired by all means to interpret it, even till night.

"Now rise and pray to Adonai, the God of our ancestors. Go before Him in prayer, that He may place kindness and mercy in the heart of King Ahasuerus for you; that you may go before him with your beauty, to stand up on behalf of your people and your family."

"Now arise, and, beseeching the Lord for mercy, go into the presence of Ahasuerus; stand before him in all your beauty, and plead the cause of your people and your kindred."

Mordecai's Prayer

Mordecai the Jew prayed to Adonai, his God, and said:

And he besought the Lord, making mention of all the works of the Lord; and he said,

And he prayed to the Lord, calling to remembrance his works. He said:

And Mordecai supplicated to God, saying,

"I pray, Master of the Universe Adonai: my heart was not hidden from You, nor was it from pride or haughtiness that I acted thus, not bowing down to this Haman the Amalekite.

"Lord God, king ruling over all, for all things are in thy power, and there is no one that shall oppose thee in thy purpose to save Israel.—For thou hast made the heaven and the earth, and every wonderful thing in the world under heaven. And thou art Lord of all, and there is no one who shall resist thee the Lord. Thou knowest all things: thou knowest, Lord, that it is not in insolence, nor haughtiness, nor love of glory, that I have done this, to refuse obeisance to the haughty Aman.

"Omnipotent Master, in whose power is the universe and against whom no one can stand if it is thy will to save the house of Israel. For thou hast made heaven and earth and every wonderful thing under heaven, and thou rulest over all. For thou knowest all things, and thou knowest the race of Israel. And [thou knowest] that it was not in insolence or vainglory that I acted in not bowing down to the uncircumcised Haman.

"It is well known and revealed to the throne of Your glory, O Lord of the universe, that it was not from pride or haughtiness I refused to bow down to this Amalekite.

"Rather, it was for fear of You that I contended with him, so as not to bow down to him. For I fear You, God of the Universe, and I would not assign Your honor to a man of flesh and blood.

"Therefore did I refuse to bow down to this unclean Gentile; I would only bow to Your great and holy name, as we have been called upon to do.

"For who am I and my battered house, that I would not bow down to a human being? For the sake of Israel's redemption and help I would lick the dust of Haman's feet wherever the soles of his feet may tread.

"But our souls trust in Your word, for our eyes are raised toward You—because You alone are our God and the God of our ancestors.

"Now, our God, save us from his hand. And let him fall into the pit which he has dug, and let him be caught in the net which he has lowered, lying in wait for the feet of Your pious ones,

[I acted thus so that I might not set any above your glory, O Master, and I will not bow down to anyone but thee]

"but on account of the reverence I have for You I opposed him, refusing to bow down, for I fear You alone, O Lord of the universe, and would not, therefore, give Your honor to flesh and blood;

"therefore, I would prostrate myself to no being except Your holy presence.

"For I would have been willing to kiss the soles of his feet for the sake of Israel, but I acted thus so that I might not set any above your glory, O Master, and I will not bow down to anyone but thee, the True One, and I will not do it [even] at a time of testing.

"For I would gladly have kissed the soles of his feet for the safety of Israel. But I have done this, that I might not set the glory of man above the glory of God: and I will not worship any one except thee, my Lord, and I will not do these things in haughtiness.

"And now, O Lord God, the King, the God of Abraham,

"And who am I that would not bow down to Haman? Yet for Israel's salvation I would lick the shoe upon his foot, and the dust upon which he walks.

"And now, O Lord, who didst make a covenant with Abraham,

"spare thy people; for they have set upon us to annihilate us, and they desire to destroy and remove the inheritance that has been thine from the beginning.

"spare thy people, for our enemies are looking upon us to our destruction, and they have desired to destroy thine ancient inheritance.

"O Lord, deliver them from his hand, that he may fall into the pit which he has dug for us, and be caught in the net which he has spread (hidden) under the feet of Your pious men,

"so that all the peoples will know that You have not forgotten the Covenant that You made with our ancestors—Your servants, and that You did not deliver us into exile on that day because Your hand was weak. Rather, it was because of our sin that we were sold, and because of our offenses that we were exiled, for we have sinned against You.

"And now, our God who is mighty to save, redeem us now from his hand, and save us from his evil thoughts—for when we are oppressed we pray to You and to You we flee to be shield us for us. You alone will stand at the right of Your pious ones, redeeming us from those who rise up against us.

"Remember that we are Your portion. In ancient days, [we were] the humblest when You gave out Your portions to the nations. And when You separated human beings, You set us aside to be among Your lot, and separated us from the nations to be beloved to You, and made us holy for the sake of Your name—separate from all the nations.

"that they may thereby know that You have not forgotten the oath You did swear; for You did not deliver us into captivity because You were not able to save us, but because of our sins and iniquities, for we have sinned against You.

"But You, our God, are mighty in salvation; therefore save us, O Lord from his hand; in our distress we call upon You to protect us, and to stand up in our midst to fight those who rise up against us.

"Remember, we beseech You, that we are Your portion; for of old, when You gave the nations their inheritance, and when You separated the sons of men, we were Your portion; the lot which You cast fell upon us to be chosen for Your name.

"Do not overlook thy peculiar people (portion), whom thou hast redeemed for thyself out of the land of Egypt.

"Do not neglect thy portion, which thou didst redeem out of the land of Egypt.

"Why, our God, should our oppressors say that they have no God to redeem them? Why should they open their mouths to swallow up Your portion and praise their idols and Your vanities saying, 'thus were we aided in conquering this people'?"

[our enemies are looking upon us to our destruction, and they have desired to destroy thine ancient inheritance.]

"Why, O God, should our enemies say we have no God? why should they open wide their mouth to swallow up Your portion and praise their idols and vanities?"

"I pray, Our God, save us now from their hands. Let the nations be put to shame because of their hewn images, their vanities and their idols. Let them place their hands to their mouths when they see Your redemption, Adonai. And now, spare Your people and Your inheritance. Do not let the names of those who praise You and unify Your name steadily evening and morning be closed.

"We beseech You, O Lord, send salvation to us; let them be ashamed of their idols and vanities, and let them place their hand upon their mouth and see Your salvation, O Lord. Have mercy upon Your people, and upon Your inheritance. Do not close the mouths of those who praise You and proclaim Your unity evening and morning continually.

"Hearken to my prayer, and be propitious to thine inheritance, upon thy inheritance;

"Turn our mourning into cheer and rejoicing, that we may live and praise Your name for the great redemption by which You have redeemed us."

"and turn our mourning into gladness, that we may live and sing praise to thy name, O Lord; and do not utterly destroy the mouth of them that praise thee, O Lord."

"turn our mourning into rejoicing, that we may live and sing praise to thee; do not destroy the mouth of those who praise thee."

"Turn our sorrow to joy and gladness, that we may live and give You thanks for the blessed salvation by which You will save us."

Esther's Prayer

And all of Israel and Judea cried out together to Adonai their God on account of the oppression that had come upon them because of Haman the son of Hamadta the Amalekite, who was of the descendants of Agag. But only Esther fled and turned to Adonai—going before Him in prayer—for she was afraid of the evil that was growing out of the sinister Haman's plan.

She threw off her royal clothing and her glorious adornments, and she wore sackcloth. And uncovering the hair on her head, she filled it with dust and ashes. She afflicted herself with fasting and hid herself in a secret place. She fell on her face and prayed, saying:

"I pray, Adonai, God of Israel, King of Kings, Creator of everything, Whose possession is Heaven and Earth, Ruler of the Heavens above and of the depths of the earth, of the seas and the depths and all of their sea-monsters—

And all Israel cried with all their might, for their death was before their eyes.

And queen Esther betook herself for refuge to the Lord, being taken as it were in the agony of death.

And having taken off her glorious apparel, she put on garments of distress and mourning; and instead of grand perfumes she filled her head with ashes and dung, and she greatly brought down her body, and she filled every place of her glad adorning with the torn curls of her hair.

And she besought the Lord God of Israel, and said,

"O My Lord, thou alone art our king:

And all Israel cried unto the Lord for the trouble and sorrow which had come upon them.

And Esther fled to the Lord, for she feared the evil which was growing;

and, stripping her self of her royal garments and the ornaments of her majesty, she clothed herself in sackcloth, and dishevelled the hair of her head, she put dust and ashes upon it. Then afflicting her soul with fasting, she fell upon her face in prayer, saying,

"O Lord God of Israel, who is the King of Kings, who is to be feared, who created the world, and who rulest over us,

she took off her splendid apparel and every sign of her glorious rank, and clothed herself with distress and mourning, and instead of costly perfumes she covered her head with ashes and dung, and she utterly humbled her body, and every sign of adornment and delight on her lovely head she covered with humiliation. And she prayed to the Lord, and said:

"O Lord, King, thou alone art a helper.

"please help Your maidservant who dwells alone without any help except from You, for I live here by myself—by myself I dwell in this king's house without father or mother. Like a poor orphan who begs for food from house to house,

"so do I beg for Your mercy and Your grace from window to window in the house of King Ahasuerus—from the day I was brought here until this very day. Our God, my soul is in my hands to be killed. Take it from my hands if it is pleasing before You.

"And if You do not choose to take it, then save now the flock of Your pasture from the mouths of these lions who have opened their mouths to devour them.

"For I have heard from my forefathers, who told me that You led our ancestors from among the nations, brought them out of Egypt, and killed every firstborn of the Egyptians for their sake.

"help me who am destitute, and have no helper but thee,

"Help me, who am humble and have no other helper but thee,

"help Your handmaid in her desolation, for she has no savior except for You. Behold, I dwell in the king's palace alone, without father or mother. Like an afflicted orphan begging charity from house to house,

"so do I beg for Your mercy, from on window to the other in the palace of King Ahasuerus, and have done so from the time I was brought here until this present day. O Lord, if it is pleasing to You, take my soul from my own hand;

"for my danger is near at hand (in my hand).

"for my danger is in my hand.

"and if not, then deliver, I beseech You, the flock of Your pasture from those lions who have risen up against them;

"I have heard from my father's book that thou didst redeem Israel from all the nations, and their fathers from among their ancestors, bestowing upon them, Israel, an everlasting inheritance.

"for my father taught me that You redeemed our forefathers from Egypt, and did slay all the first born of the Egyptians.

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"And You led Your people from amongst them, and You revealed Your strong hand and outstretched arm to the Egyptians for the sake of Your people. You caused them to cross on dry land like a horse in the wilderness or like cattle through a valley. You gave them bread from heaven for their hunger. For their thirst You brought forth water for them from the flinty rock.

"Also, you carried over for them meat and quails aplenty from the Great Sea to fulfill their needs. You fed them for forty years in the wilderness—an uninhabited land—and You destroyed great and proud kings before them. You bequeathed to them their land. You gave them a land of great blessing in Your abundant goodness.

"And when our ancestors sinned against Your great name, You delivered them into the hand of their captors; and behold, we are in exile this very day.

"You brought Your people forth from there with a strong hand and an outstretched arm, and caused them to pass over the sea like a horse on dry land. You gave them food from heaven, water from the cleft of the rock,

"and meat in plenty. You smote great and mighty kings before them, and caused them to inherit the good land.

"And thou didst do for them that which thou didst promise, and didst provide all that they requested.

"and hast wrought for them all that thou hast said.

"We have sinned before thee, and thou hast given us into the hands of our enemies if we glorified their gods. Thou art righteous, O Lord!

"But when our ancestors sinned against Your great name, the You delivered them into captivity; and here we are in exile to this day.

"My forefathers also told me that through the hand of Moses Your servant You said: 'Even then, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not reject them in the kingdom of Babylon, and I will not abandon them in the kingdoms of Medea and Persia so as to destroy them in the kingdom of Greece and to break my Covenant with them in the kingdom of Rome; for I am Adonai their God, even in the days of Gog and Magog.'

"My father further told me that, through Moses Your servant, You did say, 'When also they shall be in the land of their enemies, I will never forsake them.'"

"And now, is our exile not enough for us, that they should work us with severity? They say that You did not deliver us over unto their hands, rather they give thanks and bow down to their idols, and praise them saying: 'you delivered the Jewish people into our hands!'"

"But now they have not been contented with the bitterness of our slavery, but have laid their hands on the hands of their idols, in order to abolish the decree of thy mouth, and utterly to destroy thine inheritance, and to stop the mouth of them that praise thee, and to extinguish the glory of thine house and thine altar, and to open the mouth of the Gentiles to speak the praises of vanities, and in order that a mortal king should be admired for ever.

"O Lord, do not resign thy sceptre to them that are not, and let them not laugh at our fall, but turn their counsel against themselves, and make an example of him who has begun to injure us. Remember us, O Lord, manifest thyself in the time of our affliction, and encourage me, O king of gods, and ruler of all dominion. Put harmonious speech into my mouth before the lion, and turn his heart to hate him that fights against us, to the utter destruction of him and of them that consent with him.

"And now they are not satisfied that we are in bitter slavery, but they have covenanted with their idols to abolish what thy mouth has ordained, to destroy thy inheritance, to stop the mouths of those who praise thee, and to quench the glory of thy house and thy altar, to open the mouths of the nations for the praise of vain idols, and to magnify for ever a mortal king.

"O Lord, do not surrender thy sceptre to thy enemies who hate thee; and do not let them rejoice at our downfall. Turn their plans against themselves, and make an example of the man who began this against us for evil. Manifest thyself to us, O Lord; make thyself known in this time of our affliction, and do not break us in pieces. Put eloquent speech in my mouth, and make my words pleasing before the king, and turn his heart to hate the man who is fighting against us, so that there may be an end of him and those who agree with him.

"And now, is it not enough for them that they work us with great cruelty? For behold they say that You did not deliver us into their hands, rather they thank their graven images, and bow down to them saying: 'you delivered the Jews into our hands.'"

"Therefore the soul of Your handmaid is distressed [enough] to reject this people and to hate them. Just as the rent clothes of the menstrual woman are rejected, thus do I hate them. Truly I hate and reject all of my royal clothing and all of my ornate and splendid garments and the royal crown which is on my head. I have not rejoiced from the day I was brought here until now, except for [rejoicing] in Your word alone, my King and God.

"But deliver us by thine hand, and help me who am destitute, and have none but thee, O Lord. Thou knowest all things, and knowest that I hate the glory of transgressors, and that I abhor the couch of the uncircumcised, and of every stranger. Thou knowest my necessity, for I abhor the symbol of my proud station, which is upon my head in the days of my splendour: I abhor it as a menstruous cloth, and I wear it not in the days of my tranquility. And thy handmaid has not eaten at the table of Aman, and I have not honoured the banquet of the king, neither have I drunk wine of libations. Neither has thy handmaid rejoiced since the day of my promotion until now, except in thee, O Lord God of Abraham.

"Thus does Your handmaid loathe and hate them with a great hatred. Just as a man hates the torn clothing of a menstrual woman, thus do I hate my royal clothing and the royal crown which is on my head. I have not rejoiced from the day that I was brought here, except for [rejoicing] in You.

"But save us by thy mighty hand, and help me, for thou hast knowledge of all things, and thou knowest that I abhor the bed of the uncircumcised and I hate the splendour of the wicked and of any alien. Thou, O Lord, knowest my necessity—that I abhor the sign of my proud position which is upon my head, and I do not wear it except on the days when I appear in public, and I abhor it like the rag of a woman who sits apart. And thy servant has not eaten beside them, and I have not honoured the king's feasts nor drunk the wine of libation. Thy servant has had no joy in the days of my removal, except in thee, O Master.

"Now, God, Parent of orphans—stand at the right hand of Your handmaid the orphan this day, for I have trusted in Your word, Your goodness and Your mercy.

"Now, O Lord, Father of orphans, stand at the right hand of this orphan,

"and grant me mercy when I am in the presence of King Ahasuerus, for I fear him as a kid fears the lion.

"God I pray: Humble him and all of his advisors, that he may be humbled and subdued before Your handmaid and the grace, kindness and beauty which You have given to Your handmaid, my God.

"Cause his heart to hate the enemies of our people and to love to Your servant, for the hearts of kings are in Your hand, our God, who is praised, awesome and mighty.

"And now, save me from the great fear I have of him, that I may go before him on behalf of Your word. Place the fear of You upon him, and let the one who fears You in his heart be blessed, in order that I may go out from his presence in peace."

"Make lowly all his advisors, that he may be humbled and subdued before the grace and beauty You have given me.

"O God, who hast power over all, hearken to the voice of the desperate, and deliver us from the hand of them that devise mischief;

"and deliver me from my fear."

"And now, since thou art powerful over all, hear the voice of the despairing, and save us from the hands of evildoers.

"And deliver me, O Lord, from the power of my fear!"

"O my God, cause his heart to hate our enemies and to love Your servants, for the heart of kings is in Your hand. O You might, revered, and exalted God,

"deliver me from the fear and trembling which have taken hold of me, that I may go into his presence in Your name, and come out in peace."

Appendix E

"Dream of Mordecai"

Aramaic Text with Hebrew Parallels

Mordecai's Dream

Aramaic Text	Josippon	Esther Rabbah (Vilna)
בשנה חרתין למלכות אחשורוש ומרדכי יהודאיה חלם חילמא והא זיינא רבא ואכליתא וקל בהולחא על אנפי כל ארעא ודהלא ורתחא אהדו ית יתבהא ואתבהולו כל דיירי עלמא לחדא:	ויזכר מרדכי את מחשבת המן, ויזכור את החלום אשר ראה בשנה השניה למלך אחשורוש: וירא בחלום והנה רעש גדול ורעם חזק מאד וקול בהלה על פני כל הארץ ופחד ורעד לכל יושביה:	בשנה השנייה למלך אחשורוש וירא והנה רעש גדול וחזק ובהלה על הארץ ופחד ורעד לכל יושביה:
באדין איתחזיוא חרין תנינא רברביא ונצו דין כל קביל דין לקרבא ותנוהו כל עממי ארעא לקל איתרגשיהון:	ויריעו שני תנינים גדולים זה לקראת זה למלחמה, וירוצו לקולם כל גויי הארץ:	והנה שני תנינים גדולים ויריעו זה לקראת זה ויערכו מלחמה וינוסו לקולם כל גויי הארץ:
והנה ביו חרין תנינא האיננו עם חד זעיר וקמו כל עממיא דארעא עילויה לסלעמותיה ולהובדא דוכרניה מעילו ארעא:	והנה ביניהם גוי אחד קטן, ויקמו כל הגוים ההם על הגוי הזה הקטן לאבד זכרו מעל הארץ:	והנה ביניהם גוי אחד קטן ויקמו כל הגוים על הגוי הקטן לאבד זכרו מעל הארץ:
ותה ענא וחשובא וקבלא על אפי כל ארעא ועקת לעמא זעירא והוא לחדא וקבילו וצלו קדם יי בכל ליבא:	ויהי היום והוא יום חושך ואפילה לכל העולם, ויצר לגוי הקטן מאד, ויצעקו אל יי:	ויהי היום והוא חושך לכל העולם ויצר לגוי הקטן מאד ויצעקו אל ה':
ותנינא מניחן באכוריות דרגוניהן ולית מפרש בין תרוניהן: ואסתכל מרדכי והא מבוטא דמאין חין עביר ונניד ביני חרין תנינא דמניחן ואפריש בין תרוניהן ופסקו סן קרבא:	והתנינים נלחמים באכוריות חימה ואין מציל ואין מפריד בין שניהם: וירא מרדכי והנה מעיין מים קטן עובר בין שני התנינים האלה ויפרד ביניהם מן המלחמה אשר היו נלחמים:	והתנינים נלחמים באכוריות חמה ואין מפריד ביניהם: וירא מרדכי והנה מעין מים אחד קטן עבר בין שני התנינים האלה ויפרד ביניהם מן המלחמה אשר היו נלחמים:
והה מבוטא לנהרא רבא ופחי תחומין היך ימא רבא אזיל ושטף בארעא:	והמעין נתגדל ויהי לנחל שוטף כשטף ים הגדול והולך ושוהף בכל הארץ:	והמעין גבר (וגר) ויהי לנחל שוטף כשטף ים הגדול והולך ושוהף בכל הארץ:
ודנתח שמשא וננה נונהא דנהורא על אנפי כל ארעא:	וירא והנה זרחה השמש על הארץ ויהי אור על כל העולם:	וירא והנה זרחה השמש לכל הארץ ויאור הארץ:
ורבא עמא זעירא ואיתרום לחדא ועממיא רמא וגיוחניא מאכו ושדוכת כל ארעא ארום רבת הימנהא והיא שלמא ליחבי ארעא:	ויחרום הגוי ההוא הקטן והגבוהים הושפלו ונעשה שלום ואמת בכל העולם:	ויחרום הגוי הקטן והגבוהים הושפלו ויהי שלום ואמת בכל הארץ:

Aramaic Text

Josippon

Esther Rabbah (Vilna)

ומן יומא ההוא ולהלן נטר מרדכי
ית חילמא בלבביה ולא אשחעי
לנברא אילהין לאסתר בלחודה:

והוה כד עק ליה המן ואשיקיה
ואמר מרדכי לאסתר מלכתא בת
אביהיל את אבוהי למימר: הא אתי
פתגמי חילמא דאישחעתי לך
ביומי שליוהיך והא מעיקתא
דאמרית לך:

וכדון קומי כען וצליאי קדם יי
אלהא דאבההנא ואקדימי יתיה
בבעותא למיתן לך לחסדא
ולרחמין בלבא דמלכא אחשורוש
ובכן תיעולי קדמוהי למקדב אפיה
בשופריך למקוב משול עמיך ומטול
ייחוסיד:

ויהי מהיום ההוא והלאה, וישמור
מרדכי בלבו את החלום אשר
ראה:

ויהי כי היצר לו המן, ויאמר
מרדכי לאסתר המלכה בת דוד:
הנה בא החלום אשר ספרתי לך
ביומי נעוריד:

ועתה קומי ובקשי רחמים מאת
אדון הרחמים ובאי לפני אחשורוש
וקדמי פניו ביופיך ועמדי על עמך
ועל מולדתך:

ויהי מהיום ההוא ומעלה וינצור
מרדכי את החלום אשר חלם

ובעת אשר הצר לו המן אמר
לאסתר ע"י שלוחה הגה החלום
אשר ספרתי לך ביומי נעוריד:

ועתה קומי ובקשי רחמים מאת
הקב"ה ובאי לפני המלך והתחנני
על עמך ועל מולדתך:

Mordecai's Prayer

ועלי מרדכי יהודה קדם "
 אלהיה ואמר

בבעו רבון כל עלמא " לא
 איחכסא לבבי מן קדמך ולא מן
 נוכחא דרוח ורובא דלבבי עבדיה
 דא בנין דלא למסגוד להמן
 עמלקא דהין:

אלהין מרחלתיך עבדיה ואיחגרתי
 ביה משול דלא למנחן ליה ארום
 דהילית מן קדמך אלהא עלמא
 דלא למיתן יקדך לבר נשא בשרא
 ודמא

בנין כן סריבות למנחן לערלאה
 כסאבא דהין אלהין למנחן דבא
 וקדישא דאיחקרני עלמא:

ארום מאן אנא וביתי דאיכא דלא
 אסגוד לאינשא על פורקא דישראל
 וכיועיהון ולמלחך ית עפר ריגלוהי
 דהמן באהר די חידריך פרסת
 ריגלוהי דהמן:

ברם במימך סברת נפשו ארום
 עלך תליין עיינינו ארום את
 בלחודך לנא ולאבהתנא לאלהא:

וכדון אלהא שיובנא כען מדינה
 ויפול בשווא דכרא ויחאדד
 במצרתיה די טטע וכמן לריגלי
 חסידך:

משול דינדעון כל עממא דלא
 איחנשיחא ית קיימא דקיימחא
 לאבהתנא מקצור ידך ולא מסרתנא
 בגלותא ביומא דהין מחלשות ידא
 אלהין בחובינא איורבנא
 ובסורחנא גלין ארום חבנא לך:

ויהפלל מרדכי יהודאי ויאמר:

גלוי וידוע לפני כסא כבודך ארון
 כל העולם, כי לא מגובה לבי
 ומרום עיני עשיתי זאת אשר לא
 השתחויתי לעמלקי הזה להמן.

כי אם מיראתך התגרתי בו בלחתי
 השתחוות לו, כי יראתי מפניך אלהי
 עולם בלחתי תה כבודך לבשר
 ודם

ולא רציתי להשתחוות לזולתך.

כי מי אני אשר לא אשתחוה להמן
 כי על חשועת ישראל לוחך הייתי
 מנעל אשר ברגליו ועפרו אשר
 ידרוך:

ועתה אלהינו הצילנו מידו ויפול
 בשחת כרה וילכד ברשת אשר טמן
 לרגלי חסידך,

וידעי הכל כי לא שכחה את
 השבועה אשר נשבעה לאבותינו ולא
 נתתנו בגולה מקצור ידך, אשר לא
 יכולה להושיע, כי אם בחשאינו
 נמכרנו ובעונוהינו נגלינו כי חטאנו
 לך:

ויהפלל מרדכי אל ה' ואמר

גלוי וידוע לפני כסא כבודך ארון
 העולמים כי לא מגבהות לב ומרום
 עין עשיתי אשר לא השתחויתי
 להמן

כי אם מיראתך פעלתי זאת בלחתי
 השתחוות לו כי יראתי מפניך
 בלחתי תה כבודך לבשר ודם

ולא רציתי להשתחוות לזולתך

כי מי אני אשר לא אשתחוה להמן
 על חשועת עמך ישראל כי לוחך
 הייתי מצעל רגליו:

ועתה אלהינו הצילנו נא מידו ויפול
 בשחת אשר כרה וילכד ברשת
 אשר טמן לרגלי חסידך

וידע המרגיז הזה כי לא שכחה
 ההבטחה שהבטחנו ואף גם זאת
 בהיותם בארץ אויביהם לא
 מאסתיים ולא נעלתיים לכלותם
 להפר בריתי אהב כי אני ה'
 אלהיהם: (ויקרא כז)
 (cf. Esther's Prayer ¶11)

Aramaic Text

Josippon

Esther Rabbah (Vilna)

וכדון אלהא רב למפרוק פרוקין
 כען מן ידיה ושיובין מבישח
 רעיוניה ארום כד עיק לן קדמך
 נצלי ולווחך ניערוק למחרס
 אסטולנן: אנת בלחודך למקום
 לימנא דחשיכיך ולמפרקין מן
 דקייסין עלנא:

ואידכר כדון ארום חולקך אנחנא
 ארום מן לקדמין ומככין באחסנותך
 עמבוא ובאפרשותך בני נשא
 אפרישנא למיהוי בעדבך:
 ולאפרשותנא מן עמבוא למיהוי לך
 לחביבא וקדשתנא לשמך אפרשותא
 מן כל עמבוא:

וכדון אלהא למה יימרן מעיקנא
 ארום לית להון אלהא למפרוקתון
 ויהפתחון פומתון לסלעביחא
 חולקך ולשבחא ית פסיליהון
 והיבליהון למימר בכון איסתיענא
 למכבש ית עמא הדין:

בבעו אלהא פרוקין כדון מן
 ידיהון ויבהתון עמבוא מפסיליהון
 והיבליהון ושעוהתון וישון ידא
 לפומא במחזיהון ית פורקנך יי
 וחוס כדון על עמך ועל אחסנתך
 ולא יסתהמון פומא משבחחא
 דמייחדן ית שמך רששא וצפרא
 תדירא:

והפך אבלינן לבדחא וחדא וניהי
 ונשבחינך על פורקנא טבתא
 דתפרקין:

חצי הספר

ועתה אלהינו רב להושיע, הושיענו
 מידו כי צר לנו מאד ועליך עינינו
 ועדיך נברח למנן בעדינו ולעמוד
 בקרב להלהם לנו מיד הקמים
 עלינו,

וזכור נא כי חלקך אנחנו כי מאז
 בהנחילך גוים ובהפרידך בני אדם
 ונהי בגורלך אנחנו ותפול עלינו
 הנורל אשר השלכת ונהי סגולים:

ועתה אלהינו למה יאמרו צרינו כי
 אין להם אלה, ויפתחו את פיהם
 לבלוע חלקך ולהלל עצביהם
 והבליהם:

אנא אלהינו הושיענו ויבושנו
 מעצביהם ומהבליהם וישימו יד על
 פה בראוחם את ישועתך יי, ורחם
 עמך ועל נחלתך ואל תסתום פיות
 מהלליך ומייחדי שמך ערב ובקר
 חמיד,

והפך אבלינו לששון ולשמחה ונחיה
 ונהללך על ישועתך הטובה אשר
 תושיע אותנו:

Esther's Prayer

וכל ישראל ויהודה קבילו כחדא
קדם יי אלההון על עיסק עקתא
דאעיק להון בזמן דאעיקונו חמן
בר הכרתא עמלקאה דמורעה אנן:
ולחוד אסתר מלכאה ערקת ואפכה
עד יי לאקדמוניה בצלו ארום
דחלה מן קדם בישא ד' צמחת מן
מחשכא דחמן בישא:

ואשלח ית לבושי מלכותא וית
חיקון תושבחתא ולבשה שקא
ופרעה ית שער רישה ומלאהון
עפר וקטם ועניא בצומא
ואיטמרה בשומרא: ונפלה על
אפהא וצליאח ואמרה

בבעו יי אלהא דישראל מלכא על
כל מלכיא ובארי כולא דקנייניה
שמיא וארעא: ושליש ברום ברום
שמיא ושליש על ארעית ארעא
ובימא ובתהומיא ובכל חניניהון:

בבעו סייע כדון לאמתך דיתבה
בלחודה דליה לה סעיד בר מיך
ארום בלחודיי יתבית הלכא
ובלחודיי אנא יחבא בבית מלכא
הדין בלא אבא ואימא: ולחוד
כיחמתא ענייתא דשאלא מוונא
בחסדא מן ביחא לביחא

הכדין שאלית רחמך וחסדך מן
כוותא לכוותא בבית מלכא
אחשורוש הדין למן יומא
דאיתדברית הלכא ועד יומא הדין:
וכדון אלהא הא נפשי כד על גב
ידיי לאיתקטלא סב יחא מן ידיי
אין שפיר קרמך:

ואין לא חיציב למיסבה שחב כדון
ית עאן מרעיתך מן פום אריוותא
האילין דפתחו ית פומהון למיטיל
יתיהון:

ארום שמעית מאבהתי ולחוד
אשחא לי ארום אנת דברת ית
אבהתא מביני עממיא ואפקתונו
ממצרים וקפלהא כל בוכריא
דמצראי בנייהון:

וכל ישראל יחד צעקו אל יי על
דבר הצרה אשר הצירים ואשר
הציקם המן בן המדחא העמלקי:
וחנס אסתר המלכה עד יי כי
פחדה מפני הרעה אשר נצמחה,

והפשיט את בגדי מלכותא ואח עדיי
הפארתה וחלבש שק וחפזר את
שערות ראשה והמלא אותם עפר
ואפר וחתנה נפשה בצום וחפול על
פניה ותחפלל ותאמר:

יי אלהי ישראל אשר משלה מימי
קדם ובורא ועושה כל העולם
ומושל עליו,

עזור נא לאמתך בדודה אשר אין
לה עוזר אחר כי אם אתה: כי
בדד ישבתי הנה ובדד אני בבית
המלך בלא אב ואם: כיחומה
ענייה שואלת צדקה מבית לבית

כן אני שאלתי רחמך מחלון לחלון
בבית המלך אחשורוש מן היום
אשר נלקחתי הנה ועד היום הזה:
ועתה אלהים הנה נפשי קחנה מידי
אם ייטב בעיניך.

ואם לא תרצה לקחת אותה, הצילה
נא את צאן מרעיתך מאריות האלה
אשר קמו עליהם:

כי לימדני אבי ודיבר לי אשר אתה
לקחת את אבותינו ממצרים והרגת
כל בכורי מצרים

ובעת ההיא היתה אסתר נפחדת
מאד מפני הרעה אשר צמחה
בישראל

והפשיט בגדי מלכותה ואח
הפארתה וחלבש שק וחפזר שער
שער ראשה והמלא אותו עפר
ואפר וחתנה נפשה בצום וחפול על
פניהלפני ה': ותחפלל ותאמר

הי אלהי ישראל אשר משלה מימי
קדם וברא את העולם

עזור נא אמתך אשר נשאתי
יתומה בלי אב ואם: ומשולה
לענייה שואלת מבית לבית:

כן אנכי שואלת רחמך מחלון
לחלון בבית אחשורוש:

ועתה הי הצליחה נא לאמתך
הענייה הזאת והצילה את צאן
מרעיתך מן האריות האלו אשר
קמו עלינו

Aramaic Text

Josippon

Esther Rabbah (Vilna)

ויהי עמך דברחא מביניהון ויהי ידך
חקיפתא ואדרעך מרמס אחויהא
למצראי משול עמך ואעברחנן
ביבשחא היך סוסא במדברא והיך
בעירא בבקעא: ויהבתא לחמא
מן שמיא לכפנהון ולצחנהון
אפיקתא להון מלא מן שמיר טיגרא:

ועמך הוצאת מתוכם ובידך החזקה
ובזרועך הנמיה העברתם בים
כסוס במדבר ותתן להם לחם מן
השמים ומים מצור החלמיש,

ולחוד מונא דבשרא וצפרי שמיא
לשובע אנתא להון מן יומא דבא
לאשלמא רעותהון: ונתנהון
ארבעין שניו במדברא בארעא דלא
יהבא ומתיהא קדמהון מלכין
דברכין וניחניו: ואחסנהון ית
ארעהון ויהבתא להון ארעא
משבתהא אחסנהך שבתא בסוגי
טובך:

וגם בשר לשובע נחתה להם ותך
לפניהם מלכים גדולים ואדירים
והנחלתם ארצך הטובה:

וכד חבו אבהתא לשבך רבא
מסרתהון ביד שיכיהון והא אינון
בגולה יומא דהדין:

וכאשר חטאו אבותינו לשבך הגדול,
נחתה אותם בשבי, והנה אנחנו
בגולה כיום הזה:

ולחוד אנא אישעתא לי למימר
דמלילתא בידא דמשה עבדך
ולחוד ברס דא במיניהון בארע
בעלי דבניהון לא ארחיקנן
במלכותא דבבל ולא אשבקינן
במלכותא דמדי ופרס לשיציהון
במלכותא דיון לאשנא קיימי
עמהון במלכותא דאדום ארים אנא
הוא יי אלההון ביומי דגוג מגוג:

ועוד דיבר לי אבי כי דברת אהא
ביד משה אבדך: ואף גם זאת
בהיותם בארץ אויביהם וגו':

וכדון לא סגי לנא גלותא דהדין
מפלחין יתנא בקסין אילחין אינון
אמרין ארום לא מסרתנא אנה
בידיהון אילחין ית פסיליהון יודון
ולהון יסגדון וישבתון למימר ארום
אתון מסרתון ית עמא דיהודאי
בידינו:

ועתה לא די להם כי מעבירים
אנחנו בפרך, והנה המה אומרים כי
לא נחתנו אתה בידם. כי לפסיליהם
יודו ולהם ישחזו לאמר: אהם
נתתם את היהודים בידינו:

בגין כן עקת נפשא דאמתהך
לרחקא ית עמא דהין ולמיסני
יהון היך ריחוק בוגא דלבוש
איתחא דווחא הכדון סגרתונו:
וברם אסני וארחיק ית כל לבוש
הושבתהי ויה כל מאני תיקוני
שיבתי ויה כלילא דמלכותא
דברשי ולא חדיתי מן יומא
דאיתויני הלכא עד הכא אילחין
במימרך בלחודך מלכי ואלהי:

על כן אני שפחתך העבתי ושנאתי
אתהב שנאה גדולה: כאשר ישנא
אדם קריעה בגד אשר לאשה נדה,
כן אני אשנא את בגדי תפארתי ואת
כתר מלכותי אשר בראשי ולא
שבתתי מיום אשר הביאוני הנה כי
אב בך:

(כי אין לך מצור להושיע ברב
אי במעט:)

Aramaic Text

Josippon

Esther Rabbah (Vilna)

ואת אלהא אבותון דיתמי קום
כדון לימינא דאמתך יתמתא יומא
דין די סברית בסימך בשוכך
וברחמך:

והב לי רחמין קדם אחשורוש
מלכא ארוכ דחילא אמתך יתיה
היכמה דדחיל גדיא מן קדם
אריוה:

בבעו אלהא אמאיך יתיה עם כל
יעמיה למהיה כנוע ומתכבש קדם
אמתך בחינא ובדיסרא ובשיכחורא
ובשופרא די תתן לאמתך אלה:

והב בליבביה למוסני ית בעלי
דבביהון ולמרחב ית עבדך ארום
לבהון דמלכיא בידך אלהא
משבחא ודחילא ותקיפא:

ושיובני כדון מדחלחיה דחלית
ואיסחפיתו ועלית קדמיה בשם
מימך והב דחלתך עלוהי ומתבדך
דחעיל בלבביה למדחל מן קדמך
מן בגלל דאפוק מן קדמיה בשלם:

ועתה אלהי אבי יתומים, עמוד
לימין היתומה הזאת הבוטחה בך

ותן לי רחמים לפני האיש הזה
אחשורוש, כי יראהו כאשר ירא
הגדי מפני הארץ,

והשפילהו עם כל יועציו ויהיה
כנוע וכבוש לפניי בתן וביופי אשר
תתן לי אתה אלה,

ותן בלבו לשנא את אויביו
ולאהוב את עבדך, כי לב המלכים
בידך: אל אדיר וגורא ונשגב,

הצילנו נא מיראה אשר יראתי
ואשר יגורתי ואבואה לפניי בשמך
ואצא מלפניי בשלום:

ואתה אבי יתומים עמוד נא לימין
היתומה הזאת אשר בחסדך בטחתי:

ותנה אוהי לרחמים לפני האיש הזה
כי יראהו

והשפילהו לפני כי אתה משפיל
נאים:

Glossary to "Dream of Mordecai"

(numbers indicate verse numbers in which each word appears)

woman 45	אישה	ancestor, father 13, 17, 19, 32, 36, 42, 47	אב
cruelty, severity 5	אכזריות	to eradicate 3	אבד (<i>haf'el</i>)
to eat, swallow up 35	אכל	mourning 26	אבל
cry, noise 1	אכליות	arm 37	אדרע
God 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 27, 30, 34, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50	אלהא	to go 7	אול
mother 32	אמא	uncle 11	אחבוי
say 11, 12, 14, 24, 30, 43, 44	אמר	to seize 1, 18	אחד
handmaid 32, 45, 47, 48, 49	אמרה, אמהתא	inheritance 22, 25, 41	אחסנא
I 16, 32, 43	אנא	there is here? 16	איכא
we 22	אנחנו	except, only 10, 15, 19, 44, 46	אילהין
you 17, 21, 36, 44, 47	את	those 35	אילין
face 1, 4, 8, 13, 30	אפא, אנפא	if 34, 35	אין
to turn 28	אפך	they, these 3, 42	אינון
forty 40	ארבעין	human being 15, 16, 22	אינשא
that, so that, because, for 9, 15, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24, 28, 32, 36, 43, 44, 48, 50	ארום	they brought me 46 (see אחי)	איתוני
lion 35, 48	אריוא	noise 2	איתנושא

flesh 15, 39	בשר	earth, land 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 30, 31, 40, 41, 43	ארץ
house 16, 32, 33	בית	depth 31	ארעיה
therefore 13	בכן	you (m.p.) 44	אתה
alone, by oneself 10, 17, 21, 32, 46	בלחוד	to come 12	אתי
prayer, pray 13, 14, 25, 30, 32, 49	בעו (בעוהא)	place 16	אתר
cattle 37	בעירא	then 2	באדן
enemy 43, 50	בעל דבבא	in order that, because 14, 15, 36, 45	בנין
valley 37	בקעהא	in order that 51	בגלל
son 15, 22, 27	בר	cheer 26	ברחא
except (with בן) 32	בר	panic 1	בהולחא
Creator 30	בארי (ברי)	to be agitated 1	בהל
bless 51	ברך	to put to shame 25	בהת
but, however 17, 43, 46	ברם	first-born 36	בוכרא
daughter 11	בת	to rend 45	בזע
upon 34	ב(על) גב	between, among 3, 5, 6, 36, 37	בין
man 10	גברא	evil (person) 28	בישא
kid 48	נדיא	wickedness 20	בישוה

to remember 22	דכר	pride (with רוחי) 14	גובהא
blood 15	דםא	to bring over 39	נח (aph'el)
to shine, rise (sun) 8	נח	to bow down 15	נחן
to tread 16	דרך	proud 9, 40	נירמא
behold 1, 6, 12, 34, 42	הא	to fight 5, 6	גח
he, it 4, 10, 43	הוא	exile 19, 42, 44	גלות
to be, occur 3, 4, 7, 9, 11, 22, 23, 43, 49	הוה	to exile 19	גלי
vanity 24, 25	היכל, הכל	to contend 15	גרי
as, like 7, 37, 45	היך	this 14, 43	דא
even as 48	היכמה	to lead 33, 36, 37	דבר
faith 9	הימנוחא	menstruating woman 45	דווחא
they (m.) 44	הינן	memory 3	דוכרן
now 46	הכא	reverence, fear 1, 48, 50, 51	דחילא, דהלחא
thus 33, 45	הכדין	to fear 15, 48, 51	דהל
here 32, 33, 46	הלכא	who, which, that, of 16, 18, 28, 47, 49	די
onward 10	הלן	inhabitant 1	דיירא
to transform 26	הפך	this (dem. pron.) 2, 14, 15, 19, 24, 32, 33, 42, 45, 47	דין, הדין

living (<i>m.p.</i>) 6	חַיִּין	to be sold 19	זָבַן (<i>iipe'el</i>)
grace 49	חֵינָא	to feed 40	זָוַן
lovingkindness, grace 13, 33, 49	חֵסֶדָא	earthquake 1	זִיעָא
to dream 1	חֵלֵם	to prepare 18	זָמַן
dream (<i>n.</i>) 1, 10, 12	חֵלֶמָא	time 27	זָמֵן
weakness 19	חֵלְשׁוּת	small 3, 4, 9	זַעִיר
pious one 18	חֲסִידָא	descendants 27	זַרְעִיָּה
to bequeath 41	חֲסֹן (<i>aph'el</i>)	beloved 23	חֲבִיבָא
darkness 4	חֲשׁוּכָא	one (<i>indef. art.</i>) 3	חֶד
poor one 21	חֲשִׁיכָא	rejoicing 26	חֲדוּא
good (<i>adj.</i>) 26, 41	טָבָא	to rejoice 46	חֲדִי
goodness 41, 47	טוֹב	to sin 19, 42	חֹב
secret 29	טוֹמְרָא	sin (<i>n.</i>) 19	חֹטָא
flint stone 38, 39	טִינְרָא	portion 22, 24	חֻלְקָא
childhood 12	טְלִיחָא	to spare 25	חֹס
to sink 18	טָמַע	to see 2, 25, 37	חֹזֵי
to hide oneself 29	טָמַר (<i>iipe'el</i>)	to live 26	חַי

when 11, 20, 42	כד	idol 25	פסולהא
now 13, 18, 20, 24, 25, 32, 34, 35, 44, 47, 51	כדון	dry land 37	יבשהא
window 33	כונהא	hand 18, 19, 20, 25, 34, 37, 42, 43, 44, 50	יד
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