

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THIS book, composed, possibly in Aramaic, in the last quarter of the third century B.C., probably emanated from orthodox circles in Egypt. It therefore throws considerable light upon the religious and ethical conditions of the Diaspora in that country some 150 years after the date of the recently discovered Aramaic papyri.

The evidences of its popularity, almost from the moment of its composition until the eighteenth or nineteenth century of our era, in themselves constitute a long and interesting history. Its influence is apparent alike in Jewish writings, in the New Testament, in the early Church and in mediaeval art. Carefully revised by A.D. 150 in Jewish circles into the form most common to-day, but almost immediately translated into Aramaic from the first Greek version and later, and more than once, into Hebrew, and yet again revised in Greek in Christian circles, it remained on the one hand a favourite Jewish work, and on the other hand, translated into various languages, it followed the spread of the Christian religion to Edessa in the East, to Rome and Africa in the West, and Ethiopia in the South.

Its religious and moral outlook, with a delightful mixture of real piety and Oriental superstition, is still refreshing to the modern reader. The author's chief merit, however, lies not so much in the originality of his conceptions as in his artistic genius and inimitable art in combining, and working up, strong priestly and prophetic tendencies, distinct pagan and Jewish sources, various written and oral information, definite religious and moral precepts, into a work of singular aesthetic beauty and remarkably liberal sympathies. 'Is it history?' wrote Luther. 'Then is it a holy history. Is it fiction? Then is it a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the performance of a gifted poet.'

§ 2. TITLE.

The original Greek title was *Βιβλος λόγων Τωβιτ* which was only modified in R^v in the spelling of the last word—*Τωβίτ* Cod. Vat.—*ετ* Cod. Al.¹ The title is not extant in R^c. For the other versions see *critical synopsis*.

§ 3. GREEK MSS. AND PAPYRUS.

These fall into three groups, representative, along with the versions mentioned in § 4, of three distinct recensions. Their interrelation constitutes a problem of such extreme intricacy and length as to preclude little more than a bare statement of the main conclusion to which the present writer has come. A full statement of his reasons and further details, with a *résumé* of the modern treatment of the problem, he is therefore compelled to publish elsewhere.²

¹ Müller supposes that father and son were originally the same individual, whom some editor, later than the author, artificially separated into two when he re-wrote the work in its present form, since in the later portion of the book Sarah appears as a parallel figure to Tobias, but in the earlier portion remnants still remain, e.g. iii. 16, 17, of her original connexion with Tobit. This hypothesis is connected with Müller's theory that the author of Tobit was not a Jew, and that *Tobit* was a foreign name of which *Tobiah* was a welcome variation. But no relics of undigested paganism remain in the work. The forms *Τωβιτ* (R^c) and *Τωβίτ* (chiefly R^v, R^c) are Semitic names in Greek dress. *Τωβιταπιδ* and *Ναφατ* with their by-forms *Τωβιταπιδ* and *Ναφατ* are quite analogous.

² The evidence, however, derived from the literary and linguistic characteristics of the respective recensions, is overwhelming. That from the *contents* of the book is equally strong, since it demonstrates that the redaction we shall call R^v is a modification of R^c inasmuch as it reflects (1) the general presuppositions and ideas, (2) the historical conditions, and (3) the religious characteristics and theological developments of an age long subsequent to that in which R^c was written.

INTRODUCTION

i. CODEX SINAITICUS (Σ). This MS. presents the longest and clearest text, with only two lacunae of great importance¹ and eight slight and practically unimportant ones,² a comparatively trustworthy orthography of proper names,³ only one or two additions to the original text,⁴ and only a few—mostly natural—cases of internal textual corruption.⁵ All the evidence, as will be seen, points to the comparative originality of the recension of Tobit contained in Σ, which stands in a few cases alone, but is supported especially by the Old Latin, very frequently by the Aramaic, often by the Münster Hebrew, and—by no means rarely—by the recension of the Greek which we shall term R^c. Some of those scholars, who regard Σ as only secondary, have described it as *the B text*, or simply B, a nomenclature which, apart from prejudging the problem, at least introduces considerable confusion since B is universally recognized as the symbol for Codex Vaticanus, which, according to these scholars, along with Cod. Alex., represents *the A text*.⁶ In the following pages, therefore, we have avoided this begging of the question and much confusion by referring to the text of Σ and its auxiliaries not as *the A text* (as we believe it to be) but as R^c, i.e. *the Sinaitic recension, the nearest approach which can be made to the original text whether the latter first appeared in Greek or in a Semitic language*. It is this text which has been translated and commented upon in the following pages.⁷ The corrector denoted by Σ^m began to emend the first scribe's text of Σ, but seems to have recognized that it was essentially divergent from the later one better known in his time and abandoned the task.

ii. CODEX VATICANUS (B) AND CODEX ALEXANDRINUS (A) give the second type of text. It is accepted in some quarters as more original than Σ. In the following pages it is referred to as R^v, i.e. the recension best preserved in Cod. Vat. A number of minuscules⁸ belong to this class, but their practical unimportance, except in one or two isolated cases,⁹ is admitted by all scholars. The differences between Codd. A and B are comparatively few,¹⁰ and the Syriac, when it follows R^v, follows it practically unerringly and continuously, as do some other versions mentioned below.¹¹ On the other hand, the differences between R^v as a whole and R^s in its original form are extraordinarily numerous and important in spite of the number of points in which they agree. When R^s faithfully records an incident in detail, R^v summarizes; when R^s retains the poetic and aesthetic beauty of the original, R^v ruthlessly substitutes a brief prosaic narrative. That the text of R^v was finally settled in the reign of Antoninus Pius, not in Christian but in Jewish circles of the Diaspora in touch with the official heads of the Jewish Church in Palestine, is more than sufficiently proved by its general presuppositions and ideas, historical background, and its religious and theological developments in comparison with R^s. R^v, moreover, in spite of its own internal solidity, presents a much corrupted text with the proper names badly written, its grammar that of the vernacular and its style

¹ viz. iv. 6^b-19^a; xiii. 6^b-10^a. They are peculiar to this MS., not derived from its archetype, not destructive of its reputation for general reliability, and easily explicable; see notes *ad loc.*

² viz. i. 2, 4, 5; ii. 2, 8; ix. 5; xi. 12, 13; xiii. 11, chiefly single words, at times only the copula and a conjunction.

³ See notes to i. 1, 2, 15; v. 6; vi. 13; xi. 18; xiv. 10, 15.

⁴ xi. 15, due simply to dittography; xii. 9 (merely a gloss).

⁵ ii. 1 (case ending), 12; iv. 19^b (owing to the omission in verses 6^b-19^a); v. 6 (already mentioned in previous note); vi. 13 (12); viii. 3, 15; xi. 1 (?), 4; xiii. 16; exclusive of xiv. 4 where the textual corruption Σ shares with all extant MSS. and versions is outweighed by its unique preservation of the original *Nahum*.

⁶ Müller's L for R^s and R for R^v avoid this difficulty, but lay too much stress on the comparative length of the two recensions to the exclusion of more important and characteristic differences.

⁷ The text of Σ is printed by Swete below that of B in vol. ii of *The Old Testament in Greek* with the variations of A noted at the bottom of each page, an arrangement which, in addition to the premium it allows B, has led, as Nestle, *Septuagintastudien*, iii, 1899, has shown, to some slight confusion in the critical apparatus. This text has, however, been used for the present translation. Swete's verse-numbering of Σ has also been adopted, that of the Revised English Version appearing in brackets wherever it differs from Swete's. In Fritzsche's *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen*, 1853, the readings of the Alexandrine and Sinaitic are at times interchanged! In *La Sainte Bible Polyglotte, Ancien Testament*, vol. iii, 1902, edited by F. Vigouroux, B appears on the extreme left, next to it Σ, on the right-hand page the Vulgate and a French translation. This work is therefore more convenient to consult, but is not ideal, since its critical apparatus notices only a *minimum* of variants of Σ, B, A, P² (= Holmes 243), P³ (a hitherto uncollated MS. identical, it is claimed, with Holmes 106), and makes no comparative collation of any of the other MSS. and versions. As long ago as 1870 Fr. H. Reusch published an emended text of Σ with a carefully constructed synopsis of the various readings of the Old Latin MSS. in his *Libellus Tobit e codice Sinaitico editus et recensitus*—a work, to which the present writer is much indebted, though it presents no synopsis at all of the various recensions of R^v and R^c nor even of the more important translations other than the Old Latin.

⁸ Their variations are noted by Fritzsche in most cases, but only a few instances, e.g. in ch. vi, appear in our critical synopsis.

⁹ e.g. xiv. 15; cf. note *ad loc.*

¹⁰ Cod. A is not, however, quite unimportant since it frequently inclines to R^s, thus showing the antiquity of this latter redaction and its refusal to be ousted entirely by R^v. For the relation of these two MSS. to each other, see Schulte, *Biblische Zeitschr.*, 1908, pp. 262-5.

¹¹ The solidity of R^v is naturally no guarantee of its antiquity.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

abrupt. A minute analysis of these and many other indications of its inferiority as compared with R^s can be seen in the critical apparatus (or, as it might be better described, synopsis) of the differences in the case of each verse and often each word which is printed below the translation of R^s in the following pages.¹

iii. Between vi. 7 (8) and xiii. 8 THE MINUSCULES 44 (CITTAVIENSIS) 106 (FERRARIENSIS) and 107 (FERRARIENSIS, written c. 1337, agreeing almost entirely with 106), furnish a fragment of a third type of text.² Before vi. 7 (8) and after xiii. 8 these cursives follow R^v, but it has now been demonstrated by the discovery of the OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRUS No. 1076³ that R^c commenced at any rate as early as ch. ii.⁴ R^c presents a few characteristics avowedly late, and it is noteworthy that we have no contemporary evidence for the use of a single reading peculiar to it prior to 2 Clem. ad Cor. xvi. 16, which presupposes the recension of R^c in Tob. xii. 8. Dr. Rendel Harris⁵ has argued that, since this admittedly finer version—at least from the Christian standpoint—of R^c in xii. 8 was known to the author of 2 Clem., it is consequently the original text, though differing from both R^s and R^v. But, if any argument as to the date or originality of the verse can be based on 2 Clem., it is surely that its use in 2 Clem. is evidence for its existence not at an early time but at a period later than R^s, even if it was more or less contemporary with R^v. Moreover, at Alexandria R^v was still in use in the time of Clement of Alexandria, and it is not till the sixth century⁶ that the Oxyrhynchus papyrus witnesses definitely to the existence of R^c in Egypt. On the other hand, individual readings in R^c, not now extant in 8 or BA, may conceivably go back to a considerably earlier date, if not to the original writing, if they are supported by a version which is either itself admittedly ancient or known to contain a text which—on independent grounds—follows R^s in the great majority of cases. Accordingly in ii. 8 it has been possible to restore the original reading of R^s from R^c as preserved in the papyrus, owing to its agreement with the invaluable Old Latin MSS. α and β which so constantly, if not invariably, attest α's general trustworthiness. R^c in fact is a *mediating* redaction, representing a compromise between R^s and R^v. A sentence is preserved in part as it appears in the former, and in part recast in the mould of the latter. It would appear that R^v was in general vogue at the time when R^c arose, but, while the brevity and other characteristics of R^v appealed to its readers, the extent and character of its deviations from R^s precluded its complete popularity everywhere. R^c is therefore an attempt to combine the improvements of R^v with the ancient and well-established R^s.

§ 4. NON-GREEK VERSIONS.

These are indispensable for a critical investigation of the text (a) as showing the form in which the book was read in various quarters of the world in several different languages; (b) as being by no means insignificant aids to the recovery of the true text of the various chief recensions (R^s, R^v, R^c) to which they belong; (c) as conceivably containing among their unique readings a few potentially original ones. Consequently the older versions appear in the critical synopsis below the new translation of R^s in the following pages. The less ancient and less literal, with the exception of Fagius' Hebrew, have not been taken into account there owing to the lack of space in the present volume and their comparative unimportance. A few of their more important readings are enumerated by Marshall, *HDB*, art. 'Tobit.'

A. Aramaic.

The Aramaic version of our book demands our careful attention. This is the case not simply because, as a result of the pronouncements of Neubauer and Bickell,⁷ it has been popularly regarded

¹ A less exact idea of the relations of R^s and R^v may be obtained by comparing this translation of R^s with that of the Revised English Version, which, presenting R^v, follows chiefly the readings of Cod. Alex. against Cod. Vat. when the former is supported by the majority of the minuscules. See also C. J. Ball, *Variorum Apocrypha*, 1892.

² Printed in full by Fritzsche with a collation of the majority of the variants of 44, 106, 107, to which the present writer is chiefly indebted. Vigouroux claims that his P³ ('supplément grec 609'), hitherto uncollated, is identical with 106. He prints it in full where its variants from R^s and R^v are very numerous. He holds that this revision was made at the commencement of the fourth century by Hesychius.

³ See A. S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, viii, 1911. No. 1076 (9.5 × 13.9 cm.) is the lower part of a vellum leaf, the text being written in two columns, and one side of the leaf has shrivelled so that the letters were considerably larger originally.

⁴ See ii. 2-4, 5, 8, note *ad loc.* That this fragment belongs to R^c has been proved beyond dispute by Dr. Hunt, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9; see further notes to ii. 2-8 on pp. 205 f. below.

⁵ *A. J. Th.*, iii, 1899, pp. 547-9.

⁶ This is the date assigned to 1076 by Dr. Hunt in view of its carefully formed, large round uncials, the similarity to other papyri of the same date, and the brown colour ink commonly found in the Byzantine period.

⁷ *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.*, ii, pp. 216 ff., 764 ff.

INTRODUCTION

as one of the most genuine representatives of the original form of the book, and is still supposed by some scholars to be the 'Chaldee' text used by Jerome,¹ but also on account of the problem of the Aramaic dialect in which it appears, and finally on account of the subsidiary evidence it supplies in favour of the antiquity and originality of R⁵. It was first published by Neubauer in 1875, being the fifth part of a MS.² in the Bodleian Library, and is headed *הויא מחוב במדרש רבה דרבנא*. This *Midrash Rabbah* of Rabbah is identified by Neubauer with the *Hereshith Rabbah major* of Martini, which in turn is identified by Zunz,³ but not by Neubauer, with the *Hereshith Rabbah* of R. Moses had-Darshan.

The linguistic characteristics of this version were first subjected by Nöldeke to a scientific criticism and treatment in the appendix to his epoch-making essay, to which we shall have reason constantly to refer. His investigations at once showed how optimistic was the supposition of Neubauer and Bickell⁴ that it usually represents the oldest and most genuine form of the original work even when it differs from R⁵ and R⁶. Nöldeke, on the contrary, came to the conclusion that its dialect was Palestinian, and intermediate between the so-called Babylonian Targums and the more modern Palestinian dialect of the Palestinian Talmud, Midrashim, and Targums, and that consequently this extant form of the Aramaic goes back only to c. A. D. 300.

Nöldeke himself, in framing this hypothesis, recognized many of its difficulties, and endeavoured to explain them by the supposition that the text has suffered considerably from errors, mutilations, and grammatical and syntactical alterations of 'ignorant and careless' copyists who had no knowledge whatsoever of the influence of grammatical rules, dialectic variations, or the earlier and later forms of the language other than their own vernacular.

May not many of these characteristics that Nöldeke regards as secondary and scribal corruptions be as primary as those he regards as the most original? Are they not too numerous to allow of the supposition that they are less characteristic than those of the earlier dialects which also survive? Dalman, in fact, is probably correct in his supposition that *the linguistic peculiarities in our MS.* did not appear earlier than the seventh century in circles which were influenced by both Talmuds and by the more ancient Targums.

THE SOURCE OF *Ar.* The extant Aramaic text goes back to an earlier Aramaic version,⁵ but the question still remains as to whether—through that earlier Aramaic text—it is to be regarded as a translation and redaction from a Semitic or a Greek original. In Neubauer's judgement 'the pure Semitic idiom of the Chaldee text does not admit for a moment the possibility of its being a translation from a non-Semitic text.'⁶ Dalman writes: 'Possibly a source in the style of the Targum of Onkelos might have been utilized and might have been the text known by Jerome, but it is also probable that the Aramaic text is a translation from the Latin.'⁷ Nöldeke, on the other hand, rightly argues that the language of *Ar.* certainly does not prevent the recognition, in parts of it, of even a fairly literal, though never a slavish, rendering of the Greek B (= R⁵).⁸ Thus, in spite of Bickell's explanations,⁹ the forms *רנש* (רנש, רנש, רנש) presuppose the translation from the Greek *ῥαγός* or *ῥαγός*, whereas a Semitic original would have resulted in the appearance of *רנ* or *רנא*.¹⁰ Similarly *אנבתים* is a transcription of *Ἐσβαρίους*,¹¹ whereas a Semitic original would have known the Hebrew form *אבתים*. For *חנר* see note to vi. 2 (1). *טובי* represents the dative *τοῖς*. *אשר* i. 2 in M = *Ἀσσίρ* (= *Ἀσσίρ*?), whereas a Semitic original would have preserved the correct *חנר*, just as *עשאל* = *Ἀσάλ*, which in LXX regularly represents *Ἰσάακ*. Supposed misreadings in *Ar.* of a Semitic original and the absence of the *dog* in *Ar.* and M¹² are equally futile (see notes to vi. 3, 16) as evidence of the translation of *Ar.* and M from a non-Greek original. The forms and partial omissions of *Abikar* in *Ar.* and M are also emphatically in favour of a Greek original.

TYPE OF *Ar.*'s TEXT. In Neubauer's judgement *Ar.* 'agrees for the greater part with the Sinaitic text, and consequently with the Itala. However, the Chaldee text has sentences which are to be found sometimes in one, sometimes in another.' Nöldeke, as mentioned above, believes that the original Aramaic was a translation from a Greek MS. of R⁵. *Ar.* is, therefore, a not unimportant witness to R⁵ as the most original text extant, while to some small extent it illustrates among Aramaic-speaking peoples a gradual evolution of the text on lines somewhat

¹ See p. 178.

² This MS., containing a collection of smaller and larger Midrashim, is written in Greek-Rabbinical characters and dates from the fifteenth century.

³ *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, 1832, pp. 287 ff.

⁴ *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.* ii, pp. 216 ff., 764 ff.

⁵ See *Münster Hebrew* below.

⁶ The same view is taken by Bickell, *Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol.* ii, pp. 764 ff.

⁷ *op. cit.*, p. 37.

⁸ For g = k cf. *אנדיקוס* = *ἰσάκος*.

⁹ See pp. 184, 195 below.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹¹ See Nöld., *op. cit.*, p. 56, footnotes 1, 2.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

parallel to those which culminated in the publication of R^v. On the other hand, the fact that it was translated from a Greek MS. is far from supporting the theory that the book was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic (see § 6). The use of the third person throughout is paralleled in the Vulgate.

B. Latin Versions.

1. OLD LATIN VERSIONS¹ AND QUOTATIONS.

The old Latin MSS. with which we are chiefly concerned² are: 1. Codex Regius, No. 3564, in Paris (= α); 2. Codex, No. 4, in the Library of G. Germain (= β); 3. Codex Sangermanensis, No. 15 (= γ); 4. Codex Vaticanus, No. 7 (= δ), which once belonged to Christina of Sweden. The four were collated and edited by P. Sabatier.³ Joseph Blanchini⁴ produced a more exact edition of δ than Sabatier's, while Neubauer included in his *Book of Tobit* a carefully corrected text of Sabatier's edition of αβγ.

αβ are probably to be traced back to a common ancestor, from which Sabatier thought they were transcribed in the ninth century, while γ, in most of its deviations from αβ, represents a later and slight redaction of one of their ancestors, and texts in which it agrees with αβ therefore go back to a still earlier period and one much closer to the time of translation from R⁵. δ, on the other hand, was transcribed about the tenth century,⁵ and up to vi. 12 (11)⁶ contains either an independent and somewhat free translation of R⁵, or, in view of its close approximation to R^c in vi. 7(6)–11(10), a fair example of the existence of R^c in the Western Church.

Most of the Latin patristic quotations⁷ agree more or less closely with αβγ. While the fragments of Tobit which appear in the Mozarabic Breviary⁸ also mostly follow αβγ or δ. S. Augustine's *Speculum*⁹ presupposes a third Latin text differing both from αβγ and δ.

The Old Latin with its three types of text is thus one of the most important versions. One type, αβγ, is almost as constant a representative of R⁵ as is α, and through Reusch's careful handling and analysis the Old Latin versions and patristic quotations have become a primary authority for the original text. In the critical synopsis beneath the accompanying translation, therefore, the readings of the various MSS. are given where they are of moment instead of the less detailed *ℒ* denoting the Old Latin as a whole. In a few cases the original reading, lost in α, can thus be restored; see notes to i. 4, ii. 2, 12, iv. 6^b–19^a, v. 6, viii. 3, ix. 5, xiii. 6^b–10^a, 16.

2. VULGATE.¹⁰

This is S. Jerome's translation. His own explanation of its origin he gives in his Preface¹¹ to the book. Neubauer has argued that his *Ar.* 'in a more complete form was the original from which the translation of the Vulgate was made'. This supposition is not supported by the evidence derived from a comparison of the two texts.

Noldeke's strictures upon S. Jerome's accuracy and possibly upon his truthfulness are therefore more or less justifiable. Somewhat but not essentially different is Schulte's hypothesis¹² that the saint (i) actually used 'a Chaldee', i. e. an Aramaic text, presumably the parent of *Ar.*, but (ii) with constant reference to *ℒ* and (iii) with considerable freedom in the insertion of his own sentiments.

C. Hebrew Versions.

1. THE MÜNSTER HEBREW.¹³

Neubauer's *Book of Tobit* contains a collation of Münster's text with (1) No. 1251 of the

¹ = *ℒ* in following pages.

² For further MSS. see Berger, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres Bibliothèques*, xxiv. 2, 1893, p. 142.

³ *Bibliotheca sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, Paris, 1751.

⁴ *Vindiciae Canoniarum Scripturarum*, Rome, 1740.

⁵ Blanchini, *op. cit.*, p. ciii.

⁶ The more lengthy quotations are enumerated by Reusch, and are noticed frequently in our critical apparatus.

⁷ See Migne, *P. L.* lxxvi. 151.

⁸ = *ℒ* in the following pages. Cf. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, 1893.

⁹ Quoted in full by Neubauer, *op. cit.*, p. ii.

¹⁰ *Die aramäische Bearbeitung des Buchleins Tobias verglichen mit dem Vulgatext* (Theol. Quartalschr., 1908, pp. 182–204).

¹¹ = *M* in the following pages.

INTRODUCTION

Hebrew MSS. in the National Library in Paris¹; (2) the Persian translation of M,² made in the Pehlewi idiom, written in Hebrew characters, No. 130 of the Hebrew MSS. in the National Library, dating from A.D. 1400³; (3) No. 194 of De Rossi's Catalogue,⁴ which agrees closely with (2).⁵

Purpose of M. The circle in which M flourished was Jewish and orthodox, with its thoughts directed to the Torah and its hopes centred on the rise of still another generation of 'children busied with the Torah,' for whose edification the translation of its Hebrew may have been made. Its reverence for the Deity is expressed by its use of the periphrasis 'the Holy One blessed be he'; its angelological development is exemplified by the application of the title *הַשָּׂרָף הַמְּכֻנֶה עַל־הַרְפָּאֵל* to Raphael. For the omission of Noah and the dog and the stress on the later procedure in marriage contracts see p. 184, *infra*. Ginsburg surmises that M dates from the fifth century A.D. Nöldeke points out that the language is not the *לשון חכמים*, but an imitation of the Biblical language, not, however, entirely uninfluenced by the former,⁶ though considerably more ancient than F.

M's Source. It was at one time natural to regard M as a redaction based on a translation of R⁵, and usually of that form of R⁵ extant in the Old Latin rather than that in *α*. The grounds for this supposition are best stated by H. Sengelmann, *Das Buch Tobit*, 1857, pp. 61-3. Its usefulness as a quite subsidiary, but not as an independent, witness to the comparative originality of R⁵ was even then of some small moment. But the evidence thus collected for the closeness of M's agreement with R⁵ became of more vital importance for the solution of the interrelation of R⁵ and R^v after the discovery of *Ar*. *Ar* and M are closely and essentially connected (a) in phraseology and vocabulary,⁷ (b) in the sequence and displacements,⁸ (c) in contents⁹ and point of view.¹⁰ They are a unity as distinct from R^v and a clearly deliberate redaction of R⁵.¹¹ But M, having been subjected to changes as a result of the special circumstances and point of view outlined above,¹² is a less perfect representative of this redaction than *Ar*. But while *Ar* is therefore not derived from M, the latter is evidently not derived from the extant form of the Aramaic. This is shown by a comparison of M and *Ar*, e.g. in i. 16 (where *Ar* omits *רַעֲמִי*), 18 (where M retains part of the blasphemy charge omitted by *Ar*), iii. 3, 5 (where *Ar* but not M has small omissions), as well as by the abbreviations at the beginning of the book, the avoidance of Raphael's ascension, and the use of the third person throughout the book. We must, therefore, conclude with Nöldeke that *Ar* and M go back to a common Aramaic ancestor, which was a translation from R⁵ (cf. p. 177, *supra*). Thus, in spite of its comparatively modern date and secondary character, M's agreement in many important points with R⁵ adds considerable weight to the great mass of evidence in favour of the antiquity and originality of R⁵.

2. FAGIUS' HEBREW.¹³

This is a translation based chiefly on R^v, and is usually regarded as dating from the twelfth century. This late date naturally robs the version of much of the critical value it would otherwise possess, and it has not therefore been necessary to tabulate the minutiae of its readings in full detail. Still it is not without considerable importance. It is an excellent illustration of the type of text in use in Western Europe¹⁴ amongst the Jews of that period. From the literary point of view F is of

¹ Neubauer uses the sign P, while additions peculiar to it are enclosed in square brackets []. These signs have been retained in the following pages.

² = Pr. in Neub. and the following pages.

³ Some of the errors of this translation are due to the translators' ignorance and literalness, see Neub. p. xlii, footnote 2; others form an interesting parallel to F's treatment of proper names, e.g.

מִיֹּצֵל = אִשְׁוֹר, קוֹסְטַנְטִינִיָּה = אֶרֶם, בְּנֹדָר = בָּבֶל, עֶרְאֵק = מֶרֶי.

⁴ = Π in Neub. and following pages.

⁵ Neub.'s brackets () are retained, signifying passages appearing in M and Π but not in P.

⁶ Note the presence of a few *נִתְפַּעַל* forms; *אֹמְרוֹ* once as a demonstrative; *לִידַע* and *לִידַשׁ*; *קוֹרֵם* and *טֵרֵם* שׁ; *בְּטֵרֵם* and *בְּטֵרֵם* beside *בְּטֵרֵם*.

⁷ e.g. *בְּאֹרֶחַ כְּלִיאֲרֵעָא* = *בְּדֶרֶךְ כְּלִיאֲרֵעָא*, iii. 8.

⁸ e.g. iv. 13-16, &c.

⁹ e.g. 'king of the demons' as a title of Asmodaeus, &c.

¹⁰ e.g. the two *bonds* for the two *bags* in v. 3, &c.

¹¹ Theories of mistranslation or mis-reading of a common original as explanations of the deviations of *Ar* and M from R⁵ are as inadequate as they are in the case of the differences of R⁵ and R^v. See note to vi. 16 and pp. 181 f.

¹² Nöldeke further emphasizes the paraphrase of xi. 2 end in M as compared with *Ar*'s literal translation of R⁵, the abridgement in i. 16 f. (see note *ad loc.*), x. 1-7, the expansion in i. 19, the reconstruction of the prayer in viii. 5.

¹³ = F in following pages.

¹⁴ This is probably the reason for his interpretation of the reference to Elymais which he understands as Germany, ii. 10. In vi. 2 (1) he is usually supposed to refer to Laodicea but the reference may be to some otherwise

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

interest as showing a still further development than appears in R^v, and even Ar. and M, to introduce biblical phraseology and texts, e.g. iii. 5 f.; iv. 13, and *passim*. It belongs to a strict legal circle which sought for precision in matters of the cultus, e.g. i. 4, current commercial terms, e.g. iii. 17; vii. 10 (9); v. 14 (13), and liturgical formulae, e.g. iii. 16 and *passim*. Special importance was attached to the hope for the rebuilding of the Temple, i. 8. Moreover, in contrast with R^s, R^v, and R^c it insists on the importance of the Halachah as well as the Torah, vii. 12 (13), and consequently describes the marriage rite in the terms of contemporary usage, vii. 13. An element of speculative philosophy, if not of Kabbalistic lore, appears in its insistence upon the Divine foreknowledge of the marriage of Tobias and Sarah on the sixth day of creation, vi. 17 (16). Stress is laid upon the Fatherhood of the transcendent God, who himself hearkens to mortals' prayers, iii. 16. It reflects the point of view of a period in which Noah's reputation had recovered from the stigma which attached to it in the time of the common ancestor of Ar. and M (see p. 184). Unlike the original author, he believes in a judgement beyond the grave, a judgement of Gehenna, iv. 11, and speaks of 'the eternal home', iii. 8. The fragmentary character of ch. xiv is probably due to accidents of transmission.

3. THE LONDON HEBREW.

This text was found by Gaster in the British Museum. It is *Add. 11639*. It is of little critical value, but is interesting as showing the culmination of the tendency, observable in germ in R^v and active in F, to approximate to biblical phraseology. The problem of the close interrelation of this version and the Vulgate is probably to be settled in favour of the priority of the latter and the indebtedness of the former to it in some way which is not at present clear.¹ See further, Gaster, *PSBA*, vol. xviii, pp. 208 ff., 259 ff.; vol. xx, pp. 27 ff.

4. THE GASTER HEBREW.

This version was taken by Gaster from a Midrash on the Pentateuch. The tendency to abbreviate the original story reaches its culmination in this version. Its affinities are closest with Ar. See Gaster, *PSBA*, vol. xix, pp. 33 f.

D. Two Syriac Versions.

1. The first, commencing at i. 1, and extending to vii. 11, is a close translation of R^v. Nestle supposes that this text was once complete, and that all the extant MSS. are descended from one of early date which had been accidentally mutilated.² This version, moreover, represents, as Noldeke thinks, the work of Paul of Tella, and therefore dates from the beginning of the seventh century.

2. The second has ousted the first and taken its place from vii. 11 to the end of the book. It belongs almost entirely to R^c, though at times it shows even greater reverence for R^s than usually characterizes R^c.

E. Ethiopic Version.

This is based on R^v. Abbreviations and errors in translation are numerous.

§ 5. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

A. The only *external evidence* is supplied by Origen⁴ and Jerome,⁵ and, on the whole, leaves the question quite open.

B. *A priori considerations.* From the Yeb papyri it can be seen that while the proper names of their period were mostly Hebrew, the colony employed Aramaic for literary purposes. Thus c. 200 B.C. it is far more likely that a popular work such as Tobit would be written in Aramaic

unknown locality near his own home. The change of Media to Midian, i. 14, is due on the other hand to his extreme subservience to Biblical language and scenery.

¹ Hence Gaster was too optimistic in his belief in its close relationship to Jerome's 'Chaldee'.

² For details see Noldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 46, footnote 1.

³ That the text after vii. 11 is a remnant of a version entirely distinct from that before this verse is apparent not only from the transference of allegiance from R^v to R^c at this point, but from differing orthography in ii. 10, xiv. 10 (Abihai), vii. 2, 13 (14) (Edna), iv. 1, 20, ix. 2 (Ragai). One MS., moreover, in the British Museum, which extends only to v. 14 (15), contains the earlier text, while another in the same collection like the three MSS. at Paris and the one at Oxford (Payne-Smith, *Cat. Cod.* 18) contains i. 1 vii. 11, and from that point gives the other Syriac text. It is noteworthy that the Syriac glosses mentioned by Masius in his *Syrorum Peculium* agree with this Syriac version and do not extend beyond ch. vii.

⁴ Origen remarks in *Ep. ad Afric.* ch. xliii, with reference to Tobit: *περὶ οὗ ἡμῶς ἔχρησεν ἐγγράμμιτος ὁτι Ἑβραῖος τῷ Ταβία οὗ χρίσται οὐδὲ τῷ Ἰουδῆθ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχονσαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν ἀποκριφοῖς Ἑβραῖσι, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν μαθόντες ἐγγράμμεν.*

⁵ See p. 178, *supra*.

INTRODUCTION

rather than Hebrew, especially if written in Egypt. In Palestine, it must be remembered, Hebrew remained the sacred language, as is shown by Daniel and many Maccabean Psalms, and also the official language of the nation, as can be seen on the coins. Greek, on the other hand, was making headway about this time, particularly in Egypt. Moreover, in the century in which our book was written, the Pentateuch was probably translated into Greek, and in the next century still more of the Scriptures, including Ben-Sirach, also appeared in Greek at Alexandria.

C. The internal evidence should be dealt with in four departments:

1. Evidence favouring a Greek original—

(a) Greek sentences and verbal combinations such as *could not* result at least from literal translation appear in i. 6 ff., iii. 8, iv. 6, vii. 7, xii. 7. Their importance for the problem is emphasized by Noldeke and André. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the Greek idiom is due either to a translator's conscious attempt to render the original into good Greek or to later correction.

(b) It is at least evident that the forms of the proper names in i. 1 f. are the proper and usual Greek equivalents of Hebrew names, not the unfortunate results of misreadings of a Semitic script. See notes *ad loc.*

(c) Noldeke points out (*op. cit.*, p. 60) that there is a considerable difference between the Greek style of our book and that of the translations of Judith and 1 Maccabees. Noldeke, however, bases his arguments on R^v instead of the original R^s, to which this objection does not apply to the same extent.

2. Evidence slightly in favour of a Semitic original, but not necessarily so if a Greek original is presupposed: some few at least of these words and phrases belong as much to the *koine* as to the vocabulary of a Greek-speaking Jew. If on the other hand there is independent evidence pointing to a Semitic original, most of them, not being characteristic of the *koine*, will be explicable as literal translations of that Semitic original, and will thus afford subsidiary proof of its existence.

(a) The etymological value of names such as Raphael,¹ Azariah,² Ananiah,³ though known sufficiently to be appreciated both by a Greek-writing Jewish author and by his Greek-reading Jewish public, would be the more appropriate if the book was written in a Semitic language.

(b) The list Müller gives,⁴ though not complete, is sufficiently illustrative of the vocabulary, style, and phraseology which should be included under this section. It is, however, especially in this sphere, that the minor changes of R^v are important. R^v tends to remove them, thus reflecting a consciousness of their non-Greek character.

3. Evidence pointing more or less definitely to a Semitic original—

(a) A few constructions remain which, unlike the preceding, seem to demand for their explanation not simply a Jew who wrote in Greek as their author, but one who thought and wrote in Hebrew or Aramaic.⁵

(b) The hypothesis of independent translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original in the various recensions and translations is frequently resorted to, not only to explain the divergences of R^s, R^v, and R^c, and even of each of the versions (e.g. S, Ar., M, F), but also to prove the existence of a Hebrew or Aramaic original.⁶ Various scholars have thrown out suggestions,⁷ but Dr. Marshall⁸ presents it in its most attractive and logical form. Even if, however, no other solution of the divergences of R^s and R^v existed, it must be confessed that Dr. Marshall's hypothesis would have

¹ 'God heals.'

² 'Jahveh helps.'

³ 'Jahveh has compassion.'

⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

⁵ e.g. (i) In iv. 18 the Greek presupposes *על בזה על* or *בסדר על*. (ii) v. 19 (18), see note *ad loc.* (iii) Cases such as *καὶ ἐβόησαν*, ii. 4; *καὶ ἐβόησαν*, xiii. 10; *καὶ ἀνέθυσεν* (cf. Judges ii. 21), i. 8. (iv) v. 19 (18) and xiii. 3, see notes *ad loc.* and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 32 f. (v) *εἰς τὴν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι* in xiii. 18 seems to presuppose immediate translation of *לעלם ועד*, cf. LXX Exod. xv. 18, Theod. in Dan. xii. 3, Aq. Theod. Sym. Ps. xxi. 5. Similarly *ἐν αἰῶνι τὸ κατὰ*, iii. 14, 16, might be a literal translation. (vi) *ἡμέραι τοῦ γάμου ὅτε ἄμωρον ποιῶσαι τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ*, x. 7, might possibly point to a Hebrew or Aramaic original if *ποιῶσαι* should be taken in the sense of 'spend'. But see Barton, *Eccles. (Inter. Crit. Comm.)*, p. xxiii and note to Eccles. vi. 12. (vii) *προσηλίκους τοὺς προσκυμένους* in i. 8 may be a doublet translation of *שָׂרִי* or the participle of *שָׂרָה*. *πρόσκειται* = *שָׂרָה* in Lev. xvii. 8. On the LXX's equivalents to this Hebrew root see W. C. Allen, *Expositor*, vol. xx, 1894, p. 264 ff.

⁶ So precarious and unscientific has this method proved in the past in the exegetical (see notes to ii. 10, iv. 17, xiv. 4) and other spheres (see notes to v. 3, vi. 3, viii. 3, xii. 6), that it would be beside the point even to allude to it here were it not so intimately bound up with the problem of the original language of the book and consequently to some extent with those of the place and date of composition (see § 6, 7) and the sources of the various non-Greek versions (see above).

⁷ Cf. Fuller, *op. cit.*, *Excursus I*, pp. 164-8.

⁸ *HDB*, vol. iii, sub 'Tobit', where he employs the results of his investigations as an argument for an Aramaic original.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

to be pronounced untenable for reasons of which the following are only the more important and are only stated here in outline form:—(i) At the outset it is clear that, to use Dr. Plummer's words with reference to Dr. Marshall's attempt to explain certain divergences in the Synoptic Gospels by a similar hypothesis of independent translation from the Aramaic,¹ 'these possibilities seem to be too isolated and sporadic to be of great value in accounting for differences'.² (ii) It is almost inconceivable—both on the analogy of other books and from the evidence we possess of the derivation of *Ar.* and *M.* from *R^s*, and of *S.* and *F.* &c., in part from *R^v* and in part from *R^c*—that each and every secondary translator or redactor in turn had recourse—and that, too, independently of all the others—to this hypothetical Aramaic original, safely preserved and handed down apparently for the sole purpose that they might independently consult it! (iii) Before such a hypothesis could be accepted as a working basis for further research, the independent evidence for the composition of the book in Aramaic would have to be much stronger and certain than it is at present. (iv) Most of the instances Marshall adduces are far more easily and rightly explicable in other ways,³ while in some cases the reasoning is purely subjective⁴ and in others self-evidently weak and erroneous in its premises.⁵ (v) If attempts such as Marshall's and Resch's more laborious studies⁶ are rightly passed over, along with the oral hypothesis of Gieseler and Dr. A. Wright, by New Testament scholars as being inadequate and useless contributions to the solution of the Synoptic Problem, hypotheses such as this of Marshall's and Bickell's⁷ must also fail in the case of Tobit, and for the same fundamental reason. In the case of *R^s* and *R^v* especially, and also in that of non-Greek versions of Tobit, as in the Synoptic Gospels, the problem to be solved is not simply that of the causes for the existence of numerous and important divergences, but along with, and in spite of, these divergences the reason for the far more numerous and unobtrusive sections, verses, and words, exactly alike in themselves and in their order in the various recensions, and particularly in the Greek of *R^s* and *R^v*. Thus the hypothesis of independent translation is neither adequate nor needed for the solution of the problem of the interrelation of *R^s*, *R^v*, and *R^c*. At the most the mere possibility can be admitted that in a few cases *R^s* (cf. p. 181, footnote 5) and *T* (see e.g. xi. 18, note) contain an instance or two of translations suggestive of their Semitic origin, if indeed the latter can first be shown to have existed, while other versions (see e.g. vi. 16, note) may contain a few readings due ultimately, but not directly, to a recollection—i.e. in an oral, not written manner—of a different or corrupt form of the text in existence in Semitic circles. But this is not evidence that the original tongue was Semitic. (vi) Finally it will suffice here to observe that granted the Greek text preserved in *R^s* was translated—as it must have been if it is indeed a translation—very soon after the original Semitic work was composed, corruptions in the Hebrew would at that time naturally be very few. And only a very few even of these select cases can bear the test of an unbiased examination.⁸ Even in some passages of real difficulty the true explanation often lies elsewhere,⁹ and the possibility of intentional corruption must be taken into account.¹⁰

4. Evidence pointing to an Aramaic rather than a Hebrew original, e.g. the forms 'Αθῆρ and 'Αθουπειάς in xiv. 4, 15. Even these Aramaisms, pronounced as they are, do not, however, settle the question.¹¹ The possibility will always remain that these two words are an early scribal error,¹² or are even due to the Aramaic environment in which the earlier Greek writers among the Jews found themselves.

It must be admitted that the evidence in favour of a Semitic original is not strong enough to put the matter beyond controversy.

¹ *Expositor*, April and Nov., 1891. His arguments were refuted by W. C. Allen in the *Expositor*, vol. xvii, 1893, pp. 386–400, 424–70; the prefatory note on the linguistic issue by Professor Driver on pp. 386 f. being specially pertinent in connexion with Tobit as well as with the Synoptists.

² Plummer, *S. Luke (Inter. Crit. Comm.)*, p. 154, footnote 1, cf. pp. 102, 186, 222.

³ e.g. see notes to i. 15, 18.

⁴ e.g. נְחִימְיָה in i. 13 might equally well be said to be an internal corruption of נְחִמְיָה, itself a translation of נְחִימָה.

⁵ e.g. iv. 3, see note *ad loc.*

⁶ *Alphabet in Text and Context*, v. Heft 4, 1896; and *Ausserevangel. Paralleltexte*, x. Heft 1 and 3, 1893–5.

⁷ According to this scholar *R^s* was a revision made from the original translation with the assistance of the Hebrew original. Nöldeke's reply *ibid.* p. 501 to Bickell applies with even more force to Marshall.

⁸ Cf. notes to i. 2, 15, 18; ii. 3, 10; iii. 7; iv. 3; v. 3, 19 (18); vi. 3 (2); xii. 6, &c.

⁹ e.g. iv. 17, vi. 16 (15), viii. 3, see notes *ad loc.*

¹⁰ See Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 108.

¹¹ Compare the copyists' variations of the Aramaic quotations in the Greek MSS. of the New Testament, e.g. Mark v. 41. xx. 34.

INTRODUCTION

§ 6. DATE OF COMPOSITION.

That *Tobit* is not an autobiography¹ written in the seventh century B.C., is evident from the writer's historical inaccuracies, e.g. i. 15, chronological blunders, e.g. i. 4 as compared with i. 15-22 and xiv. 1, and knowledge of events long subsequent to 722 B.C., e.g. xiv. 4 f., 15. He differentiates between the return from the Babylonian exile, which has therefore taken place already, and the promise of a further return and the dawn of a still more glorious era, xiv. 5. He betrays a religious as well as literary dependence on the latest portions of the Pentateuch.² Similarly a date at the very earliest a little subsequent to the rise and establishment of Judaism is necessitated by his religious and moral teaching (see § 10). The same *terminus a quo* is favoured by the author's general outlook, developed style, and artistic composition, the product of an age accustomed to the chronicling of singular experiences, xii. 20, as well as to the somewhat formal drawing up of marriage contracts, vii. 13 (14). Financial and commercial relations had superseded purely agricultural and pastoral pursuits, and the writer and his contemporaries had grown more or less accustomed to the foreign domination.

The *terminus ad quem* is more debatable, but the book is certainly pre-Maccabean. While the author has some knowledge, derived from the historical books of O.T., of historical events prior to, and including, the Return, and reflects the general religious point of view of the period subsequent to Ezra, he reveals no knowledge of the stirring historical crises of the later Greek domination and the Hasmonean period, and lacks the intense hatred of the heathen they inspired. Not only does he not accept, but in most cases he shows no knowledge of those explicit dogmas of Judaism which first came into prominence at or after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, such as advanced apocalyptic expectations, formulated doctrines of a personified and hypostatized Wisdom, stereotyped descriptions of the Messianic age, explicit belief in a resurrection and immortality. He knows practically nothing of the problem Job was the first to raise, the Hellenizing apostasy, the Essenes' self-abnegation, or the long fight of Pharisaic progressiveness against Sadducean conservatism.³ The comparatively early date of the book, as it appears in the earliest form known to us, R^s, is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by comparison with R^v, which dates from the second century of the Christian era (see § 3).

There are, too, certain other features which also point more or less definitely to this pre-Maccabean period, though some are much less significant than is usually allowed. To this latter class belongs xiv. 4-6, once a mainstay alike of the more conservative critics⁴ in their defence of the book's pre-Herodian date, and also of extremists, like Hitzig,⁵ to whom it presents equally circumstantial evidence of composition after the destruction of Herod's Temple in 70 A.D. But while the words *καὶ οὐχ ὡς τὸν πρῶτον* must certainly have been written before that event, they are quite as likely in the mouth of a pious contemporary of Christ, scandalized by the paganizing tendencies of Herod's Temple architecture and the spiritual unreality of its services, as in the mouth of faint-hearted worshippers in Zerubbabel's Temple (cf. Hag. ii. 3)! It is equally unfortunate that *Tobit*'s scrupulous care for the burial of the dead has been exalted to a position of primary importance for the settlement of the date, e.g. by Graetz, who consequently assigns the book to the reign of Hadrian; by Kohut, who dates it c. A.D. 226; and by W. R. Smith and Riggs, who, comparing 2 Macc. v. 10, refer it to the Maccabean revolt. This trait is ultimately due, so far as the author, not later redactors, is concerned, not to contemporary political troubles, but, in the case of *Tobit*'s own action in chs. i, ii, chiefly to his literary dependence on *The Grateful Dead*,⁶ and, in the case of advice to the same effect, to the influence of *Ahiqar*⁷ and especially to the book of Genesis and its traditional exegesis.⁸ Again the stress which, it is usually alleged, is laid by the author on the agnatic or consanguineous marriages led Graetz⁹ to suppose that he endeavoured to inculcate the *laity*'s observances of the (late) Talmudic regulation¹⁰ which was originally intended to regulate only *Priests'* marriages.

¹ The historicity of the book is still defended by F. Vigouroux (*Les Livres Saints et la critique rationaliste*, fifth edition, 1901, p. 551 ff.). On the other hand, as Cosquin (*Revue Biblique*, vol. viii, 1899, p. 82) points out, several Roman Catholics—Jahn, Dereser, Movers, and Antoine Scholze—have held that the book is not a history but either an allegory or homiletic treatise. Moreover, the Council of Trent in affirming its canonicity made no pronouncement as to its historicity.

² See p. 192, footnote 6.

³ The hypothesis that the book was written by a Sadducee might account for such silence, but is inadmissible in view of the nascent angelology and the childlike belief in Providence it inculcates—both, in their full growth, leading dogmas of the Pharisees' creed and the butt of the Sadducees' cold logic.

⁴ e.g. Fuller, W. R. Smith, Riggs, André.

⁵ *ZWT*, 1860, pp. 250 ff.

⁶ See § 8. iv, and I. Abrahams, *JQR*, 1893, vol. i, p. 348.

⁷ *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. d. Judentums*, 1879, pp. 509-13.

183

⁸ § 8. ii.

⁹ § 8. iii.

¹⁰ *Kiddushin*, 76^b.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

The author himself appeals to the Pentateuch (vi. 13; vii. 12)! Kohut's explanation¹ that it is due to Zoroastrian influence, is open to the same objection, as well as being contradicted, as Guerberlet² first pointed out, by Kohut's own theory, that the book is a protest against Zoroastrianism. To Rosenmann³ belongs the distinction of having first partially unravelled this problem of the agnatic marriages, while Müller has advanced a stage nearer the true solution. The former scholar has demonstrated that the Talmud nowhere insists on its actual observance by any generation except that of the wilderness wanderings, that even before the destruction of the Temple, A. D. 70, an annual festival on the 15th of Ab had been instituted in celebration of the abolition of the custom, that it had never been recognized by the Pharisaic party, and that 'therefore in practice agnatic marriage was no longer known to the first pre-Christian century'.⁴ Thus also Rosenthal's theory that *Tobit* emanated from the School of Rabbi Akiba is bereft of the support it claims from this quarter. In Rosenmann's judgement the author wrote in order 'to break a lance on behalf of agnatic marriage which was already in a moribund condition'. If, however, the author's main interest, as seems to be the case⁵, was in Jewish as opposed to international marriage, and his references to agnatic unions were only subsidiary to that and primarily the result of his close dependence on his chief sources, he must have lived in an earlier period, the pre-Maccabean, when agnatic marriages were still to some extent in vogue even in the Diaspora, where the most pressing danger of the day was that of international marriage.

With equal clearness Rosenmann⁶ has disproved the inferences which have been drawn from vii. 11-13 (14) in favour of a late date.⁷ The ceremony described in these verses differs only from those of the O.T. in its mention of 'an instrument of cohabitation'. Graetz, followed by Rosenthal, understands this *συγγαμή* as the Greek equivalent to the technical *כתובה* which appears in *Ar.* and *M.* and which, he supposes, was first coined in the reign of Queen Salome by Simon ben Shetah. But the *כתובה* was in existence before that time, for Simon did not invent it; he only modified the details of its working. To identify, however, this *כתובה* with the *συγγαμή* of the present passage is to remove from the narrative all mention of betrothal or marriage-rite. Moreover, the usual Greek equivalent of *כתובה* was *φύση* or *ἀντιφύση* which also represent *מִטָּה* in LXX of Ex. 22, 15 f., the passage from which the Talmudic rite of the *כתובה* and its amount are derived.⁸ The term *συγγαμή*, on the contrary, is the usual equivalent of *שִׁטָּה* or *שִׁטָּה* של *אֵרֶוֶם* or *שִׁטָּה* של *נִשְׁוֹן* Tob. vii. 11-13 (14) therefore casts an interesting side-light on the early forms of the procedure before it had assumed the stereotyped character of the Talmudic age. Here the father prepares and signs the *συγγαμή*; in the fully developed Talmudic ceremony it should be done by the bridegroom.⁹ Here the marriage is consummated the same night; in Talmudic times a virgin could not be married until twelve months, and a widow till one month, after this solemn betrothal.¹⁰

Finally the references to the *dog* (vi. 2 (1), xi. 5),¹¹ the number (seven) of Sarah's husbands, vi. 14 (13), vii. 1, and the statement that Noah, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was a prophet and a 'father' of the nation who contracted an agnatic marriage, contribute additional evidence of the comparatively early origin of the book. In the Talmudic period it was prescribed that no one should keep a dog unless it was led by a chain;¹² no woman might marry again whom death had already bereft of three husbands in succession;¹³ and admiration for Noah, displayed e.g. in *Jub.*, ch. xxv (where the very features of his life appear to which *Tobit* alludes)¹⁴ gave way to the view that Noah was saved not by his own good works—which did not exist—but by the grace of God.¹⁵ So well known and widely accepted, in later times, were these specifically Rabbinical points of view, that in *Ar.* and *M.* the common Aramaic ancestor of which dates from this period, the dog was not mentioned; in the Addition to the Midrash Tanhuma,¹⁶ as in the *שִׁטָּה* של *נִשְׁוֹן*,¹⁷ Sarah's seven husbands were reduced to three; and in *M.* no reference at all was made to Noah.¹⁸

Is it possible to define the date more closely? Ewald¹⁹ favoured 350 B. C., but a number of

¹ Geiger's *Zeitschrift*, vol. 5, p. 61 f.

² *Das Buch Tobias*, Münster, 1877, p. 47.

³ *Studien zum Buche Tobias*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 1-7.

⁴ See p. 196.

⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.

⁶ Rosenmann, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁷ Even if R² were the more original text, its *καὶ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἀνδρὶς* (vii. 12) is based on Gen. xxiv. 60, and does not therefore necessarily presuppose the Talmudic formula of the *כְּרֵבֶת הַחַיִּים* (*Kethubhoth* 8*), as Rosenthal, *op. cit.*, p. 132, note 1, urges in his attempt to prove the late origin of the book.

⁸ *Kethubhoth* 10.

⁹ See *Qiddushin* 57.

¹⁰ *Kethubhoth* 57.

¹¹ See § 9.

¹² *Haba Kama* 83*, cf. 69*.

¹³ *Yebhamoth* 64*, *Niddah* 64*.

¹⁴ Cf. also *Sir.* xlv. 17 for an appreciation of Noah's righteousness.

¹⁵ *Sanhedrin* 108*, *Midrash Rabba* to Genesis, § 29.

¹⁶ *Neub.*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁷ In *לְנִי*, Paris, 1866, p. 18.

¹⁸ The author's explanation of the term *Pentecost* (ii. 1, see note *ad loc.*) and other details all point to a comparatively early date, but are quite subsidiary to the more important points already mentioned.

¹⁹ *History of Israel*, vol. v, p. 209 ff.

INTRODUCTION

considerations, more or less cogent, point to a date much closer to 170 B.C. The period subsequent to Alexander the Great seems to be demanded by the use of the Greek drachma, v. 15 (14), the Greek name of the month, ii. 12, the wide extent of the Diaspora which the author presupposes, and by the fact that Rages, iv. 1, &c., probably the Ragha of the Avesta,¹ was comparatively unknown before it was rebuilt by Seleucus Nicator, 321-281 B.C.² The second tithe, i. 7 (still less the third of R^v, i. 8), was still unknown to the Chronicler (c. 300 B.C.), though it appears in Jubilees and in the LXX of Deut. If the author wrote in Egypt, his enthusiastic description of Tobit's marriage to the beautiful Jewess, his relative Sarah, is probably an attempt to substitute a more edifying story for the scandal, still fresh in his own and his readers' minds, of that apostate descendant of another Tobias, Joseph the notorious tax-collector.³ This did not take place before 230 B.C.⁴ Further, the author's affinities—in thought and point of view—with Sirach certainly lead one to suppose that they belonged to the same tendency and type of thought within the pre-Maccabean period. Unfortunately they are far from being sufficiently close, immediate or numerous as to warrant the assumption that either writer was dependent on the other.⁵

To sum up, *Tobit* was written at the very earliest, c. 350 B.C.; at the latest, c. 170 B.C., probably much nearer the latter than the former date.⁶

§ 7. PLACE OF COMPOSITION AND PURPOSE.

The nameless author of *Tobit* was not a Palestinian Jew.⁷ The characters of his book, as well as the geographical setting, belong to the Diaspora; his readers are in exile (xiii. 3), and he counts himself among them (xiii. 6), while distance lends enchantment to Jerusalem, the goal of all his hopes (i. 4-9, xiii. 7-18). Moreover, his staunch adhesion to Judaism is accompanied by a belief in demons and magic, side by side with a breadth of culture and a liberal outlook on life unequalled by any Palestinian writer whose work has survived. The widespread use of the Greek Verss., the scarcity and comparative lateness of the oriental Verss., and the almost complete ignorance of the book in the Syrian Church, do not favour theories such as Ewald's of the Far East, Kohut's of Persia, or Vetter's of Assyria or Babylonia, or Professor J. H. Moulton's of Media. The internal evidence is in fact antagonistic to any such hypothesis. Such surmises are, at the outset, negatived by the author's ignorance of Eastern geography and his acceptance of the ordinary standards of Greek and Roman geographies. That the Tigris flowed between Nineveh and Media was an idea common among the Greeks; that Ecbatana was situated in a plain was a constant Western fallacy, and is repeated in Diod. ii. 13. 6 in a passage dependent on Ctesias.⁸

The hypothesis that Egypt was the place of composition alone serves to explain all the phenomena, and, at the same time, raises no additional difficulties, and encounters no legitimate objections on the part of the upholders of the Palestinian or Eastern origin of the work. This happy solution of the problem was first stated by Noldeke, and has been accepted by Lohr, W. R. Smith, André, and others. It has lately received additional support from the discovery of the actual sources upon which the author depended for the plot, outline, literary allusions, and the non-Jewish stratum of his religious and speculative materials. Only Egyptian Jews could need an antidote to the *Tractate of Khons*. No trace can be found in Palestinian literature of any acquaintance with the *Fable of the Grateful Dead*. Only in Egypt, so far as is known, did either Jews or pagans read Ahikar's fortunes at the Assyrian court in exactly the chronological order in which they

¹ *Vendidad*, i. 16; *Yasna*, xix. 18; cf. Marquardt, *Eransahr*, pp. 122 ff.

² Strabo, 524 C.

³ Josephus, *Antiq.* xii. 4. 6. Joseph had sought a *liaison* with a dancing-girl of the Egyptian Court and had only been saved from it by the crafty action of his brother Solymius, who substituted his own daughter. Possibly a covert reference to him is to be found in v. 14, 'Semelias the great.'

⁴ The date cannot be fixed definitely and many of the details are fictitious and self-contradictory, see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, vol. ii, p. 168, note 1; Schürer, *GJV*, fourth edition, i. 183, 195 f.; ii. 99 f. To his credit, Joseph, too drunk at first to notice the deception, afterwards became attached to his niece, and a son, Hyrcanus, was born of the agnatic marriage.

⁵ § 8, iv.

⁶ Since the foregoing was written, Professor J. H. Moulton has very kindly pointed out to me that the comparatively early date for which I have argued is supported by the fact that, while the book reflects many of the most significant points of ancient Magianism, it betrays no knowledge of the newer Zoroastrianism, much less of the still later fusion of those two mighty currents of Persian thought. The importance of this significant argument, for which I am entirely indebted to him, is self-evident in the light of the new and fuller information about Zoroastrianism contained in his *Hibbert Lectures* (see § 8, v, below).

⁷ Müller, in spite of his theory that between the present Jewish work of *Tobit* and the ultimate sources stands a pagan *Tobit*, holds the view that the Jewish author or redactor lived in Palestine. How the Jewish writer living in Palestine could obtain the pagan original or, if it was well known in Palestine, dared to adapt it, retain the *pagan* title, and yet publish it as a genuine autobiography of a seventh-century *saint*, Müller does not explain.

⁸ Even R^v still insists that Rages was near Ecbatana.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

appear in *Tobit*.¹ The author's environment in Egypt fostered Magian presuppositions² and allusions which would be incredible in an author writing in an eastern land such as Persia or Media, where Semitic and Iranian elements first met in deadly antagonism,³ and highly improbable in Palestine. It was in Egypt, too, that the Jews especially indulged in demonological speculations and practices.⁴ Moreover, while the fish, vi. 2 (11-12) (8), primarily mythological and probably inspired by the details of *The Greivful Dead* symbolizes⁵ the pagan empire endeavouring to seize what portions it could of the pious Diaspora, the fact, on the other hand, that its inner organs are subsequently employed for medicinal and magical purposes suggests that the author, perhaps unconsciously, identified it with the crucible of the Nile, on the banks of which he lived. 'This conjecture is raised almost to certainty when we read in Kazwini i. 132 that the smell of the smoke of a crocodile's liver cures epilepsy, and that its dung and gall cure leucoma, which was the cause of Tobit's blindness.' Very similar statements as to the medicinal virtues of the crocodile occur in Greek and Latin writers.⁶ Again, the binding of Asmodeus in Upper Egypt, though mythological in its origin (viii. 3-4), *non ad hoc* expresses the author's conviction that Egypt, where he was compelled to live in exile, was the veritable dumping-ground of wickedness and sin, exactly as Zechariah regarded Babylon, the land of exile he knew best, whence some of his hearers had just returned and where evil still lived as the goal of the flying Ephah, wherein Wickedness was imprisoned, Zech. v. 5-11. Consequently our author excludes all unnecessary references to the specifically Egyptian life around him.⁷ His heroes are made to live out their lives in that distant part of the Diaspora, where Ahikar, like Nehemiah, had held important positions at court. The rustic simplicity and idyllic life of the patriarchs⁸ fill in the details of the pictures. This, too, is the motive for the author's careful substitution of Elymais in ii. 10 for Egypt, which appears in Ahikar as the country whither the sage journeyed to demonstrate his wisdom; he felt that Ahikar was too good and noble a Jew ever to have been domiciled in Egypt or compelled to participate in the deliberations of the Egyptian court.⁹

The writer does not, however, forget the practical needs of his readers. The present book, as already pointed out, was a reply to the tractate of the priests of Khons, and was designed to dissuade his co-religionists from apostasy, and convert if possible any pagan who might read it. It is still more pointed in its warning against marriages with non-Jews, and incidentally condemns imitation of the immorality and apostasy of Joseph, the son of another Tobias, an allusion not without point in Egypt, where the scandal had occurred. While the major portion of the Jews in Egypt were probably never deeply influenced by Greek Philosophy, and many of them remained unaffected by the rising tide of Hellenism,¹⁰ the writer, aware of these nascent dangers, makes the pertinent and emphatic statement of iv. 19.

Lastly, our hypothesis illustrates and gives point to the author's position with regard to sacrificial and legalistic religion. The fortunes and religious life of the Jewish exiles in Egypt were

¹ Cf. p. 191.

² Cf. p. 193 f.

³ The hypothesis of Media as the writer's home is, however, not unlikely on other and independent grounds. It involves the following highly improbable suppositions: (i) that our author was a descendant of such of the ten tribes as were deported to Media in 722 B.C. (see 2 Kings xvii. 6 f.); (ii) that the tribe or family to which our author belonged not only preserved the pure religion of Jahveh, but also by some inexplicable means advanced from that comparatively undeveloped faith to the fuller and richer Judaism of the early post-exilic period (see § 10), along the lines laid down by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah, and even knew almost immediately and accepted unreservedly the new (introduced) Law, Code of Ezra as well as the presupposition of Jerusalem's unique sanctity, of which his forefathers had naturally known nothing; (iii) that the book, when written, by some equally inexplicable means not only found its way to Jerusalem in the pre-Christian period, but was received with applause by the confessedly narrow-minded religious leaders of the post-exilic community.

⁴ See Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, second edition, 1911, pp. 306 ff.

⁵ This symbolism need not have been based on that of the whale (= the Babylonian Empire) to Jonah, but may, like Jonah, have originated through an allegorical treatment of Jer. li. 34-6.

⁶ W. R. Smith, art. 'Tobit', in *Ency. Brit.*

⁷ Masters and Spiegelberg (see Budge, *Das Hohelied*, p. xvi f.) have shown the application of the term *sister* to a wife (Tobit v. 21 (20); vii. 15 (16); viii. 4, 7) was common in the old Egyptian songs. Our author, however, had no need to avoid the term on account of its Egyptian associations as it was also genuinely Hebrew: see Gen. xx. 12; Song of Songs iv. 9, 10, 12.

⁸ See p. 192, footnote 7.

⁹ It is possibly in the version of Ahikar in use among his intelligentsia in Egypt this motive had already eliminated the reference to Egypt. It is, therefore, probably more than a mere coincidence that, as Sachau (*op. cit.*, p. xxii) points out, in the Aramaic papyri, which read the history of Ahikar, 'there is no trace of the Egyptian episode'. But see Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, pp. 110 f.

¹⁰ Müller (*op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.), however, seems to deny even the possibility of a single Jew resident in Egypt being unaffected by Hellenism in the pre-Maccabean period, the sole but 'decisive' argument, in his judgement, against *Tobit's* composition in Egypt. And yet he himself (p. 20) sees in iv. 19 so clear and definite a refutation 'of the well-known pre-Maccabean efforts in the direction of Hellenism and culture' as to be able to use, and quite rightly, this as an argument in favour of a pre-Maccabean date for the book!

INTRODUCTION

till lately almost unknown to us. But from the papyri we now know, for instance, that, even before the Exile, Jews had migrated to Egypt, become mercenaries in the Egyptian army, and formed a colony as a permanent garrison at Yeb, where they built a temple to Jahveh; that this temple survived the destruction of the Egyptian ones by Cambyses, but towards the close of the fifth century B.C. was destroyed at the instigation of the priests of Chnum, the ram-headed god of the island; and that an appeal was made to Ptolemy, the governor of Judaea. It is not clear, however, whether the temple was rebuilt or not. But two important inferences in connexion with the religious evolution of the Jews in Egypt at the time of this catastrophe seem to Sachau to be justified.¹ On the one hand, neither Monotheism nor the Law had there undergone the full development which had resulted from Ezra's establishment of Judaism and the Law some few years before at Jerusalem. On the other hand, even before the catastrophe, reforms in the interests of Judaism, as established at Jerusalem by the priestly school, may have been initiated at Yeb by a party powerful enough at any rate to enforce the principle, if not the details, of the High-priesthood and the imposition of a tax of two shekels of silver in imitation of Ezra and Nehemiah's innovation.² If it had been possible for his book to have been written so early, and if he had modelled his work on some tractate of Chnum instead of Khons, our author might well have been one of these pioneers of progressive, and therefore living, though legal, religion in Egypt.³ But teaching such as our author's with regard to the duty of Egyptian Jews to the Law and the temple must have been needed still more in later days in that part of the Diaspora. A need of that kind must necessarily have produced efforts like the present one to inculcate such principles.⁴ This explains the purity of his moral outlook, the true spirituality of his religion, and the depth and reality of his adhesion to the Law. His struggle in Egypt for religious expansion and broad-minded progressiveness, hand in hand with its practical application for the actual lives of his co-religionists, antedated a somewhat different fight in Palestine by only a few years. Because our author's was less sharp than the latter, it left him without much of the rich theology the Hasidim's plight evoked. But, because its objective was primarily the establishment of a progressive Judaism and only secondarily the preservation of religion against pagan encroachments and was still less in opposition to a Hellenizing liberalism, it left him fortunately without the Hasidim's narrow bigotry.

§ 8. SOURCES.

Popular religious and magical speculations, current mythology and demonology, ethical and moral maxims of his day, traditional folklore and romantic legend, all contributed their quota to the education of the author. They widened his outlook on life without vitiating the spirituality of his religion or the reality of his adhesion to Judaism. They endowed him with the culture necessary to a writer whose appeal was probably directed to the educated pagan as well as the enlightened Jew of the Diaspora in its early days. They did this without loosening his grip on his own countrymen's practical difficulties of everyday life, and without nullifying the real usefulness of his literary work with the veneer of a superficial philosophy.⁵ But to the following four sources—partly literary, partly oral—he was especially indebted in writing the present work.

i. *The Tractate of Khons.*

A copy of this tractate, designed for the propagation⁶ of the cult of the Egyptian God Khons of Thebes, has been preserved on the Bentres Stele, which dates from about 500 B.C. In a town called *Behety* (= Ecbatana?) there lived a princess possessed by a demon. 'Khons, the beautifully resting one', the God of Thebes, despatched 'Khons, the executor of plans', to her assistance: the demon was expelled and the princess was healed. It is probable that, conscious of the baneful tendency of this and similar propaganda of Egyptian paganism to encourage apotheosis

¹ The line of argument pursued above is, of course, quite independent of Sayce's deductions ('The Jews and their Temple in Elephantine') in the *Expositor*, Nov., 1911.

² A long tax list containing more than a hundred names survives, while the personal names in the papyri belong on the whole to the type in vogue at Jerusalem in the later period.

³ His high ideals for reunion with Jerusalem were in turn destined to receive a set-back, when in the time of Antiochus V Eupator (164-162 B.C.) Onias IV went to Egypt and established the temple at Leontopolis 'in the province of Heliopolis' (Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 9, 7; xiii. 5, 2, and 10, 4; *xx.* 10; *Jell. Jud.* i. 1, 1; vii. 10, 3).

⁴ This would naturally commend the book to the notice of the authorities at Jerusalem. Moreover, the fact that the book is also an abridgement of the main features of Ahikar's history and maxims would win for it an enthusiastic, unanimous, and early reception in Palestine. Thus its wide acceptance there and elsewhere cannot be adduced as an objection to the hypothesis of its composition in Egypt.

⁵ See p. 186.

⁶ Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, 1909, p. 257, terms it 'a puff advertisement for the God Khons'. On Khons, or Chnum, see further, Wiedemann, art. 'Religion of Egypt', in *HDB*, Extra vol., p. 185.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

among his fellow exiles in Egypt, our author conceived the idea of writing a rival tractate to illustrate Jahveh's sole sovereignty over supernatural as well as human beings, and His ability to protect and assist in dangers, sickness, and exile all who fulfilled his moral and ceremonial requirements. H. Schneider¹ has endeavoured to prove that *Tobit* is a direct 'remodelling' of this tractate. The author seems at least dependent upon it for one place-name and for the ideas of demon-possession, supernatural assistance sent from afar to relieve the maiden of high position, the father's unwillingness to allow the instruments of his daughter's deliverance to depart from his roof, his loading them with riches, if not also for the mention of Egypt in connexion with the expulsion of the demon. Such borrowing from a pagan source, with a view to disprove a pagan god's pretensions by ascribing his attributes and work to Jahveh, is more than paralleled among the Jews in Babylon, e.g. by P's use of the Babylonian Tablets of Creation in praise of Marduk in order to work up their contents into a dogmatic statement of Monotheism, of Jahveh's creation of the world, and of the duty of Sabbath observance in Gen. i-ii. 4^a. But our author's work is more complex than the *Tractate of Khons* in the weaving and working out of its plot, and richer in details, while he abandoned many of the detailed characteristics² of the Egyptian story in favour of other sources equally well known to pagan and Jew, but less subversive of the Jewish Faith.

ii. *The fable of the Grateful Dead.*

It was more probably this cycle of stories—either written or oral—which provided the author with the major portion of the general outline of his story, infused the romantic interest, and furnished several of the most exciting crises in the plot—a fact denied by only a very few scholars.³ The corpse of a debtor, the outline of the fable runs, was rescued from his murderers and buried at great personal self-sacrifice by a traveller or itinerant merchant, whom the dead man's spirit, appearing in human form, afterwards delivered from mortal peril, bestowing on him a bride and rescuing him from death by drowning; the supernatural being only revealed his own identity at the end of the series of adventures to the surprise alike of the merchant and of the reader. Such legends might well be as widespread in antiquity as at the present day and would be speedily assimilated and conformed by the Jews to their own peculiar religious and aesthetic tendencies: finally only an artistic mind such as our author's would be required to transform one or more of these fables into the Apocryphal story of Tobit. Simrock in his collection of seventeen variants of the fable,⁴ was the first to point out their importance in relation to *Tobit*. Mostly indigenous in their present form to Germany, they have parallels in Holland, France, and Italy. Andersen's *Reisecamarad* witnesses to the existence in Denmark of a recension closely akin to No. 10 in Simrock, while Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 27, proves that the kernel of the fable was already in existence in his day. Further parallels are given by Benfey in *Pausanias* and Pfeiffer's *Germania* xii. Considerably closer parallels to *Tobit* appear in the Armenian⁵ and Russian⁶ forms of the fable.

Though the parallels are numerous, there are a number of significant differences both in outline and detail. The pertinent question is therefore raised by Schurer⁷ as to whether, quite apart from the uncertainty as to the antiquity of the fable, these differences are so vital as to make the hypothesis of our author's dependence on the fable improbable.

In the first place, however, it is likely that the primitive story from which all the modern forms of it are *ex hypothesi* derived, underwent considerable changes in outline as well as in detail between the date of our author's use of it and the moment when these modern variants branched off from the main stock. Fortunately Simrock's seventeen versions, though they all assumed their present literary form in one country and at the same time, themselves provide an excellent example of this peculiar adaptability of the fable to transformations and modifications.⁸

Secondly, not a few of the important traits peculiar to *Tobit* and contradictory of all the extant forms of the fable, are explicable as deliberate modifications by the author of *Tobit* in conscious deference to his own aesthetic tendencies, his Jewish prejudices, his readers' edification, or his desire at the moment to utilize some other source or copy some other pattern.⁹

¹ *Kultur und Denken der Babylonier und Juden*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 638 f.

² See Naville's description, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-58.

³ e.g. Preiss, *ZWT*, 1885, pp. 24-51 (in reply to Linschmann); Geiger, *Katholik*, 1904, vol. i, pp. 367-77 (in reply to Plath), but accepted e.g. by Sepp, *Kirchliche Reformentwürfe*, 1870, pp. 27-45, and *Althayerischer Sagenatlas*, 1876, pp. 678-89; Linschmann, *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 359-62; Cosquin, *Revue Biblique*, 1899, pp. 513-20; Plath, *Th. Stud. und Krit.*, 1901, pp. 402-14 (especially valuable); Joh. Müller, *Beihfte zur ZATW*, xiii, 1908, pp. 2-10.

⁴ Published under the title *Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Toten*, Bonn, 1856.

⁵ Printed in Haxthausen's *Transkaukasien*, 1856, i, pp. 333 f., reprinted in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, iii, 1858, pp. 202 f., by Köhler.

⁶ Schiefner, *Orient und Occident*, ii, 1864, pp. 174 f.

⁷ See Plath, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-6.

⁸ The various differences are minutely traced to these causes by Plath, *op. cit.*, pp. 408-14.

⁹ *GJV*, 1909, iii, p. 241.

INTRODUCTION

iii. *The story and wisdom of Ahikar.*¹

A. *Antiquity of Ahikar.*—G. Hoffmann² was the first scholar to point out the striking resemblances between this work and our book. To-day its value as a primary source of a portion at least of Tobit, as well as the multiplicity of problems it raises on its own account and in relation to the Jewish colony at Yeb, is generally recognized. Still read in the *Arabian Nights* and *Aesop's Fables*, it was widespread in the ancient world. Quite apart from the numerous versions which survive, it has left an indelible impression on the literature and thought of the past. It was well known to the Greeks and Romans, and it has been argued that this is proved apart from its appearance in *Aesop's Fables*, by numerous parallels in the fragments of Menander,³ S. Clement of Alexandria's reference⁴ to its alleged use by Democritus,⁵ as well as by the statement of Diogenes Laertius (v. 30) that Theophrastus (371–264 B.C.) composed a work entitled *Ἀσίκαρως*, and the allusion of Strabo⁶ to *Ἀσίκαρως*. The use of Ahikar is unmistakable in the *Qoran*.⁷ The Talmud⁸ is not entirely free from its influence, and some Christian writers knew it at second hand.⁹ At the beginning of the Christian era Ahikar was still somewhat popular in Palestine: this much is clear from the New Testament.¹⁰ It is consequently by no means surprising that certain of the latter parts of the Old Testament itself are to some extent dependent upon Ahikar. Dr. Rendel Harris points out the parallels in thought and language between Ahikar, e.g. in Ps. cxli. 4, 5, 10 (in both the Massoretic text and the LXX), in Dan. ii. 2, 11; iv. 10; v. 7, 16. In the case of Sirach, with which Tobit is intimately connected in sentiments and date (see iv. below), the dependence on Ahikar is beyond dispute.¹¹ Thus before the beginning of the second century B.C.—how much earlier we cannot tell—Ahikar must have been revered in Palestine, and even regarded there as sacred if not actually inspired, and its vogue had declined considerably before New Testament times on account of its partial incorporation in Tobit. In Egypt, however, we have contemporary evidence from the Elephantine papyri¹² that between the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. the Jewish community there read, in Aramaic, some portions at least both of the history (see p. 186, foot-note 9) and of the parables and fables. Consequently Hoffmann's supposition that an author later than Tobit wrote the legend to explain the references to Ahikar in Tobit, and Mr. E. H. Dillon's that

¹ For the Greek, Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic texts, and an English translation of these, and of Jagić's German rendering of the Slavonic, with an Introduction (including an examination of the relation of *Tobit* to *Ahikar*), see (in addition to vol. ii of this work) *The Story of Ahikar*, Cambridge, 1898, by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis. More recent works are: *Alter und Herkunft des Ahikar-Romans und sein Verhältnis zu Aesop*, by Rudolph Smend, being the second part of *Beihfte zur ZATW*, xiii, 1908; and *Histoire et Sagesse d'Ahiqar l'Assyrien*, 1909, by F. Nau, containing a full history of the criticism of Ahikar, an up-to-date bibliography (especially with regard to works on the Syriac, Ethiopic, Slavonic, Roumanian, and Greek versions), with indispensable concordances of the relative order of the sayings and proverbs in the various versions; Benfey, in *Ausland*, 1859, pp. 457 ff., 511 ff., demonstrated the existence of the legend among the Hindus. For further articles and works see below.

² *Abhandlungen für Kunde des Morgenlands*, vol. viii, 1880, p. 182 f.

³ Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 41–6.

⁴ *Stromata*, i. 15, in *Migne*, p. 772; see H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, p. 439.

⁵ Rendel Harris, in vol. ii *Story of Ahikar*, Introd. § 3 u; Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 35–41. Sachau, however, confesses himself unable to find any connexion between the proverbs of Ahikar and those of Democritus, whether Democritus or a pseudo-Democritus, and attaches but little importance to the evidence quoted above.

⁶ XVI. ii. 39. The pertinence of this allusion remains unaffected whether *παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Βορσποπποῖς* is understood with Reinach (*Revue des Etudes juives*, xxxviii, 1899, pp. 1–13) as pointing to Borsippa in Babylonia, or with Halévy (*Revue Sémitique*, 1900, p. 44) to Bostra in Syria.

⁷ Especially in the 31st Sura entitled *Lokman*, Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, lxii f. Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–70.

⁸ Nau, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 f.; cf. L. Ginzburg, art. 'Ahikar', in *Jewish Ency.*, vol. i, p. 289.

⁹ e.g. S. Clement of Alexandria (referred to above). For Origen see Rendel Harris in *The Story of Ahikar*, Cambridge, 1898, p. xlv.

¹⁰ While Vetter, Ginzburg, and Nau, in opposition to Dr. Harris and Halévy, may possibly seek unduly to minimize Ahikar's influence upon the New Testament, the extent of the latter's immediate dependence upon the former is certainly exaggerated if passages such as Matt. iii. 10 (Luke iii. 9); Luke vii. 39; 1 Cor. i. 27, v. 11; 2 Tim. iv. 17 be included. It may be presumptuous to inquire whether it was the History of Ahikar or Tobit's reference to Ahikar which was present to the mind of our Lord when he uttered the parable of the Wicked Servant recorded in Q (especially Matt. xxiv. 48–51; Luke xii. 14, 15), and whether the Wisdom of Ahikar is the background of the parable of the Barren Fig-tree (Luke xiii. 6–9). The details, or at least the literary presentation, of the death of Judas may have been influenced quite as much by the book of Tobit as by the Story of Ahikar. The latter certainly moulded the thought of 2 Pet. ii. 22. But, in view of the extent of the evidence afforded especially by the papyri and Sirach—of the popularity of Ahikar in early post-exilic days as compared with the paucity of definite evidence for its use the nearer the Christian era is approached, it may not be too bold to assume that Ahikar's vogue had at least taken second place to Tobit before New Testament times (see p. 198 f.). This is not without importance in connexion with the questions of the date of the book, the integrity of the text, and the priority of R⁵.

¹¹ Sir. iv. 7, 26, 32, 34; v. 17; vi. 14, 24; vii. 25; viii. 1, 8; ix. 8 f., 14; xix. 26 f.; xxii. 26 f.; xxvii. 17, 28; xxx. 17; xli. 16, 27; xlii. 1, all demand careful examination in this connexion.

¹² See Eduard Sachau, *Aramäische Papyri und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, 1911, Tafel, 40–50, and Arthur Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyri aus Elephantine*, 1911, pp. 62–82.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

Ahikar, though earlier than Tobit, was only composed in the third century B.C., are *finally*¹ disproved. The interpolatory hypotheses (see § 9) are seen to be almost as unjustified as Ginzburg's scepticism as to the identity of the Ahikar of Tobit with the Ahikar of this legend or Plath's doubts (*op. cit.*, p. 391) as to whether our author had written or only oral acquaintance with Ahikar.

The further problems of Ahikar's exact date and place of composition concern us in so far as it is of interest to discover whether or not this source of Tobit was written in some non-Semitic language and by an author of non-Jewish nationality and religion.² The fact that the Assyrian kings are alluded to by name but in a somewhat impersonal and general manner, as well as the absence of all indications that the Assyrian empire was still in existence, points to a date of composition subsequent to 608 B.C. The proper names, on the other hand—even to some extent those in the latest forms of Ahikar—preserve their genuine Assyrian form to a greater extent than the same and similar words have done within the Old Testament Canon. The author is acquainted with official titles (e.g. ܐܪܡܝܐ, ܐܪܡܝܐ), which might have been no longer understood if the Assyrian empire had long since passed away, while the Persian names, even in the later strata, are very few. Still it is probable that even if the name Ahikar is a very ancient Babylonian one,³ an author writing under Cyrus would borrow the name of a person famous for wisdom in the ancient days of Babylon. These considerations lead Sachau to suppose that it cannot have been composed earlier than the last decades of the Babylonian empire, and finally he decides that 'in its present form the book of Ahikar may have been composed somewhere between 550-450 B.C.'⁴ Its author would therefore be a contemporary of Deutero-Isaiah and Jonah. Though Halévy and Dr. Rendel Harris have endeavoured to show that on internal grounds the hypothesis of a Babylonian and pagan original cannot be maintained, in Bousset's judgement 'there can scarcely be any doubt as to the legend being heathen in origin'.⁵ Sachau finds nothing specifically *Hebrew* in the book of Ahikar and surmises 'that such a work, possibly resting on a more ancient Babylonian pattern, might perhaps have arisen in the circle of the priests of Nebo', a cult which 'was one of the most extensive in those days' (*op. cit.*, p. xxiii). Reinach, too, urged that the original author was a pagan, and the work, which was polytheistic⁶ with a mythological *motif*,⁷ was translated and expurgated theologically and ethically by the Jews before our author's use of it. Nor is it quite improbable that a polytheistic work of this kind composed in Babylon would so quickly find its way to Egypt and having so quickly lost its polytheistic tendency, become a sacred book of the Jews at Yeb. Thus the papyri may fail both to favour and to disprove the hypothesis of a Jewish not a pagan author. The fact that they are written in Aramaic equally fails to solve the problem of the rival claims of Hebrew and Aramaic to be the language of the original work.

B. *Alleged divergence in detail.*—The Aramaic papyri of Ahikar, in addition to the undeniably complete proof they afford of the use of Ahikar among the Jews prior to the composition of Tobit, are equally useful in removing at least one of the alleged differences between the references to Ahikar in Tobit and the history of Ahikar as it was formerly known to us only from

¹ The weakness of Hoffmann's position was pointed out by G. Bickell in the *Athenaeum*, ii, 1890, p. 170. The priority of the composition of Ahikar to that of Tobit has also been maintained by Bruno Meissner (so far only as the end of the history is concerned) in *Zeitschr. d. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xlviii, 1894, pp. 171-97; by M. Lidzbarski (in reply to certain statements by Meissner) in the same magazine, pp. 671-5; by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1898, pp. 362-86; by E. Cosquin, *Revue Biblique*, viii, 1899, p. 30 ff.; Th. Reinach, *Revue des Etudes juives*, xxviii, 1899, pp. 1-13; J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique*, 1900, p. 23; by M. Plath in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Gotha, 1901, pp. 377-414, as well as by Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, and in 'The Double Text of Tobit' in the *American Journal of Theology*, ii, pp. 541-54.

² Nau (*op. cit.*, p. 35) stands practically alone in his belief in the genuineness and authenticity of Ahikar, though he admits that the story has undergone several redactions.

³ Ungnad and Ed. Meyer (*Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 109) regard it as an Assyrio-Babylonian name *Ahi-jakar*, 'the brother is dear', probably to be vocalized ܐܫܝܟܐ in ancient Aramaic. In Sachau's estimation, too, the name Ahikar is Babylonian and belongs to a much more ancient period of Babylonian history than that of the later Babylonian or Persian empire (*op. cit.*, p. xxiii). If it was pronounced Ahikar, it would be interpreted in Syriac ܐܫܝܟܐ, 'brother of honour' (*op. cit.*, p. 148). It 'belongs to the numerous western Semitic names which the Amorites of the First Dynasty of Babylon brought to Babylonia, and at this time is quite frequent', Ed. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 119.

⁴ *op. cit.*, p. xxii; cf. Ed. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁵ *Die Religion des Judentums*, second edition, 1906, p. 565. Cf. the same writer in *Beiträge zur Achikarlegende* in *ZATW*, 1905, pp. 180-93.

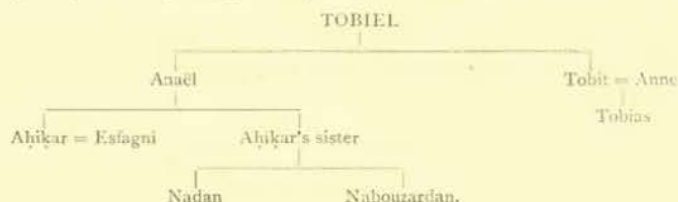
⁶ e.g. in the Armenian version Ahikar's prayer is addressed to the gods Belšim, Šimil, and Samin. The various adaptations, versions, and MSS. naturally differ very considerably in details, and even in more important features of the legend. For example, the MS. B of the Syriac gives two invocations, one to the idols and one to the true God, whereas L and C record only the latter, and the Armenian version, with its usual retention of the earlier form of the legend, only the former.

⁷ Ahikar in the Armenian employs magic and astrology and has sixty wives and sixty palaces, corresponding to the sixty solar houses and the sixty degrees of the primitive division of the celestial phenomena.

INTRODUCTION

the MSS. of the various versions. In the latter Ahikar lives in the reign of Sennaherib, who is represented as the son and successor of Esarhaddon, whereas in Tobit the inverse and correct order appears and the accuracy of R³ is incidentally vindicated. Schürer¹ has already pointed out that in the papyri² we read 'the history of Ahikar under Sennaherib and Esarhaddon in this correct sequence, not the reverse as in our MSS.' of Ahikar. The papyri, moreover, present in general an earlier form of the text than even those versions and redactions of Ahikar in which the hero is an idolater and only worships the true God when the idols fail to hear him. Still the presentation of Ahikar in our book as a Jew and a nephew of Tobit, may be due to our author's desire to enhance the fame of Tobit by making so famous a man his relative (Simend, p. 63). The same motive probably dictated the description of Ahikar as a friend and benefactor of Tobit, though in his own legend Ahikar appears simply as a shrewd man. In Ahikar the hero is delivered from prison because he is righteous; in Tobit because he has done alms (Tobit xiv. 10). Doubtless, even if Dr. Rendel Harris's arguments³ with regard to the Syriac in this connexion do not entirely commend themselves to all scholars, the transition from the idea of righteousness to that of almsgiving was easy if not unconscious in view of the widespread expression of the two ideas by one Hebrew word (צדקה) at the time when Tobit was written.⁴ For the true explanation of the transformation of Ahikar's journey to Egypt into one to Elymais (Tobit ii. 10) see p. 186 and note *ad loc.*

C. *Extent of dependence.*—(1) He borrowed directly from the history of Ahikar in i. 21 f.; ii. 10; xi. 18; xiv. 10. 15.⁵ The principal textual divergences and corruptions in the tradition of the proper names are referred to elsewhere (see notes *ad loc.*). Nau (*op. cit.* p. 11) gives the following table of consanguinity as that presupposed by these references.



In iv. 10 'suffereth not to come into darkness' is a pertinent reference to Ahikar's unhappy plight in prison and Nadan's ultimate fate mentioned more clearly in xiv. 10; it is still more generalized in Sir. xxix. 12. Especially noteworthy is the *juxtaposition* of the terms *Assyria* and *Nineveh* in the earliest recension of Tobit in xiv. 4 as well as in xiv. 15, proving conclusively the immediate dependence of Tobit upon the legend of Ahikar where this curious double description of the empire is used.⁶ It would appear that the legend lay before him in a written form.

(2) The legend of Ahikar seems to have supplied our author with several literary and structural models. With the title i. 1. cf. the Syriac C 'I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Ahikar' and the Armenian 'the maxims and wisdom of Khikar'. As far as iii. 6⁷ our author followed the example set him by Ahikar of representing the hero as recounting his own history. Tobit, too, like Ahikar, gives a brief summary of his previous fortunes (i. 3 ff.). Moreover, in addressing two series of exhortations to his son (iv. 3 ff., xiv. 3 ff.) and two prayers to God (iii. 2 ff., xiii) he is surely imitating the legend of Ahikar, which, though the details are different, is constructed according to this plan.

(3) Our author has assimilated a not inconsiderable amount of Ahikar's parenthetic sections. The prologue (Tobit iv. 5) and the epilogue (iv. 19) to the 'teaching' of Tobit find their prototype in the prologue in the Syriac to Ahikar's teaching: 'My son, listen to my speech, follow my opinion, and keep my words in remembrance', and in the Arabic, 'O my son, hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say', and in the epilogue to the same in the Armenian, 'Son, receive into thy mind my precepts, and forget them not'. As iv. 12 finds a place within *this*

¹ *GJV*, fourth edition, 1909, vol. iii, p. 253.

² e.g. Papyrus 49, Tafel 40, lines 3-5, 15; Papyrus 50, line 11, in Sachau, *op. cit.*

³ Camb. ed., pp. xlvi-l, lxxii-lxxvi. Cf. Nau, *op. cit.*, p. 59, footnote 2.

⁴ See Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, slix f.; *A.J.Th.*, p. 548; cf. the various readings in Matt. vi. 1, and the modern charity as opposed to the original meaning of *caritas*.

⁵ e.g. in Syriac text on pp. 58, 67 (*bis*), 69 (*bis*), &c., of the Camb. ed.

⁶ e.g. in Syriac text on pp. 58, 67 (*bis*), 69 (*bis*), &c., of the Camb. ed.

⁷ Where he was compelled to abandon the direct narration, see p. 195.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

'teaching', so the same thought appears in the same discourse of Ahikar.³ With iv. 15 cf. *Apoc.* ii. 198; with iv. 18 cf. *Camb. ed.*, p. 61, No. 12 (ll. 16 in Nau). In the case of several other verses in ch. iv a less verbal dependence on Ahikar can be established as the latter appears, for instance, on pp. 56-6 of the Cambridge Ahikar. With 14b, 16, 18 cf. Nos. 9, 11, 12, 43, 73; with 15 cf. Nos. 10, 30, 60. Moreover, unless immediate dependence on Ahikar is presupposed, a few obscure passages cannot be elucidated. Of this iv. 17 (see note *ad loc.*) is an excellent example. Its meaning and phrasing are clear when read in conjunction with Ahikar's, 'My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, and drink it not with evil men'.⁴ Again, in iv. 14b the precept to be remembered finds its original context in Sachau's Aramaic Papyrus 53 (Tafel 44) line 2. [ܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ] = 'the son who is trained and disciplined and at whose feet . . . is laid'. The importance Tobit attaches to the burial of the dead (e.g. i. 20, ii. 3-9, iv. 3, 5, xiv. 12) also finds a prototype in Ahikar.⁵ Finally, as Ahikar orders his last discourses to Nadan to be written down, so Raphael bids Tobit write the record of his acts and maxims (xii. 20).

iv. The Old Testament and Apocrypha.

The author, as a devout Jew, was naturally well versed in the sacred writings of his own people and religion. They served as a source of the truest inspiration—historical, literary, and religious—and as a standard of orthodoxy by which he might test and repudiate all that was essentially alien to Judaism as he wrote this tractate, which, as shown above, was parallel but in opposition to that propagated by the priests of the god Khons, not uninfluenced by echoes of Zoroastrianism and dependent upon the pagan fable of *The Grateful Dead* and upon *Ahikar*, which at the best was not specifically Jewish or deeply religious.

His style, phraseology, religious conceptions, and moral advice are fundamentally influenced by the Pentateuchal narratives and legislation in all their various strata.⁶ The literary affinities with Genesis are of more than passing interest, for they illustrate the peculiar indebtedness of the author to that book. It was the source from which he derived not only his idea of writing a new patriarchal history, but also the materials with which he paints with consummate art the more important scenes.⁷ Above all, the author was most deeply influenced by the fact that in Genesis there are more references to the duty of burial of the dead than in any other Scriptural book.⁸ Gen. xlvii. 49 is decisive; where Rashi, following the *Midrash Rabba*, annotates 'the kindness that a man shows the dead is kindness of truth for the doer has no hope of (receiving) a reward (from the corpse)'. Accordingly, the somewhat frequent references to the burial of the dead are properly and fully explained not only by the influence exerted upon the author by *The Grateful Dead* and the parallels in Ahikar, but also by his close dependence upon Genesis, resulting in his belief that he could thus best inculcate disinterested charity such as Providence only can reward.

For his knowledge of the periods and scenery which he chose as the background of his story and his *catenae post eventum* he was dependent upon the historical books of the O.T.

³ *Camb. ed.*, p. 60, No. 61 in Nau's translation, iii. 9.

⁴ Cf. *Camb. ed.*, p. 61, No. 12; in Nau, iii. 15. The Arabic texts agree with the Syriac's retention of 'on the graves of the righteous', which is omitted by the Armenian.

⁵ By Levi wrongly supposed to prove dependence on Sirach; see p. 193, footnote 3, *infra*.

⁶ Possibly to be punctuated ܐܬܪܐ (Sachau) or ܐܬܪܐ, instead of the more regular ܐܬܪܐ, for which it may be a scribal error or a passive with assimilated ܐ. Ungnad compares the Arabic *ittajala* for *catapala*, and the Assyrian *ittajal* for *retajal*. But in any case it is ܐܬܪܐ in Hebrew.

⁷ e.g. *Camb. ed.*, pp. 69, 71; *ibid.* ix. 6, xiv, in Nau.

⁸ *Gen.* i. 22 (*Gen.* xi. 40, 42); iii. 6 (*Num.* xi. 15); iii. 10 (*Gen.* xlii. 38; xlii. 31); v. 17 (16) (*Gen.* xxiv. 7); vi. 2 (1) (*Gen.* ii. 14); vii. 4 (*Gen.* xlii. 27); vii. 11, 12 (11, 12, 13) (*Gen.* xxiv. 33, 59); and v. 60 is more closely imitated in R' in which a point of contact with *Gen.* xxix. 27 is also introduced in xii. 1 (xi. 19); viii. 6 (*Gen.* ii. 7, 18, 22); xii. 12 (*Gen.* xlii. 27); (*Gen.* xxx. 27); xlii. 12 (*Gen.* xlii. 3, xxvii. 29); xlii. 12 (*Num.* xxiv. 9). (δ) The Code of the Covenant in i. 6 (*Exod.* xxi. 29); and j's counterpart in ii. 1 (*Exod.* xxxiv. 22); while an approximation to the code itself (*Exod.* xxi. 12) was introduced by R' in iv. 3. (ε) D's legislative kernel in i. 6-8 (*Deut.* xii. 6, xviii. 4, xvi. 16, xiv. 25-30); ii. 13 (*Deut.* xxi. 13); iv. 7 (*Deut.* xv. 7, 8); the parenthetic prefixes in iv. 5 (*Deut.* viii. 11); xiv. 8 (9) (*Deut.* i. 40); the hortatory additions in iii. 4 (*Deut.* xxviii. 37); xiii. 5 (*Deut.* xxx. 3); and the song of Moses in xiii. 2 (*Deut.* xxxii. 39). (δ) H. in i. 3 (*Lev.* xxv. 35); iv. 14 (*Lev.* xix. 13). (ε) P. in i. 7 (*Num.* xviii. 21); i. 9 (*Num.* xxxvi. 6, 7); i. 21 (*Gen.* viii. 4); ii. 9 (*Num.* xix. 11); v. 18 (17) (*Num.* xxvii. 17); vi. 13 (12) (*Num.* xxvii. 8, xxxvi. 8, xv. 30); vii. 12 (13) (*Num.* xxxvi. 6); viii. 21 (*Num.* xxvii. 8); xii. 10 (*Num.* xvi. 38).

⁹ e.g. Tobit calls Tobias to home, as it seemed to him, his last injunctions in ch. iv, and his grandchildren in ch. xiv, just as Jacob had done (*Gen.* xlii); Raphael performs the part angels played in the lives of the Patriarchs, and like them returns to heaven when his work is accomplished. Again, the story of Joseph and his Egyptian wife encouraged a romantic treatment, lending colour and interest to the incalculable of purely Jewish marriage, and even, by way of antithesis, suggesting agnostic ones, such as non-canonical writings attributed to the earlier patriarchs: the journey culminating in the discovery of a wife for Tobias has its counterpart in the journey of Kileas to find in Rebecca a wife for Isaac, as R' recognized and therefore made the author's reference more explicit in vii. 1.

¹⁰ I. Abrahams, *JQR*, 1908, vol. i, p. 348.

INTRODUCTION

It would be, however, an injustice to our author if we were to suppose that, while he knew the historical books well in the uncritical manner of his age and knew the minutiae of the legal system, he did not study the non-legalistic and prophetic writings in existence in his time.¹

With some of the latest books of the O.T. not yet in existence, e.g. Daniel, many Maccabean Psalms, late portions of Proverbs, and other books or sections only composed after his time, he was necessarily unacquainted.

The question of Tobit's dependence upon Sirach cannot be dismissed so summarily. If literary dependence upon the Greek of Sirach were properly and thoroughly substantiated, it might seriously complicate or facilitate the solution of the problem of the date of Tobit's composition. In Fuller's judgement 'the general impression will probably be that Tobit is more precise and definite than Ecclesiasticus; and this would indicate that of the two Ecclesiasticus is the older book', but he does not deduce from this that Tobit exhibits any literary dependence upon any form of the text of Sirach. Israel Lévi,² however, has endeavoured to produce evidence from the text not only of our author's similarity of expression, but also of his use and misunderstanding of the text of Sirach. Granted Lévi were correct—and well-authenticated misreadings of the text would be a strong confirmation—it would be possible to fix exactly the date of Tobit. The evidence in favour of the pre-Maccabean date would not be weakened, for his arguments are based on supposed misreadings, not of the Greek translation of Sirach (c. 132 B.C.), but of the Hebrew original (c. 190-180 B.C.); Tobit must, then, have been written between 190-170 B.C. Lévi, however, brings forward only two passages in confirmation of this theory of textual dependence and misunderstanding, and in neither case can his reasoning be pronounced sound or his conclusions be accepted.³ Moreover, if the parallels appear 'more precise and definite' (Fuller) in Tobit than in Sirach, it is just because in the former they present themselves in more of the original freshness of their ultimate sources.

v. Magian Influences.

It cannot any longer be alleged either that the author was influenced by the Zoroastrian religious system, or that he necessarily borrowed, as has been argued by W. R. Smith⁴ and Prof. J. H. Moulton, from written Iranian sources, and lived in Media to do so, as Prof. J. H. Moulton formerly⁵ suggested.

For a complete refutation of the supposition of his indebtedness to Zoroaster we are indebted to Professor J. H. Moulton's recent researches.⁶ *It was non-Zoroastrian Magianism which influenced the author of Tobit.* There are numerous parallels between Tobit and 'the most important factors in Magianism as distinguished from the other strata in complete Avestan Parsaism'. Professor Moulton, for instance, points out the parallels in the use made of the fish's heart, the stress laid on burial, the consanguineous marriages, the unnecessary appearance of the dog, and the demon Asmodeus, whose name finds its exact counterpart in the later Avestan *Asma daeva*. On the other hand, the absence of any eschatology in Tobit would be inexplicable if the author had been acquainted with the system of Zarathushtra, who 'enlarged and enhanced' the eschatology of 'the earliest Iranian stratum', writes Professor Moulton, 'till it became the very centre of the Religion'. Again, the seven angels of Tobit xii. 15, need not point back to the Amesha Spenta, since the latter in Zoroaster's own system were six. The later substitution of seven was probably under Semitic influence; and of the two alternative additions, that of the Deity is expressly excluded by the text of Tobit l.c., while that of Sraosha has no claim to antiquity.

¹ He quotes Amos viii. 10 in li. 5. His text may be reminiscent of Amos v. 15 and Jonah iii. 9 in xiii. 6^b; of Mic. iv. 2, Zech. viii. 22 in xiii. 11^a; of Mic. ii. 3 in xiv. 4 (see note *ad loc.*); of Isa. ii. 18 (cf. Mic. v. 13) in xiv. 6; of the Trito-Isaiah in i. 16 (cf. Isa. lviii. 7), in xiii. 11 (cf. Isa. lx. 6-10), 14 (Isa. lxvi. 10), 16 (Isa. liv. 11). He appeals to Nahum for the verification of his *uticinium post eventum* in xiv. 4 (cf. Nahum iii. 7 for its fulfilment in xiv. 15). He utilizes Hag. ii. 3 in xiv. 5. He bases his description of the glorious future on prophetic passages such as Jer. xxxi. 1-14; l. 4, 5.

² *Revue des Etudes juives*, vol. xlv, No. 88, April-June, 1902.

³ In the case of Tobit iv. 3 and Sir. iii. 12, it is noteworthy that (1) 27 twice, but 277 never, in LXX is thus translated; (2) 277 would not naturally represent either in this connexion; (3) 10, which Lévi follows, is certainly inferior to R³ here. In the case of Sir. xxxi. 19, (1) according to Strack 722 is correct; (2) 722 is correct; (3) 722 is correct; (4) 722 is correct; (5) 722 is correct.

⁴ *Encyc. Brit.*, art. 'Tobit'.

⁵ 'The Iranian Background of Tobit', published in the *Expos. Times*, vol. xi, pp. 257-60.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 186, footnote 3.

⁷ *Hibbert Lectures* (New Series), 1912, delivered in Manchester College, Oxford, and in the University of London. His *Excursus, Magianism and the Book of Tobit*, attached to Lecture II, containing an interesting conjectural restoration of a supposed Magian archetype of our book, entirely supersedes his earlier essay in the *Expos. Times*. I am indebted to Professor Moulton for allowing me to read and make several quotations from this *Excursus* before its publication.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

It was in Egypt, and practically in Egypt alone,¹ that an author such as ours could have made the use he has of those 'most important factors in Magianism'. The recent discoveries of papyri in Egypt² have thrown new light upon the conditions of the Jews there. The Jews in Egypt would look with the less suspicion upon Persian ideas and customs inasmuch as the Persian empire, under Cambyses, had spared their temple on the island of Elephantine. Many of the worshippers at that shrine had once been mercenaries in the employ of the Egyptian military authorities. In the course of time Persian officers had been appointed over them, Persian soldiers quartered in Syene, and, towards the end of the fifth century B.C., a Persian, by name Vidarna, had been in command of the entire garrison of the southern border. The descendants of these Jewish soldiers became military colonists, farmers, and ordinary burghers. But their environment for long remained partly Persian, for business was transacted with Persian weights and measures, and dates were reckoned according to the reigns of the various Persian kings. Thus we have a glimpse into the life of the Jew in Egypt, for the general conditions were probably much the same throughout the country. In some such environment the author of Tobit lived.³ Possibly he knew but little of Magianism as a system of thought—in this book he is certainly not waging a polemic against it⁴ or against Zoroastrianism—but was fairly well acquainted with the popular stories and legends Persians—soldiers and others—had introduced into the circles in which he moved. In our story, for instance, prefaced as it is by a reference to the careful burial of the dead, which is further inculcated in the body of the narrative, the surprising references⁵ to the dog as the companion of the wayfarers (vi. 2 (1), xi. 5) may well be due to a confused recollection of fables originally of Magian tendency,⁶ which emphasized, like the *Vendidad*, the importance of properly building 'the tower of silence' for the dead, and recorded Parsi funerals in which 'a dog (with certain spots) is brought in to look at the corpse and so exorcise the *Nasu*'. But the dog is no longer a companion of Tobit and a participant in the funeral rites; he simply accompanies the travellers. Similarly, the consanguineous marriages only form a subsidiary part of his argument and the particular form and motive of their introduction, as already shown, are determined by other considerations. So too the name Asmodeus comes ultimately from Media but the meaning of the name cannot be pressed.

§ 9. INTEGRITY.

The integrity, unity and originality of the book as a whole have not remained unchallenged. As early as A. D. 1800 Ilgen endeavoured to prove that while i. 1–iii. 6 was written by Tobit himself (c. 689 B.C.) in Assyria, iii. 7–xii. 22 were not composed till c. 280 B.C. in Palestine, and xiii was only inserted c. 10 B.C. But the book is characterized throughout by a unity of purpose well conceived in its plan and natural and simple in its development, the work in short of a single author of more than average taste and ability. In spite, however, of Plath's unanswerable demonstration—with one possible exception—of the integrity of the book, the allusions to *Ahiqar* as well as the didactic sections (especially iv, xii), the superficial contradictions, the use of the first person in i. 1–iii. 6 and the supposed irrelevancy of portions of xiv have been utilized, in the most radical manner by Erbt, to prove that *Tobit* in its present form is the result of a lengthy process of accretion, elaboration and chance conglomeration, and that a number of interpolations must first be removed and certain further redactional features (inserted, according to Erbt, as late as the second century A.D.) must be discarded before it is possible to make a conjectural reconstruction of the original story such as he himself attempts. Others, less radical than Erbt, find difficulties in only one or two of the following problems.

Allusions to Ahiqar's history. Are these original? The discovery at Elephantine of *Ahiqar* papyri earlier than 400 B.C. has removed the *a priori* objection that *Ahiqar* is later than *Tobit*. On the contrary, if our author wrote in Egypt where *Ahiqar* was so popular, even supposing it was not elsewhere quite so well known a legend as R. Harris, Cosquin and others suppose, he might even

¹ See above, p. 186, footnote 3.

² See especially Eduard Sachau, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii–xxvii.

³ With Professor J. H. Moulton's permission I quote the following extract from one of his letters to me on the subject: 'My earlier suggestion that the Jewish adaptation of a Median folk-story was actually made in Media by a Jew living there is not in the least necessary to my theory. Provided that a Jew in Egypt or elsewhere was able to get hold of this story, in oral or written form, all that I postulate is fully met. Indeed, your theory that Persian soldiers of Cambyses may have brought the story into Egypt suits admirably my argument that Zoroaster's Reform did not enter into the religion of the Achaemenian Kings before Darius, and it was a good deal later that it reached the people.'

⁴ As Kohut, dating the work in the third century A.D., has argued.

⁵ See p. 195 for their genuineness.

⁶ Erbt (*EB*, col. 5128), however, traces the dog not to Zoroastrian influence, but to 'one of the variations of the tales of the spirit' of *The Grateful Dead* which occasionally appears in animal form. Rosenmann refers it to the influence of Greek customs and literature, e.g. the Homeric poems (*Odys.* xvii. 29 ff., where the dog plays a similar rôle), which he thinks were not unknown to the Jews.

INTRODUCTION

be expected to introduce some references to the fortunes of that hero and sage, especially in view of the non-Jewish background and models of his work and of the great use he has made of Ahikar's wisdom. But i. 21 f.; ii. 10; xi. 18; xiv. 10, are all rejected by Erbt, Riggs, Müller, Smend, Toy. xiv. 10, however, is certainly essential to the climax of the author's argument since it serves as a celebrated example of his dictum that divine justice always triumphs. That much is admitted by Reinach, who, unlike Ilgen, regards all the other allusions as spurious and supposes that the story of Ahikar was originally a Babylonian solar myth of essentially polytheistic colouring. Moreover, Müller and Smend, who like Ilgen, and in opposition to Reinach, find most difficulty in xiv. 10, admit that all the passages, though interpolations, were very early accretions to the text, in fact pre-Christian. It is only the earliest versions and recensions which preserve the tradition, the later ones tending more and more to misunderstand, confuse or omit the names. Thus R^v is clearest (as Erbt acknowledges more than once); R^v has partly lost the point of the references, conjectured Haman and preserved a somewhat corrupt text; Ar M. omitted it altogether; S has suffered textual corruption; F has conjectured *Aaron*. F, avowedly useless for textual criticism, so far supports the interpolatory theory (except in xi. 20¹) that Erbt yields to the temptation to gain support for his hypothesis by entering a special plea on behalf of Jerome's superiority to the uncials in this particular!

The Didactic Sections. Erbt and Riggs, consistently with their rejection of the allusions to the history of Ahikar, endeavour to set aside also the allusions to the wisdom of Ahikar, particularly iv. 6 b-19 a. Toy holds that both iv and xii are the insertions of the late editor. But S's omission of iv. 6 b-19 a, to which Erbt appeals, does not support the interpolatory hypothesis (see note *ad loc.*). Moreover, the parenthetic contents of these verses, to which Erbt demurs as unsuitable to and disturbing the context, are justified by the situation—Tobit believes himself to be dying and desires to communicate to his son the wisdom he himself has acquired that it may help Tobias on his journey to Media and throughout his life. Verses 12 and 13 have special reference to the immediate problems of that journey, and are therefore carefully marked off from the rest by a freer rhythm.

The Dog. That the references to this animal as the companion of the wayfarers were made by the author, not by an interpolator, is attested not simply by their presence in R^s, but also from their vicissitudes in the various recensions and versions. vi. 2 (1) is possibly the allusion to which suspicion might most easily attach itself, for R^v omitted it. He did so, however, simply because the sentence seemed tautologous. He introduces it without prejudice in v. 17 (16) and xi. 4. In the latter case an original *κῶν* (= *κῶων*) preserved in E's version of R^s has accidentally become *κῶ* (= *Κύριος*) in S, whereas Semitic prejudice and Jewish legalism reasserted itself in Ar. followed by M, though in F the ancient tradition returned. That R^v copied from R^s and not R^s from R^v is shown conclusively in xi. 4, where the former retained the *συνῆλθεν*, though he omitted its complement *αὐτοῖς*. R^c removed the clause back to 11^a (?), made the dog run *before* the party (cf. *et quasi nuntius adveniens* F), and reintroduced him, v. 9, where *blandimento suas cunctas gaudebat* was added in E. Were Löhr² right in regarding *τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ* of S as a corrupt anticipatory dittography from v. 5 and in reading *αὐτῶν* for *αὐτοῦ καὶ*, R^s would still be prior to R^v. But even if R^v were the earlier, the dog could only be the work of the author, not an interpolator.

Internal Contradictions and Signs of Non-unity. (1) In the Introduction (i. 3-iii. 17) and Conclusion certain difficulties of this nature have led to the denial of the originality or genuineness of these sections either as a whole or in part. The change, however, from the narration in the first person in i. 1-iii. 6 to that in the third in the subsequent chapters is not inexplicable. It was necessitated by the summary of Sarah's previous history (iii. 7-15) and the author's desire to paint in his own inimitable manner the contrast between the reader on the one hand, who has been initiated into the intentions of the merciful Providence (iii. 16 f.), and the heroes of the story on the other hand, who can only 'walk by faith'. The author has lessened the harshness of the transition by the insertion of Tobit's preparatory prayer (iii. 1-6). Moreover, Plath quite pertinently³ points to similar alternations of third and first persons in the Aramaic *Ahikar* and the Acts of the Apostles. Again, if i. 6 seems to contradict i. 14 it is only because 'the individual interest is stronger than the interest in the harmony of the parts' (Plath), while the contradictions between i. 20 and ii. 1 f. are merely superficial. Nor is there any internal contradiction in either R^s or R^v as to the duration of Tobit's blindness.⁴ Finally, the style of xiv is in no way different from that of the preceding chapters, and its thought and contents (including v. 10) are sufficiently akin to the rest of the book to allow of its originality, unless indeed *a priori* presuppositions of the way in which the book should end are allowed undue weight. From the fact that two proper names of an Aramaic form (xiv. 10)

¹ Dr. Marshall regards this as an interpolation.

² *ZATW*, xx, p. 258.

³ In spite of Erbt's strictures, *EB*, col. 5117.

⁴ The two years of ii. 10 appearing in R^s not in R^v, and the eight years of xiv. 2 in R^v not R^s.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

point to an *Aramaic* original, it cannot be logically argued, as is done in the *Ency. Brit.*¹¹, that the chapter is *later* than the rest of the book! True, *Ar.* and *M.* betray no knowledge of it, but that is due to intentional and conscious omission in their common ancestor, the purpose of which is as clear as their dogmatic modifications of ch. xiii.

(2) In the central portion of the book. The inconsistency of vi. 17 (16) and v. 13 (12) is due to Raphael's increasing anxiety for the consummation of the marriage in reaction from Tobit's disinclination to espouse Sarah. Müller, who supposes that the exorcism of the demon by prayer (viii. 4-8) is a later feature of the story than that by magic, has examined the alleged contradictions involved in the various references to the fatal results of Sarah's previous espousals. If Raguel had acted illegally in giving his daughter successively to seven men on whom he had no right to bestow her, Raguel himself should have paid the penalty, vi. 13 (12), whereas Raguel himself survived, but the seven were slain in satisfaction not of Jahveh's just wrath but of a demon's lust. Raguel anticipated that the same fate awaited Tobias, though he was confessedly the preordained husband for Sarah. Raphael, like Tobias, foresaw danger only to Tobias, not to Raguel, since if the latter alone had been expected to suffer, Sarah and Tobias would have escaped and inherited Raguel's fortune at once. These inconsistencies after all are only superficial and result from the author's attempt—on the whole admirably carried out—to utilize demon-possession, like other ideas he had derived from his sources, in order to inculcate the importance of obeying the law and preserving the purity of Jewish marriages. It is in this connexion, however, that Müller¹ discusses another problem which has a more serious bearing upon the purpose and date of the book (see pp. 183 f.) as well as upon its integrity. In iii. 17 Sarah states that her father has no near relative whose offspring she is bound to marry, but in vii. 2-9 her parents have not forgotten Tobit's existence. Tobit has no premonition of the happy duty of marrying his relative Sarah in store for Tobias, contenting himself with the general statement of iv. 12, whereas in vi. 10 (9)-18 (17) Raphael is aware not only of the relationship but of Sarah's legal obligations to marry Tobias, and the latter shows no surprise, if he is not in fact already as well aware of it as Raphael, and only shrinks from the dangers it involves to his own person. There is the further difficulty that, in spite of vi. 13 (12), vii. 12 (13), Holy Writ nowhere commands 'agnatic' marriages, i.e. marriages within the particular family or tribe of the contracting parties as opposed to inter-tribal unions. The case is not covered by Num. xxvii. 1-11, xxxvi, which at the best was only theoretical and dealt only with the case of heiresses owning landed property in *Palestine*. Even Tobit's reference to the patriarch's action (iv. 12) rests not upon Genesis but on traditions in vogue in the earlier post-exilic period such as *Jubilees* has preserved. Müller therefore supposes—and it is an exceedingly happy supposition—that the author sought to inculcate not tribal as opposed to inter-tribal, but Jewish as opposed to Jewish-pagan marriages. Sarah's seven former husbands were slain because they were pagans, but Tobias had a right superior to that of any other possible suitor at the moment, because he was the only Jew in the neighbourhood. Thus ἀδελφός in this book properly means a brother Jew, ἀδελφή = a term of endearment for the only legal wife a Jew may have, i.e. a Jewess,² vii. 15 (16), viii. 4, γάμος = kindred, not in the narrower sense of tribal relationship but with the wider connotation of the Jewish nation, e.g. in i. 17, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους μου can only be intended as a synonym for, not as an antithesis to, τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους μου in v. 16. The example of the patriarchs is quoted in iv. 12 not to inculcate their marriage with near relatives as such, but to exemplify by the fact that their wives were near relatives how careful to avoid marriage with non-Jewesses were these patriarchs, the 'fathers of old time' (iv. 12) of the whole Hebrew race. Attractive as Müller's theory is, and though successfully explaining the apparent contradictions of the story, it is not entirely supported by any version or recension. Müller falls back on an eclectic text, the result of the rejection of all readings of R¹, R², and R³ which militate against his theory. This procedure presupposes that each and all of these revisions embodies an attempt (only partially successful in each case) to transform a story, originally inculcating only Jewish marriages, into one advocating agnatic marriages. But could all these revisions possibly have shared this purpose in common? Certainly they could have done if—an impossible condition—they could all be proved to have been made *before* the irksome duty of agnatic marriage was annulled in the first century B.C. Whereas those revisions which were made *after* that date—i.e. at least two of them (irrespective of the rival merits of R⁵ and R⁶)—if they made any alterations at all, would tend to obscure and remove the agnatic motif; Müller (p. 7, note 4) admits that R² actually did so in vi. 16 in deference to R³. Hence the agnatic interest must have figured to some extent in the original story, probably, however, only in the half-hearted way in which it appears in R². The author's advice might be summed up: At all costs marry Jewesses of the purest possible descent, like the patriarchs; marry your own sisters or cousins, if no other Jewesses are available.

¹ *op. cit.*, pp. 3-9.

² Cf. p. 186, footnote 7.

INTRODUCTION

§ 10. RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TEACHING.

The theological, religious, and moral outlook of our author is far from unimportant. Unfortunately the comparatively lengthy treatment which the other problems of the book have claimed allows only of a very brief *résumé*.

A. The author's—as opposed to the later redactors'—religious presuppositions are those of the popular mind tinged with the point of view of the newest developments of the official and orthodox leaders of the post-exilic period, in its earlier rather than its later phases. This is amply justified by the following considerations:—

(1) *Doctrine of God.* The full Monotheism of the post-exilic period is presupposed.¹ The descriptions of Jahveh's qualities are manifold.² Since He is a transcendental Deity, He hears men's prayers through angelic mediation. The tendency to distinguish between Jahveh, the invisible and ineffable, and His personified self-manifestation and revelation also appears, but only in the two expressions, 'the Glory', iii. 16, xii. 12, 15, and 'the Name', iii. 11, viii. 5, xi. 14, xii. 6, xiii. 18.

(2) *Angelology.*³—The angelology of the author as compared with that of Jubilees, 1 Enoch and RV, is at a somewhat embryonic stage of its evolution. As compared, on the other hand, with that of the Old Testament as a whole, it seems to stand well within the threshold of the subsequent period. It is especially noticeable that Raphael here represents in germ the ideas which afterwards crystallized in the fully developed doctrine of Michael, with whose functions Raphael's should therefore be carefully compared.⁴

Chapter xii is without parallel in the extant literature of Judaism. The whole story illustrates the free, untutored, and vigorous type of speculation existent a little before the rise of Pharisaic regulations of the dogma. This belief in the angel's intervention, moreover, always remained essentially characteristic of the people's religion as opposed to that of the learned and cultured.⁵ With iii. 16 f., xii. 12, 15 (14), cf. Jub. xxx. 20, Testaments of Dan vi, of Asher vi, of Levi v.

(3) *Eschatology.* The author shows no advance upon the pre-exilic period in his conceptions of death and its consequences. The grave is external in its annihilating effects, iii. 6, 10, cf. iv. 10, xii. 9. In relation to the nation, however, he stands possibly almost on a threshold of the Apocalyptic tendency. He has worked out for himself a crude and simple, but yet unmistakable, philosophy of the future. Jerusalem at the end of a given period will be rebuilt and the Temple sumptuously restored, the scattered tribes reunited, and—to his credit—the heathen will worship the God of Israel, xiii. 7–18 a, xiv. 4–6. See further, Charles, *Eschatology*, 1899, pp. 165 f.

B. It is in the *practical sphere* that our author's religious and moral outlook find their fullest expression. His hero is a rare instance of an almost perfect combination and realization, in actual life, of the priestly and prophetic ideals.

(1) *The cultus*,⁶ as practised at Jerusalem, the precepts of the *law* (tithes, marriage,⁷ purity, &c.) and *Jerusalem* itself, are primary factors in the author's life, i. 3–13; ii. 1–9, and their future perfection is painted in glowing colours, xiii. 7–18 a, xiv. 4–7.

(2) The 'Three Pillars of Judaism', *prayer*, *almsgiving*, and *fasting* are inculcated. Fasting (ii. 4) has not reached the culmination of its development.⁸ Almsgiving, however, as in Sirach,⁹ ranks high among the non-sacrificial duties of Judaism, i. 3, 16, ii. 14, iv. 7 ff., 16, xii. 9 f., xiv. 9, is the *sine qua non* of a long and prosperous life, a virtue, to be practised by the richest, i. 16 f., ii. 10, and the poorest, ii. 14, and occupies a prominent position in the 'teaching' both of Tobit, iv. 3–19, and of Raphael, xii. 8. 'Righteousness' is thus already tending to take the lower level and become synonymous to some extent with almsgiving,¹⁰ but devotion to the cultus and legalism do not result in this book in hypocrisy or externalism, since the whole is pervaded with a mysticism which finds its highest expression in heart-felt prayer as the immediate means of communion with God.¹¹

This is evident not simply from the number and length of the prayers which are quoted, but from the care which has been devoted to their position, structural arrangement, and contents.¹²

¹ See iv. 14; xiii. 1, 2, 5, 6, 11; xiv. 6.

² See vii. 17 (18); viii. 5; xiii. 4, 7, 11, 15.

³ The demonology and magical elements are relics of the author's sources and Jewish-Egyptian environment and do not belong to the circle of his own constructive ideas, and are therefore not dealt with here.

⁴ See Wilhelm Lueken, *Michael*, 1898.

⁵ Cf. W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, second edition, p. 379.

⁶ See Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁷ Cf. pp. 183 f., 196, *supra*.

⁸ Note the addition in x. 7 in RV.

⁹ Cf. Sirach iv. 10 (Heb.); vii. 10, 32; xvi. 14 (Heb.); xvii. 22, &c.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 191, *supra*.

¹¹ For the important place of prayer and its function in this connexion in Judaism, see *Communion with God*, 1911, pp. 106–13, by Dr. Darwell Stone and the present writer.

¹² Cf. Plath, *op. cit.*, pp. 382, 390, 401.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

Tobit's (iii. 16 f.) and Sarah's (iii. 10-15) prayers, uttered with face turned to Jerusalem, and the immediate answer to them in iii. 16, 17, are the climax to the Introduction (i. 3-iii. 17). Both are probably typical of the form in which prayers were cast in the writer's day. Each contains an invocation,¹ followed by an act of adoration (iii. 2, 11), and the specific supplication with a lengthy retrospective explanation. Both are of almost equal length, in spite of Sarah's preliminary history (iii. 7-15) being otherwise much briefer than Tobit's (i. 3-iii. 6). Sarah's is the more concrete and individualistic, Tobit's the wider in its outlook and the more intercessory. The same structural arrangement characterizes viii. 5-7, 16 f. and the frequent thanksgivings. The liturgical *Amen* appears in viii. 8.² Finally, Raphael sets prayer in its rightful position in xii. 8 and asserts its efficacy in xii. 12, which is followed by the exile's prayer of exhortation and consolation, xiii. 1-6. In none of them, however, is there a single petition for the conversion of the non-Jewish world.

(3) *Morality and ethics* are inculcated in all departments of life, e.g. piety towards parents, the duty of Jewish marriage, the purity of wedlock,³ and in matters of everyday life,⁴ from a standpoint as high as, if not higher than, Ahiqar's. It was such moralizing precepts as these, rather than theological dogmas, which did most to regulate and direct contemporary life—both Jewish and pagan.

(4) A special plea seems to be entered in relation to contemporary conduct towards the dead. Though from a literary point of view our author is dependent upon Ahiqar directly for iv. 17, yet it is quite clear that he is inculcating an actual religious practice. In fact, at the time our author lived, it would appear to have been a subject of considerable dispute as to whether such offerings were right and proper and a matter of duty (cf. Sir. vii. 33; Job iv. 17) or whether they were definitely to be excluded by Judaism⁵ and its adherents (Sir. xxx. 18, 19; Ep. Jer. 31, 32; Wisdom xiv. 15, xix. 3; Sibyl. Or. viii. 382-4). At the time when Jubilees xxii. 17 was written they were apparently regarded as characteristic of the Gentiles. See, further, Charles, *op. cit.* pp. 23-31.

§ 11. INFLUENCE OF THE BOOK ON LATER LITERATURE.

A. *Jewish*. There is considerable evidence to show that Tobit was held in high repute alike by early and by later Judaism. (a) There are possibly traces of its use in Daniel, in the later Psalms, in the book of Jubilees (v. note iv. 16, 18, 21 f.; x. 4-6), the Test. of Job, &c.⁶ (b) While the references to it in New Testament (*v. infra*) exemplify its use by the Jews of our Lord's day, R^v is the best evidence of its extraordinary popularity between c. 200 B.C. and c. A.D. 150. (c) In M an example survives of its use among pious orthodox Jews. (d) The fact that the latter found a place in the *Midrash Rabba de Rabbah* together with the passage contained in the addition to the *Midrash Tanchuma*,⁷ illustrates best of all how thoroughly our story permeated the thought of later Judaism. (e) Finally in F as also in Gaster's Hebrew, if not also in the London Hebrew, we have an unmistakable example of Jewish interest in the book in the Middle Ages.

B. *Christian*.⁸ Interest in the question of the presence in the New Testament of allusions to Tobit and of passages tinged whether directly or indirectly with a recollection of Tobit's history or maxims, has been damped in the past by the credence which the theories of Graetz, Kohut and others once unfortunately gained. More lately the field has been occupied by the attempts of students of Ahiqar to find traces of the use of that legend in the New Testament, instead of admitting that the probabilities may point to the latter's comparative supersession by Tobit, into which, as already stated, its most permanent features had by now⁹ been merged.

Christianity appealed, at least at the outset, to the very classes to whom Tobit would be especially dear with its simple but sympathetic narrative of the fortunes of Jews of previous days who had lived under the yoke of a foreign domination—classes, too, who would give an equally enthusiastic welcome to the most crudely painted Apocalyptic. The fact that our book, though never in the Jewish Canon, survived the shock of this religious revolution and found a still more honourable position in the Bible of the new community than it had ever done under the old Covenant,

¹ 'Lord' in Tobit's own, 'Lord my God' in Sarah's.

² Cf. Judith xiii. 20.

³ See p. 196, *supra*.

⁴ Cf. Hudde, *op. cit.*, p. 406; André, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Bousset, *op. cit.*, p. 490.

⁵ See Deut. xxvi. 14; Jer. xvi. 7; Isa. viii. 19, xix. 3.

⁶ See 'Tobit' in *HDB*, vol. iv, p. 789.

⁷ Printed and translated by Neub., *op. cit.* See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁸ Cf. J. Moffat, *Introd. to the Lit. of N.T.*, 1911, pp. 34 f.

⁹ It should be remembered that this holds good even if the parallels to Ahiqar be regarded as interpolations, since, for example, Moffat and Bousset frankly admit Ahiqar's presence in the text of Tobit prior to the Christian era. See pp. 194 f.

INTRODUCTION

speaks volumes for its intrinsic charm and adaptability for the spiritual requirements of the new religion.

(i) *In the New Testament.* It has already been hinted (p. 189, footnote 10) that, instead of *Ahikar* directly, it might be right to see a reference to *Ahikar* only as mediated through *Tobit* in the Parables of the Wicked Servant and the Barren Fig-tree. Thus *Tobit* would stand in the same relation to these parables as Isa. v. 1-7 to the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen. Again, to insist that *Ahikar* itself, not *Ahikar* as abridged in *Tobit*, influenced the diction of the Biblical as well as the non-Biblical stories of Judas' death is to come very near denying even the general historicity of the kernel of the story in order to find its kernel in *Ahikar*. In the case of our Lord's words, which were uttered in Aramaic, verbal, as distinct from literary, coincidence with the Greek must be expected generally only in so far as the evangelists have modelled their Greek on that of the LXX. The following parallels, however, even if only accidental, are noteworthy: xi. 9¹ and Luke xv. 20; xii. 8 and Matt. vi. 1-18; a materialistic interpretation of iv. 9 condemned in Matt. vi. 20 f.; iv. 15 and Matt. vii. 12, Luke vi. 31; ² iv. 7 and Luke xi. 41; ³ iv. 16 and Matt. xxv. 35 f. But do the remarkable parallels to the commission and Ascension of Raphael which are collected in the note to xii. 16-22 fall into the same category? Do their completeness and detail suggest that our book exercised a direct and important formative, if not creative, influence upon the expression of the truths of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord? Or are we to suppose both only represent the popular vocabulary in which such events were wont to be related? True, angels ascended in the Old Testament; the *Ascension of Isaiah* and *Assumption of Moses* must once have related something similar, but nowhere is there so exact a coincidence of religious presupposition, literary expression and dramatic climax as in *Tobit* xii. 16-22.

S. Paul is possibly conscious of his indebtedness to *Tobit*, 'which must certainly have been a part of his library'.⁴ With iv. 12 a cf. 1 Thess. iv. 3; xii. 10 cf. Rom. vi. 23; iv. 8 cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 2 and 2 Cor. viii. 12; iv. 7, 16 cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7 a⁵. R. Harris⁶ has already pointed out the use S. Paul made of *Tobit* iv. 10 in Gal. vi. 10.

In the third group of Pauline Epistles, Eph. v. 18, though expressed in the language of Prov. xxiii. 31 in LXX, recalls the advice of *Tobit* iv. 15 b.

Still more important are the alleged parallels between *Tobit* and the Pastoral Epistles. The uncommon phrase βασιλεὺς τῶν αἰώνων occurs in *Tobit* xiii. 6 and 1 Tim. i. 17, in both cases in an ascription of praise. With iv. 9 cf. 1 Tim. vi. 19; *Tobit* iv. 21 cf. 1 Tim. vi. 6. The form of address 'my child Timothy' reminds us of *Tobit*'s recurring formula. Is it possible to go further? What abuses or heresies was the writer of the Pastorals combating? Are we quite sure that there is no alternative to the rival claims of Rabbinism and Gnosticism? Granted undue reverence for tractates of mythological, demonological and useless—non-religious, though moral—proverbial tendencies, such as we meet with in *Tobit*; granted, too, possibly the presence to some small extent of the numerous speculations and vicious by-products of a debased Apocalyptic—is it not probable that the writer of the Pastorals had ample justification for the remarks upon which the theories of Gnostic or Rabbinic polemics are based?

It only remains to mention two other points of contact between *Tobit* and the New Testament. The ethical and moral point of view and forms of literary self-expression in vogue among the circles which produced the early chapters of Acts were similar in some respects to *Tobit*'s—on the positive and good side of the latter. With *Tobit* i. 3 cf. Acts ix. 36 b; *Tobit* ii. 1 cf. Acts ii. 1 (Pentecost); *Tobit* iii. 16 with Acts ix. 18; xi. 12, 13 (13); and *Tobit* xii. 12 with Acts x. 4. Lastly—apart from the parallelism of demonological technicality in *Tobit* viii. 3 and Rev. xx. 2 independently borrowed from current formulae—Rev. xxi. 10-21 is as much dependent on *Tobit* xiii. 16 and Rev. xix. 1-7 on *Tobit* xiii. 18 as upon other Old Testament and Apocryphal literary models of this type.

(ii) *In post-Apostolic Christian Writers* *Tobit* is quite unmistakably placed on as high a pedestal as the other books of the Apocrypha not known at the time to have been written in Hebrew, and most often it was even venerated as highly as any other Scriptures—a fact well illustrated by Clem. Alex.'s quotation⁷ of iv. 16 as ἡ γρηγορία. For numerous other Patristic quotations, decisions of Church Councils, and use and influence in the Anglican Church, see Fuller *op. cit.* Marshall, *op. cit.*, and cf. p. 178, *supra*, footnote 7.

¹ A closer parallel at any rate, in thought and language, than Gen. xlv. 29.

² The scriptural antiquity of which is vouched for by αἰὲς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Hillel, like *Tobit*, expressed himself only negatively, see Taylor, *Pirge Aboth*, 37.

³ τὰ ἰσχυρά has been rendered more or less in conformity with *Tobit* by quae sunt (b d g), ex his quae habetis (f), quod superest (Vulg.), ex quae penes vos sunt (Viczai), quantum potestis (Grotius); cf. Luther's non-idem, das ihr ist. See Plummer, *S. Luke*, Int. Crit. Comment., ad loc.

⁴ *A. J. Th.*, p. 546.

⁵ Just as 7 b is a quotation from Prov. xxii. 8, LXX.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 545.

⁷ *Strom.* ii. 23, § 139.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT

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§ 13. CHIEF ABBREVIATIONS.

R ^s = Sinaitic and most original form of text	} See § 3.
R ^v = Recension best preserved in Cod. Vat.	
R ^c = Third recension	
Ox = Oxyrhynchus Papyrus, No. 1076	
Ar. = Extant Aramaic text	} See § 4.
M = Münster Hebrew	
[M] } varieties of Münster Hebrew (see p. 179,	
II } footnotes 1, 2, 4, 5)	
Pr. }	
L = Old Latin, of which α β γ δ are MSS.	} See § 4.
S = Syriac Versions	
F = Fagius' Hebrew	
V = Vulgate	

κ., &c. = καί, &c.
 ἀδελ., &c. = ἀδελφός, &c.
 κ.^{1o}, κ.^{2o}, κ.^{3o}, &c. = first, second, third occurrence of καί, &c., in a verse.

TOBIT

PREFACE. i. 1. 2.

1 r The book of the words of Tobit, the son of Tobiel, the son of Hananiel, the son of Aduel, the
son of Gabrael, the son of Raphael, the son of Raguel, of the seed of Asiel, of the tribe of Naphtali ;
2 who in the days of Salmanneser king of the Assyrians was carried away captive out of Thisbe,
which is on the right hand of Kedesch Naphtali in upper Galilee above Asser, behind the < road >
leading west, on the left of Phogor.

INTRODUCTION, i. 3-iii. 17.

A. TOBIT'S EARLIER HISTORY, i. 3-iii. 6.

i. Tobit's Previous Fortunes, i. 3-22.

3 I Tobit walked in the ways of truth and in acts of righteousness all the days of my life, and I did many almsdeeds to my brethren and my nation, who went with me in the captive band into the land of the Assyrians, to Nineveh. And when I was in mine own country, in the land of Israel, and when I was young, all the tribe of Naphtali my father fell away from the house of David my father and from Jerusalem, the city which < was chosen > out of all the tribes of Israel for all the tribes of Israel to sacrifice *there*, and wherein the temple of the habitation of God was hallowed and

I. I. B. λογ.] Ar עובדא הוא MF זה כפר Tωβελθ| -ετ B ιτ A Thobis αβ Tóbis γδ אבסח
Ar בחר חסידא ושמה F pr. Tωβηλ] באבא S > F Ανωηλ] > Ar Αδουηλ] Ναηη A
Λογ.] S > U Ar (ארית) M Tαβαηλ] Γαρ. A > Ar גבריאלי F τ. Ραφαηλ] > BA S U Ar M F
τ. Ραγουηλ] > BA S U Ar M F ες τ. σπ. Ασηηλ] filii Asihel (+ f. Gadalel, f. Arabei) > Ar
M ταϊς (אשר) הנלה מישראל עם הגולה אשר הנלתה היה ישוע בן אלף] pr. 2. ος] Ar
> BA post Tαθηλ] F Ενεμεσσαρον] Εμμεσσαρ S U Ar M F Ασσυριων] Ασσ. BA Ισιολ] S
Ar יהוה היה מחרשני Ar יהוה יתיב בחשביו קרתא S Bihel civitate " אכפ S
עיד M סחרשני F η, ε, δεξ] > Ar M F Κυθιας] -ισω A Edisse civitatis U > Ar M F
εν τη . . . Φογη] > Ar F σω Tαδαλι] Tαδλ. B'A in superiōribus G αβγ in superiore G γ super
G . . . am δ > M רבנולא Ar M עם כל ישיבת הנליל υπεραιω] υπεραιω B* υπραιω Bb υπερ (sed vide annot.)
contra U > M Ασσηρ] Ασρη BA عسر S Naasson U > M σπ. δυσ. ηλι.] > BA S post viam quae
ducit in occidentem αβγ Y quae est ad occidentem solem δ על נבול יסה M εξ αριθμ. Φογ.] > BA S M
Φογ.] Raphain U 3. Εζω τ. M ויאמר ט' וכרה לי אחיה לטובה עד ש] Ar αληθ]. M επορ.] M תמים
M לעצור M εν διαποσειναι] -ηγ B -ης A αβγ > δ > Ar παροι.] M εποι.] M משניות M
μη] > li παραθεβ.] ηρησση, li συνεπαμενομα. Δ ρητο Ar > M μετ' ευ.] > M εν τ. αιχμ.
> BA S την] > BA των] > BA 4. εν τ. χ. μυν] > Ar M γην] pr. η BA κα² . . . νεος
ιταροτου μου εις το BA S inter omnes iunior U טליא Ar F בחיותי נער Ar η] > BA Νεφ.] pr. τον BA
τ. πατ. μιν] > Ar M απαστησον] -στηρ BA Μορν Ar M > F απο τ. ευ.] בטלותא Ar Δ. τ. πατ. μ.
κ. σπα] > BA D. et ab αβγδ דדרך Ar M F Ιεροσαλημ] Ιεροσολυμων BA ארמנו נרמינה למוסק ליר' Ar M
πολ. . . . αλων] > Ar πολεις της τ. εκκλησιας BA S + civitate quae est electa U + " אשר בחר MF
pr. הקטר F [ε] απο BA φυλων] pr. των BA εις τ. θυσ. . . κ. ηγ. . . κ. φα. . . εας πατ. τ. γεν. τ. αλων]
ubi aliare constitutum est . . . quod sanctificatum est in saecula, Tunc, cum . . . aedificatum esset . . . ut sacrifi-
cicaret in ipso omnis progenies in aeternum et U בני בחוכה להעלות " בני שביט שביט יחיאל "

1. 1. *Ψαγνήλ* = *לענא* as *Φογάωρ* (π. 2) = *פעור* (cf. *Γέμορρο* = *עמרר*, and other transliterations of hard *γ*).

2. *Espeper*. Ball conjectures that שׁל was misread עׁל, but even if this was the ultimate cause of the form, *Espeper* was well known as a recognized Greek equivalent of שׁל since all the Vss, translating from the Greek, were able to substitute שׁל for it; therefore the mistake of עׁל for שׁל, if that be the correct explanation, had probably taken place before Tobit was written. *Kaddōs* probably = Kadesh. Cod. 248 and the Complut. have *κῆπος*, hence A.V. 'which is properly called N.' In the crit. appar. Swete has been followed. Nestle (*Septuag.* iii, p. 23), however, urges that Swete is wrong in his reference to the last three letters of *ἐσπερος*; it was the *new* before *pal*, which a secondary hand cancelled by placing dots above it. *Asarip* = Hazor. After *ἄνω* insert *ὅπου* in N with *α β γ* (conjectured by Reusch, accepted by Muller), cf. *אחרי דרך מונח הירושלם*, Deut. xi. 30.

4. Restore in **N** τ : $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ (omitted through haplography of $\kappa\epsilon$) after $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ (which **R**^v in turn omitted) and in **v**: 5 insert $\kappa\alpha\iota$ before $\epsilon\pi\iota$.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 1. 4-10

5 built for all ages. All my brethren and the house of Nephtalim my father, they sacrificed to the
6 calf, which Jeroboam the king of Israel made, in Dan <and> on all the mountains of Galilee. And
I alone used often to journey to Jerusalem at the feasts, as it hath been ordained in all Israel by a
everlasting decree. I used to go to Jerusalem with the firstfruits and the firstlings and the tenths of
7 the cattle and the first shearings of the sheep, and give them to the priests, the sons of Aaron, for
(7) the altar, and the tenth of the corn and the wine and oil and pomegranates and the rest of the fruits
to the sons of Levi, who ministered at Jerusalem. And the second tenth I tithed in money for
8 the six years, and went and spent it each year at Jerusalem: and gave it unto the orphans
and the widows and the proselytes who attached themselves to the children of Israel; I brought it
and gave it unto them in the third year, and we did eat it according to the decree which was decreed
concerning it in the book of Moses and according to the commands which Deborah, the mother of
9 Hananiel our father commanded, because my father left me an orphan when he died. And when
I became a man, I took a wife of the seed of our own family, and of her I begat a son and called his
10 name Tobias. After the carrying away captive to Assyria when I was carried away captive, I came
to Nineveh, and all my brethren and those that were of my kindred did eat of the bread of the

וְנִשְׁכַּח מִן הָאֵלֶּיךָ כֹּהֲלֵי עֲדֻתְךָ וְעַבְדֶּיךָ לֵאמֹר אֵין פְּנֵי יְהוָה
[Isr.⁹⁰] > BA ξ [κ. ηγ.] > S (*corrupt.*) του θ.[.] τ. ψήσιον BA ξ II φκ.] οικ. A αυτῇ] > BA Hieru-
salem II 5. παν. οι αδελ. μου (ou N^a m supersecr. N^{s(eid)}) κ. (> S) πασ. αι φυλ. (+ L^a, J^a + S) συνεπιστας.
BA ξ (cf. F) > Ar κ.¹⁰ . . . παρ. μ.) post θαυαλ. N^{eam} BA ξ (cf. F) > Ar מטמ נפתלי M omnisque
(et γ) domus dicitur αβγ δ Νεφθ. pr. του Α εθυσιαζ[.] εθων N^{eabm} γ εντολη + ובתיס ועולות F εκειου
τ. μιωχω] τη Βουλ. της θαυμαλει N^{eabm} BA ξ vitulo autem II לעניו חובב M לעניו והם העלים את הכערים ואת העלים
on etui. . . Γολעד.] > BA ξ F Ιερσβ.] בן נבט + M. εν Δαν] post εθυσιαζον II pr. בבית אל Ar M επι. .
Γολ.] > Ar M et omnibus altissimis montibus G. αβ cum omnibus superioribus partibus G. γ et in excelso
omnium gentium. G. δ. 6. κορυμ κ. εγω Α והיא (et ubique) Ar μονασταρ.] manos BA ξ > M עברי יהוא +
πολλακις] πλεονικ. BA aliquoties αβγ aliquotiens δ > Ar MF εις Ιεροσολιμου⁹ N B^{ab} A] εν -οις B^v vid
επι⁹ N B^{ab} A] > B^e vid ερα⁹ > BA εν π. Ισρ.] > Ar M יש' Hy M πατι + τ. BA προστ. αι.]
Ar בכפר אוריתי דמשח " בחרות M (+ F) τ. πρωταγεν. κ.] > BA αβγ Spec. 59 ME אשריות Ar
τ. δεκ.] > δ κτηνω] γενηματ. BA ξ armentorum (-ti y argenti Spec.) et pecorum (-odum γ) αβγ Spec.
pecorum δ > Ar MF πρωτοκουρας] τ. προκοurias B (post tas seq ras in B: π β? mg animal) τ. πρωτοκουρια B
> δ Ar ובחרות M τ. πρωταζωω] > BA δ Ar MF εχω] והוא מיובל Ar αποτρεχ. εις Ιερ.] > BA ξ M
להמן Ar aliter F γ. κ. εδιδ.] > M αυτα] αυτας B ante εχω II > M τ. τι. Α. . . Ιερουσ.⁹
להן יהוי כלך חר ומאי יהוי Λαρω] Ap. Α πρι. τ. θυσ.] + παστ. των γενημ. N^{eabm} B ab A + των
yer. B* ξ ad aram δ > αβγ Spec. M κ.²⁰ τ. δεκατριη] τ. δεκατριη εδιδον BA ξ et quod moris erat de
tritico αβγ et decimam frumenti δ et secundum morem legis de trit. Spec. > M ראשון F τ. αν. . .
ακροδ.] > BA ξ F τ. οιν. κ. τ. σιτ.] τ. σιτ. κ. τ. οιν. N^{oa} de tritico vino αβγ ελαω N^a -ον N^{eab} αβγ Spec.
κ. ρωμ.] + Κ. τ. σικων N^{eabm} M et (de) ficu malorum granatorum αβγ δ Spec. ακροδ. N^{eab} ακροδ. N^a
τ. θεραπονειν] τ. -ενον. BA ولسلم S et servientibus Domino, qui praesto erant II (cf. M) plen. F
eis B > A δεκ. τ. διντ. μαμε ad νομ. Μωσ. (v. 8)] ובשרא תנינא ובשרא עניא הוא אבל והים בכל מה דברו בספרא
דשה Ar ו' שני ו' שני ו' שני להר לחום ולאשנה (ולהכות בכל שנה ושנה גם כל אחד לה'ר') כצוותא דשה
דינט. dek. BA اسپدکا, ارچنوم] اسپتارپاروم BA ξ communians in pecunia (vide Reusch) τ. εξ εδιδ. . .
> BA ξ F Ιεροισαλημ⁹] Ιεροισαλημοις BA (+ αβ) in loco sancto αβγ Spec. > δ 8. εδιδ. αυτα . . .
εαθεφρ. κ. εδιδ. αυτους εν τ. τριτ. ετ.] τ. τριτην εδιδ. BA ξ (cf. M supra) F tertii ad decimationem ferebant . . . et
dabam illis in tertio anno αβ decimationem dabam . . . in Israel γ tertia autem decima dab. . . et dabam dicitur
ita ut Tertii anni decimationem darem . . . in Isrl. Spec. τ. ορθατ. . . τοιος Ισρ.] οijs (B^b vid τοijs B*) καθηκει BA ξ
proselitis et orph. et viduis (et v. > δ) αβγ δ Spec. לבקר הבית F τας προσκ. τ. ιι. Ισρ.] faciens omnia quae
praecepta sunt (+ a Domino Spec.) in Isrl. αβγ Spec. adpositis in Isrl. δ τ. τοιος] pr. εδιδον N^{eab} vid κ. השב.
. . . מושח κ.] > BA ξ F השב.] manducabam II κατά τ. ειστολ. as] καθως BA ξ > Ar F as ενετ. . .
απεβαί.] והיה אדרכמה באורחה קישטא Ar והיה כ' אשמאר רוכב . . . והיה אדרכמה באורחה קישטא
מונ BA ξ MF patris mei Thobihel matri meae et patri meo αβ Danilhel δ > γ וטי] διοτι BA ορφανο
. . . απεδ.] -νος καταλειφεθρη υπο τ. πατρος μου (+ ובנמי M) MF BA ξ M 9. εγενην N^a] εγενηθ. N^{eab} εγεγαμον BA
γιγ.] pr. Αντων BA ξ δ uxorem nomine Annam αβ (A. > γ) εκ τ. σπ. . . ημων] מוריעה Ar M + וישבה
חנה Ar מ. εγγην. εξ αυτ.] יחידה ליה Ar MF ויון . . . σωμα αυτ.] > BA ΙΟ. μετα . . . ηχηματοισθη]
κ. στε ηχ. . . σθην (ημεν BF + 'מאין מ' Ar MF et postquam in captivitatem deveni ad Assyrios a

5. $\pi\eta$ $\beta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ (RV) is an imitation of LXX, e.g. 4 Kings xxiii. 5 (cf. the papyrus fragment of the Ascension of Isaiah, ii. 12), not an andrygonous deity (Baudissens, Herzog's *Kt.*, sub *hual*, *Astoria*) or a corruption of Bethel (Graetz, *Neub.*; $\beta\eta\theta\epsilon\lambda$ in *Ar.*, however, is a mistake, reproduced in M, for $\beta\beta\epsilon\lambda$).

6. The non-classical word *ἀνέμω*, common in LXX, is found in papyri, Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptolem.-zeit*, p. 234. Deissmann, *Bibl. u. pogr. toyrt*, § 19, *ἀνέμω* (Cod. Vat.) after a verb of motion belongs to the distinctly vernacular style of the R^v text, cf. v. 5, vi. 6, ix. 2, while the form *ἀνέμωσαν* (R^v *ἀνέμωσαν Σόλωνος*?) is Hellenistic.

7-9. See Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-48, for minute textual criticism of \mathfrak{L} .

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 1. 10-18

11, 12 Gentiles. But I kept myself from eating of the bread of the Gentiles; and, when I remembered my
13 God with all my soul, the Most High gave me grace and favour in the sight of Shalmaneser and
14 I used to buy for him all things for his use, and go into Media and buy for him thence, until he
died. And I left purses in trust with Gabael the brother of Gabri in the land of Media, ten talents
of silver.

15 And when Shalmaneser was dead and Sennacherib his son reigned in his stead, the roads of
16 Media were unsafe, and I could no more go into Media. In the days of Shalmaneser I did
17 many almsheds to my brethren who were of my kindred: I used to give my bread to the hungry,
(17) and garments to the naked: and if I saw any of my nation dead, and cast forth behind the wall of
18 Nineveh, I buried him. And whomsoever Sennacherib slew, when he had come fleeing from Judaea
in the days of the judgement which the King of heaven wrought upon him for the blasphemies
wherewith he had blasphemed, I buried. For in his wrath he slew many of the children of Israel,
and I stole away their bodies and buried them. And Sennacherib sought them and found them not.

(cum d. cf. 8) $\mu\kappa\mu\alpha\lambda.$ 8^a + $\mu\epsilon$ 8^{ab} N.] + קרמא רבתא Ar M $\epsilon\mu\sigma\rho.$] > BA 8^a 8^b F morarer d Ar M

$\chi_{\text{red}}^2 > 11.4$ $\mu_{\text{red}}^{2\sigma} > 13$ $\eta_{\text{red}} \theta_{\text{red}}$ *Ar* חזו מסאבין נפישורו 11. וחזו לא אכל דחזו דחיל מן אלהא *Ar* וחזו לא אכל דחזו דחיל מן אלהא

12. וְרוּחֹם יְתוֹם בָּלָל לִבִּי. *Ar* (cf. F) *s. ore* *kathori* BA et quoniam \mathbb{L} $\mu\upsilon\alpha^{13}$ > BA \mathbb{L} + לבב לבב MF

13. β_1^{10} > (γ , *supra* κ, σ) \mathbb{E} $\mu\sigma$ > BA ο ψιστ., $\alpha\lambda\eta\alpha$ Ar M $\alpha\lambda$ יהוה אל F χαρ. κ. μορφ., $\alpha\lambda$ חסדא
Ar M (cf. E) E₁ (*vide* κ, α) + *negam* Asseriturum α 38 Ar M + *negam* κ *Pe-Aug*

Ar M (cf. F) Eni (2ide v. 2) + regem Assyriorum *aβδ* Ar M + regem *γ* Ps.-Aug. F
 ἡμεῖς, . . . , ἡμεῖς] ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστής BΛ as Ar M ὡς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως *αβδ* Ar M *τα* πρὸς τ. *χαρσιν* quae

enique volebat in usu sub \mathbb{L}	14. κ. εποπ. εεε.] > Ar M	κ. εποπ.] εποπ. B iens \mathbb{L}	Μηδισ
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-dour Bab. pr. r. BA pr. regionem B pr. בבלי מלכותו F κ. ηγορ. αυτ. εκειθ.] > BA ≡ B F εως αυτ.

ἡμεῖς M ἡμεῖς F *hallaiaim* > BA \tilde{s} α β γ Ar MF τ, ad.] fratri meo α β M fratri δ > γ τφ⁴⁰

> BAM filio αδγ F et δ Παύλου - πω BA Gabahel αβ Gabeli γ Gabin δ קברי Ar קריביות Ar
> M מדינת E מדינת [Pomer] BA B 1. 1. 5 Μαδων - Rab regionis Medorum α 8 civitate M

in terra M. 8. + בְּקֶרֶת רֵאשִׁית M. 15. Ευαγγελιστῶν [-μεστωρ B. -μεστωρ A. ܡܥܠܡܐ S.

Ar M + מילא ראוהר Ar M הילך F $\kappa_{\text{L}}^{(u)}$ > BA \mathbb{B} $\Sigma\epsilon\omega\chi\eta\rho\epsilon\mu$ $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\iota$ B $\chi\eta\rho\alpha\iota$ B^bvid **העלאת** \mathbb{B}

Ar דפסקו עברי אורחא מטול ביהלמא [$\sigma\delta u \dots \alpha\pi\epsilon\rho.$] Ar ובחלקן יומיא בינא אנגרייתא + $\kappa_{[0]}$ $Ar-M$ כוחות

constantēs erant α β incon. er. γ recesserant δ (+ (cf. Ar) היו המלחמות אשר היו יושנרו מפני

κ. ουκ ἐστὶν, Mgδ,] *et nemo* *Ar* (cf. *M post Mgδ*.) כִּי בְּפִי מוֹדָא דֵּבִי M (בְּאֵרִין)

poterat ... postea **IL** *pr.* וְאַחֲרָיו F *pr.* אַחֲרָיו F
BA *pr.* אַחֲרָיו F *pr.* אַחֲרָיו M

(one sup ras + lit A^b) BA τ, αὐ, μου τ, ἐκ τ, γέν, μου] τ, αὐ, μου BA S omnibus de natione mea L להשיב Ar

(cf. *phn.*) M ללל F τ, ἀρτ, . . . γαρ.] > M πιν.] + יתמן Ar 17. μαρ.] φρ. τ. A + μον A

$\gamma \in M$ $\kappa \in \mathbb{N}$ Ar $\tau, \kappa \tau, \varepsilon \nu, \mu$ $> Ar$ $\varepsilon \nu$ $\gamma \varepsilon, BA \delta$ $\varepsilon \nu$ $ante$ $\kappa \tau, \varepsilon$
 M (cf. F) $\kappa \tau$ $> Ar M$ $\varepsilon \nu \mu$ $\mu \varepsilon \mu$ B $\varepsilon \nu \mu$ A $\mu \mu \mu \tau$ $\tau, \tau \varepsilon \chi$ $N \varepsilon$ $\mu \mu \mu \mu$ Ar $\mu \mu \mu \mu$

18. multa verba apud M

Sabbata et Scripta, et alius libri. simil. F ei τ, απεκτ.] > Ar Σενορχορει¹⁰) Αχρηαί B אֶחְרַיָא וּסְנוֹרְכוֹרֵי + o So-
σινδου 8 ca (cop) BA sin מְסִנְדוֹן אֶחְרַיָא Ar M + מְסִנְדוֹן אֶחְרַיָא M απηλθ., ηλθ. BA 5 φενγων] πρηνων Ar M

אול לני' בתקופ רג על עשר שיבטיא דבאדעא דאדור וקטל

Ar (+ *simil.*, M) *ev* ημ. . . . κρισ.] *propter defensionem* \mathfrak{A}

† αὐτοὺς κλητῶν BA 25 L M ἐκ τ. vi. . . κ. εἰπαντ. > BA 25 κ. 23] ego L pr. בְּלִילָה אֲנִי Ar אֲנִי

involvebam Ξ [ἐλκρ, . . . ἐλκρ, ἀντ.] - ἑλκθι πρὸ τ. βασι. το σαρ. κ. οὐκ ἐλκθθθ BA 26 יִמְנָה חֲדָא חֲבַע מְנַחֲרִים פְּנִי

14. ἡγόρευον (without the πάντα . . . χρηστὸν of v. 13) may refer to journeys to Media for the purchase of slaves, the sense in which ἀγορεύω is used in the will of Attalus III, Dittenberger, *Orient. Graec. Inscript. Select.* No. 338, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23.

15. Ἀχρημία (Vat.) is the result of haplography ἐβαλίσσεν[εν]ἀχρημία. The phonetic interchange of β and μ is frequent; consequently, Marshall's hypothesis, that β was misread ϐ in a supposed Aramaic original, is needless: see Introd., p. 132. ἐβαλίσσεν[εν]ρῆμα (Vat.) exemplifies the tendency of new verbs to take an external augment.

16. In *Ar* Levi reads חֲסִידִים but חֲסִידִים is correct as M appears elsewhere, e.g. vii. 16; xvi. 5, 9, 13; דַּעֲמִי has dropped out after it, and a similar omission occurs in π . 18, where M shows that the common parent of *Ar* and M originally followed the tradition of R¹ fairly closely.

18. \mathfrak{H}^2 *innoventum* is due to the influence of $\alpha\eta$, 12, or the presence of $\pi\epsilon\alpha\eta\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\eta$ in his MS. of R^5 , not to inde-

The α 2.1.100-reading is due to the influence of α n. 13; or the presence of περιστελλειν in his MS. of R², not to independent translation of α 22: misread α 22y, a corruption ingeniously but quite unnecessarily invented by Marshall.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 1. 19—2. 1

19 And a certain one of those of Nineveh went and informed the king concerning me, that it was I who
buried them, and that I was hid. And when I perceived that the king knew concerning me and
20 that I was sought for to be put to death, I was afraid and ran away. And all that I possessed was
seized, and there was nothing left unto me which was not taken to the royal treasury save my wife
21 Anna and my son Tobias. And there passed not forty days before two of his sons slew him. And
they fled into the mountains of Ararat, and Esarhaddon his son reigned after him. And he
appointed over all the accounts of his kingdom **Ahiḳar**, my brother Anael's son, and he had authority
22 over all his affairs. Then **Ahiḳar** made request for me, and I came down to Nineveh. For **Ahiḳar**
was chief cupbearer, and keeper of the signet, and steward, and overseer of the accounts in the days
of Sennacherib king of Assyria, and Esarhaddon appointed him a second time. And he was my
brother's son and of my kindred.

ii. The starting-point of the present story, ii. 1-14.

21 And when Esarhaddon was king I came home again, and my wife Anna was restored unto me, and my son Tobias. And at our feast of the Pentecost, which is the holy Feast of the Weeks, there

קטליה ולא אשכח יתחור Ar [Σ⁸⁹] rex Ἰλ αυτα] > Ἰλ Ar וברן עבר ומגן סניאין + 19. κ. επιορθειν
-θεis δε BA § ואולר Ar [σπορ. . . . ερον] renuntiatum est illi Ἰλ eis τις Ar טיש > BA εκ της
N.] εν N. B Ninivitar Δ § υπεδιχα -ξε B אכל קוציח Ar + multa verba M γωμ] > BA
θαιπτο] ιθαπτον A κ. εκπ.] > α β γ δ Luc. Ar F κ. στε επεγρον] επιγραφον δε BA § οτε . . . αποθ
quaerebat me occidere Ἰλ פקיד מלכא לקטליה בר ששע טובי Ar (cf. F) γωμ . . . σιδ³] > BA § τωυ
> BA φρεβηθηεν κ. απεδρασα] φοβηθεις ανεχωρησα BA § ego autem fugi Ἰλ קס תרגא Ar ברחתי מפניו M
(cf. F) 20. פקיד מלכא למישלל ית בויהא Ar (cf. + multa verba M) simili. F ηρησχη] δι- BA direpta
est Ἰλ οσα υπηρχεν μοι] τ. υπορχισα μου BA § substantia mea Ἰλ ο ουκ . . . βασιλικ.] > IBA § Τωβλια
-βατ B -βιον A 21. ου διαβλ. ημ. + εως ου] contigit dum laterem post dies α β contigit (+ ut γ) post
dies γ Luc. latui diebus δ יושב עד Ar F plen. et aliter M τεσσσερακοστια] ν' ε σαμα
πειτες. BA § quadraginta quinque α β γ δ Ar > M השעה עשר F απεκτ.] בארבה Ar οι δυο
vi.] pr. אדרמנך ושארער Ar MF εφυγον Ν^{ca}] -γεν Ν* τ. ορη] montem Ἰλ לארע Ar MF Αραπατ]
αδ B Ἰλ קדרו Ar Σαχερδονος] -δαν A Ιερουσαλם Archedonossar α β γ δ Luc. אמרחון Ar MF υοσι]
pr. o A μετ' αυτου] αυτ' αυτου BA Ἰλ Ar MF > § εταξ] מלכא אמרחון + Ar Αχειχαρος] -εταχαρος
o A -ιαχαρος BA Ιαχασ] § Achicarum α β γ δ אפיקר Ar M אחרן Ar אנאל] חמאל Ar חמאל Ar מנאל Ar τ.
του αδελ. μ. υιο] vi. (pr. τ. A) τ. αδ. μ. BA M ὡμι F εκλογισταιν] -ευω B curam α β γ δ כל דליה Ar M (cf. F)
αυτοι εχ. τ. εξουσ.] > BA § aliter F τ. διοκ.] ארעא דאחור Ar M 22. Ἰλ vide apud Reusch γοτε] κ.
BA § Ar ηδισω.] pr. למלכא מבין על טובי למלכא Ar (cf. M) Αχειχαρος¹²] Αχιμαχος BA
§ Achirarus α β γ δ אהרן F εμων] + erat enim consobrinus meus α β מיניה Ar κατηλθ.] הלθ.
Iaachab] Ar (cf. M) F την] > BA Αχειχ¹². . . δευτ.] > α β Ar M γαρ] δε BA § αρχινομοχοσι]
ov. B § F ανιδυχας A διουκτης] על המס F εις Σεν. βασιλεωv (Ν* -εα Ν^{ca}) -Αυσερ.] > IBA § F Σαχερ-
δονος] pr. o Ν^{ca} B -δονσοτος A Ιερουσαλם § Αcedonassar δ > F ιε δευτερως] pr. vws BA נאח וא
§ iterum δ > F ην] η Ν* > F δε] enim Ἰλ Ar εξαδ.] רחמייה Ar M > F κ. εκ τ.

II. 1. κ_1 [18] *ore de* ($\delta_1 > A$) $BA \bar{s} > \bar{u} M$ $\epsilon \pi_1 \Sigma, Ba \sigma_1$ $> BA \bar{s} > \bar{u} M$ באטונג הדיא Ar זיכער
 'אם F $\kappa_1 \theta_1$ $> \bar{u} Ar M F$ $\epsilon \pi_1 \tau, \dots, \mu \sigma_1^{20}$ *post Nov.* 122 $\bar{u} > Ar$ $\kappa_1 \alpha \pi \epsilon \delta_1$ אהרר $Ar M$ ונתן F η $\gamma \gamma$

19. ἀπειράσια, a form occurring elsewhere in LXX only in **8** Judith xi. 3.

20. βασιλικόν, cf. Dan. ii. 5 (LXX ἀναλημφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασ.), 1 Esdras i. 7.

21. R^h has 'graecized' the name of Esarhaddon; for N by its ἐν Σαρχεδόνων βασι. ii. 1, shows that R^h had Σαρχεδών (cf. Cod. Al. Σαρχεδάρ). For Ahikar cf. note to xi. 18.

22. a second time (cf. Mark xiv. 72): so Ball, Rendel Harris, the fem. being employed on the analogy of שני. RY, however, preferred 'son by a second wife', unless it is right to accent and punctuate a Σαχερδονος υἱος, *he der.* = Sacherdonus' son appointed him a second time. Dr. Charles conjectures that υἱος is a dittograph of the last three letters of Σαχερ.

11. I. In N the gen. was written for $\tau\eta\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ under the influence of the following genitive unless $\tau\eta\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\eta$ is to be understood. *weir.* (sc. $\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ cf. 2 Macc. xii. 32; 1 Cor. xvi. 8; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10. 6; cf. Philo, *De Septenar.* 21) = $\text{סֵדֶה הַחֲמִישִׁים}$, a somewhat new and unusual name for the 'feast of weeks' at the time when our author wrote; hence he defined it as $\eta\ .\ .\ \epsilon\beta\theta$, which is an integral part of R^s (not lacking in N as Hatch and Red. *Concord.* v. 361, sub. $\epsilon\beta\theta\alpha\mu\alpha$, incorrectly state), and R^v undoubtedly witnesses to subsequent misunderstanding of his purpose.

With $\tau\epsilon$, 2-4, 5 (first letter) and 8 cf. (*Qx*, *Papyr*, No. 1076). Presenting the recension of R^5 , it shows the usual difference for that recension for the ancient tradition of R^3 against the less antique R^1 in several respects, e.g. $\tau\epsilon$, 2 $\delta\iota\delta\iota\kappa\epsilon$ ($=$ ($\text{--}\tau\omega$ R^1) $\pi\omega\omega\gamma$ (against $\epsilon\delta\delta$ of R^1 though the latter's order is followed); $\tau\epsilon$, 3 κ , $\epsilon\mu\pi\omega\tau$, τ , $\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$, ($=$ $\epsilon\alpha\mu\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ R^3) against $\epsilon\lambda\theta\omega\alpha\varsigma$ of R^1 , $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\tau\epsilon$ ($>$ R^1), $\epsilon\delta\theta\iota\omega\varsigma$ ($\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$, R^1); in $\tau\epsilon$, 4 $\eta\pi\alpha$ ($\delta\alpha\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\epsilon\mu$ R^3) against $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (R^1), $\epsilon\kappa$ τ , $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau$, ($>$ R^1), $\epsilon\tau$ $\tau\omega\varsigma$ against $\tau\epsilon$ of R^1 , $\mu\epsilon\chi\mu\iota$ and infin. against $\epsilon\delta\omega\sigma\epsilon$ and indic. in R^1 , retention of the clause 'in order to bury him': see above for *Qx*'s coincidence with R^1 and *Intro.*, p. 176, for the emendation in $\tau\epsilon$, 8.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 2. 1-8

2 was a good dinner prepared me; and I laid me down to dine. And the table was set for me, and
abundant victuals were set for me, and I said unto Tobias my son, Go, my boy, and what poor man
soever thou shalt find of our brethren of the Ninevite captives, who is mindful < of God > with his
whole heart, bring him and he shall eat together with me; and lo, I tarry for thee, my boy, until
3 thou come. And Tobias went to seek some poor man of our brethren and returned and said,
Father. And I said to him, Here am I, my child. And he answered and said, Father, behold, one
of our nation hath been murdered and cast out in the marketplace, and he hath but now been
4 strangled. And I sprang up and left my dinner before I had tasted it, and took him up from the
5 street and put him in one of the chambers until the sun was set, to bury him. Therefore I returned
6 and washed myself, and ate food with mourning, and remembered the word of the prophet which
Amos spake against Bethel, saying,

Your feasts shall be turned into mourning.

And all your ways into lamentation.

7, 8 And I wept. And when the sun was set, I went and digged a grave and buried him. And my

מ. א. A, η γυν, μ. BA ου μου] > B γι צוה המלך אשר ו' ^{κ.19}] > BA ℒ τ. πστ. > Ar F ובשנה היא
 τ. ρογρ] -ρηγ (pr. τ. A) BA ημων] > BA ℒ Ar η... εβ3.] שבועות Ar M F εβδου.] pr. ep̄ta BA ℒ
 a sequem amnis a. τ. cx (a γ de Ang.) septimanis γ Luc. Ang. septimanam δ (vide Reusch) εγεν.]
 הכיותי MF μου αρ. καλ.] αρ. καλ. μοι BA κ.22] > B ανπεστα] ανεπαυστην A αρισθησαι] φάγειν
 (a sup. ras A*) BA ℒ 2. a πλειον] usque ad [επιστ. ουν ν. 5 (cf. O.v. κ.12. . . τραπεζα] > BA ℒ Ar M F
 παρ. μου 2*) εδωσανην BA ℒ a B γ Luc. > δ Ar M F οφρα πλειονα] οφρα πολλὰ BA ℒ > δ Ar M F πλειονα.]
 [πὸλ] ka (O.v. τ. T.] > BA ℒ O.v. παυδ.12] > BA O.v. ℒ Ar M βαδιζε] -σον BA ου] pr. αγαγε BA O.v.
 κ. T. ιω] rar BA O.v. εινος] ηγησ (O.v. πτωχ. τ. ad. ημ.] τ. ad. ημ. ενδης B ℒ (cf. Ar M) τ. ad. ημ. A
 κ. T. υδ. ημ. πτωχων O.v. εκ N. . . μεχρη του μου exist. O.v. εκ N. ωμκ.] > BA Ar M F ος μεμν.] > A F
 + τ. κυριον BA ℒ Deum a B γ Cypr. Luc. dom. suum δ החליא דאלהא Ar > M εν αλ. καρδ. αυτ.]
 > BA ℒ Ar M αγαγ. . . μου κ.] > (τ. supra) BA (cf. O.v.) ℒ κ. φαγ.] ut manducet ℒ κων. μετ' εμ] panem
 nobiscum et prandium hoc γ pariter nobiscum prandium hoc a B עמנא Ar M F ודע N*] > δου N*
 BA ℒ > Ar M האחר אל F פרטמננ] מנינא BA pr. וכל הישעבס עמי וכל παυδ.22. . . ελθω] > BA ℒ F
 παυδ.] > Ar M F σε ελθ.] [παρυγενε]σθαι σε O.v. 3. επορευ. . . κ.22] > BA ℒ וואו Ar Ωχ. . .
 ημ.12] > O.v. πτωχ.] + caritativum ℒ τ. adελ.] > M επιστρεψας] ελθω BA ℒ αναστρεψας O.v. > Ar
 + τ. מר M λγ. . . εθνοε ημων] ואכנא Ar λγ. . . αποκμ.] > BA O.v. ℒ M λγες] dixit mihi ℒ
 αυτω] > ℒ αποκρ. ειπεν] αιℒ ℒ πατερ] μοι O.v. ℒ ιδου22] > BA ℒ M εκ] των απο O.v. εθνοε] γεγ.
 BA ℒ ex fratribus nostris a B δ (γ Luc. = N) M מניני ישראל F πεφ. usque ad γενο. μ. αυτ. (v. 4) ποισ
 ελθℒ. O.v. πεφ. κ. εpp. εν τ. α. γ. αυτ. v. εστρ.] εστρηγαλωμενος (Αλημενος B ab A > M) εpp. εν τ. αγ. BA ℒ a B γ
 + אבוחי + אבוחי + נבארה ומוי נבארה רטא נבארה רטא נבארה דר נבארה F 4. κ.12] καγω BA ℒ וכר שטע Ar M F
 אבוחי22.] post me BA > Ar F נבארה ויצר לי מאד M אשהκα τ. αριστ. + κ.20] > BA ℒ כן קם מן פתורה Ar
 pr. η γενο. με] unde ανασθℒ. BA (cf. F) ולא אבל Ar > M η] > A αυτου > BA ανειλονμ] ανειλονμ
 BA ℒ ηρα O.v. pr. וואו Ar M εκ τ. πλατ.] > BA ℒ + דקרתא Ar κ.20] > BA O.v. ℒ εν τ. οειδω] BA
 τ. αυτηρα BA εν τ. αυτηρατων O.v. حجاب] in domum apud me ℒ (cf. F) בחד ביתא Ar מברשותי Ar עשהℒ
 > BA O.v. ℒ ℒ μεχרי τ. τ. ηλιον δεικ] εως ου εδו ο ηλ. BA μεχרי δεικν τ. ηλιον O.v. κ. θαψω αυτ.] > BA ℒ F
 κ. θαψτω αυτ. O.v. ut illum sepelirem ℒ 5. επιστρ. ουν] κ. επιστρ. BA ℒ ℒ M κ. (reliqua non exist.) O.v.
 + לביעה + לביעה + O.v. > F ελουσ.] > Ar M + ישי F αρτον] + μון BA ℒ ℒ μετα πεινℒ. εν λυπη BA ℒ
 pr. באילוי Ar pr. ברמעה M ואנחה F 6. εμνησ. . . λεγων] דאיתקיים באר τ. ρηματος τ. προσηχου] τ.
 προσηχτους (unc A) BA ℒ F sermonum prophetarum ℒ הרבי M οσα . . . λεγων] καθως ειπεν BA ℒ
 הניבי quod ℒ A.] post προσφ. BA ℒ ℒ ותי באשכל] in Bethleem ℒ ופכתי Ar M סתרהℒ
 > F νμ. αι εpp.] αι εpp. νμ. BA omnes dies festi vestri ℒ > F κ. πασ. . . θρηγ.] > Ar F 'ו M
 וסו] εψαλμון BA ℒ cantica a B Luc. (viae γ semitae δ) θρηγρον] -ον BA 7. εκℒ.] + כביה רבא לחרא + קריבוי
 Ar M κ. οτε . . . ηλ.] בכרβ B ורעℒ.] > Ar M 8. simit F οι] pr. omnes ℒ πησℒ.] קריבוי
 Ar M וקרובי ובשפתחי M μ.] > BA κατεγ.] επεγ. BA deridebant me ℒ um on φοβ. . . ιδου cf. O.v.

2. R² had *rou* θ, which αβγ have preserved: θ omitted (or they have fallen out after *aïrou*) and R^γ varied to *εαίρου*.

3. On the surface the ἀντιστροφή of *Ox* and the ἀποκρίσις of *N* might seem to suggest independent translation of a Heb. or an Aramaic word. This, however, apart from the general difficulties (see Introd., p. 182) of the independent translation hypothesis, is precluded by the fact that ἀντιστροφή of *Ox* corresponds to εἰδών of *Ry* (= ἐπιστροφή, not ἀποκρίσις, of *Ry*), λέγει . . . ἀποκρίθ, being omitted in conformity with *Ry* and only κ. ἐπορ. T. retained in *Rc*'s usual compromising tendency in the first clause of the verse.

4. *š*, *šin* ($-r\omega$ Ox , $= R^C$) $> R^V$, an instance of the resolution of an infin. into a finite verb in Hebraistic style and of its rejection or modification in a subsequent rescension.

6. R⁶ (cf. 7.8) in addition to $\Sigma^{\text{a}} \alpha \alpha \alpha \alpha$ read by Sweete but $\delta \alpha \delta \alpha$ by Reusch) had 'ways' (used metaphorically like $\gamma \gamma$ and well paraphrased by R⁵). The emendation $\delta \alpha \delta \alpha$ which was made as long ago as a B (and accepted even by Reusch) is preferred by the partisans of R⁵ (e.g. Nöldeke, Löhr) as giving colour to the fiction that R⁵ is merely a secondary revision undertaken in the interests of Biblical style and Semitic idiom.

8 that she also heard reproaches by one of her father's maidservants; because that she had been given
to seven husbands, and Asmodeus the evil demon had slain them, before they had been with her as it
is appointed for women. And the maidservant said unto her, It is thou that slayest thy husbands;
behold thou hast already been given to seven husbands, and thou hast not been named of one of
9 them. Wherefore dost thou scourge us on account of thy husbands because they have died? Go thy
10 ways with them and let us see neither son nor daughter *of thine* for ever. In that day she was grieved
in her soul and wept; and she went up into her father's upper room, and desired to hang herself: and
again she considered and said, *Nay*, lest they reproach my father; and shall say unto him, Thou
hadst one beloved daughter, and she hath hanged herself because of her calamities! and I shall bring
down my father's old age with sorrow to Hades. It is fitter for me not to hang myself, but to
11 supplicate the Lord that I may die and no longer hear reproaches during my life. At the self-same
time she stretched forth her hands towards the window and prayed, and said, Blessed art thou,
12 O merciful God, and blessed is thy name for ever: and let all thy works bless thee for ever. And
13 now unto thee my face and mine eyes I lift up; command that I be released from the earth, and
14 that I no more hear reproaches. Thou knowest, Master, that I am pure from all uncleanness with
man, and that I never polluted my name, nor the name of my father either in the land of my

(cf. M) pr. בארץ F aut.] ταυτ βα BA ipsa ἡ ἀκούσ. οὐκείδισμ.] -διασθῆναι BA § משעת חיסודא רבנא F ששוחזיה M משפחות אביו Ar υπο . . . αὐτης] > Ar משהות אביו BA § τοι²] > B υπο| απο BA ἡ μιν τ.] > BA § εἴτα] Ar (cf. M) ולא על עליה אינש באורח כל ארעא + ארעא + מלכא ישרי δαμ. τ. πορ.] πορ. δ. BA § sicut solutum est mulier αβ sicut traduntur mulieres εδ > γ באורה כל ארעה Ar בדרך כל הארץ M > F ὑπερ.] -αν BA § η παύδ.] > BA § sua ἔλ ἐι η] Οὐ σενεius BA § למה את האקטעיגוס] -πενγιωστου BA § F suffocas αβγ suffocasti δ τ. ανδρ. στ.] σ. τ. ανδρ. BA ἰδον ἥδη] ἥδη BA Ar מיכל ד > M απεκεδθ. επτα ανδρ.] επτα εσχες BA § > M κ.³⁰. . . ωνορασθης N B^{A1} h] κ.³⁰. . . ωνωσθης BA § et nullo eorum fruita es αβγ frunita es δ > MF וחר נתרן לא עאל עלך ראנה מקלה יתרון Ar 9. τί ἦμας . . . ανθρ. στ.] הרע ארת הוה M ותליך אותני על הרבר הרע הוה M (cf. F) περι τ. ανθρ. στ.] > BA pr. aut ἡ σσι απειθ. . . αυτων] תחתם (cf. F) ומוב היה לבמיתך משמותי (cf. F) תחתם στ.] α BA § F qui I. απηλαστον] -αν BA -τε B^{A1}] מותי F κ.] > BA § ἰδομεν] יראו M υιον N^a] pr. σου BA § + συν N^a pr. ex te ante videamus ἔλ μῆδε] η BA die δ 10. εν τ. ημερ. εκκει.] ταυτα ακουασσα BA § (cf. Ar. (cf. M) eadem hora αβ in illa hora γ in illa die δ ελεψ.) תרה M εν τ. ψυχ.] σφραברה BA § Ar מיד למות F κ. εκλευσθ.] > BA § ותצר לה γ κ.³⁰ αναβλη. . . θελει.] ωστε BA § ובקש F ἠδελ. . . ελογ.] בקול מר " ונתועק לפני M ἠδελ. . . κυκων] mult. aliter et plen. M. hab. supplicationem παλ. ελογ. κ. λεγ.] ειπεν BA § cogitavit ἔλ Μη . . . κακων] Μια μεν εμι τ. πατρι μου εαν ποιησω τουτο ουκεις αυτω εστι (εοτιν Α) BA § supplicationem et dissim. verba habet M אענה אה אענה הוה F αυτη] > ἔλ υπο τ. κακ.] > ἔλ καταξω] post αυτου BA § ולאחרת Ar τ. πατρος μ.] αυτου BA § + אמני F λυτης] οδυν. BA + animi ἔλ αδου N^a BA] αδους N^a χρησθ. . . ζωη μ.] > BA § MF + neque ego neque pater meus αβγ + pater meus δ χρησθ. μοι] pr. כן ליτ Ar αλλα] ברס טב לי Ar Kur.] אלחא Ar απως αποθ.] > Ar 11. > M εν αυτ. τ. κυρ.] κ. BA § וא F διαπ. τ. χιρ.] > BA § הלכה ונפלח τ. θυριδα] τη -δι BA § קרב אלחא Ar εδμηθη] ante pros BA § בצלו Ar + וברק אמתת Ar θει ελ.] κυριε α θεος μου BA § Domine Deus misericordiarum ἔλ שמו הגדול הנבור והנורא Ar קדש דמושת בכל עלמיא F שמו הגדול הנבור והנורא Ar eis τ. αι.] ירך Ar post Ar לעלם ולעלמי עלמינ] Ar פט Ar יחה אלחוני > F εἰσε σε] εἰσε σε post² BA § πρως.] > F τ. προσωπ. μ. τ. σφδ. μ.] BA μού¹] + levo αβAr + vento γ ανεβλεψα] δεδωκα BA § dirigo αβγ respiciunt δ תליין Ar aliter F 13. plen. et aliter MF εισου] ἔλ αβδλ.] αποδυσθηναι] -λυσας BA § λελχ.] απο τ. γνη] לעפרי Ar העולם מן העולם Ar > F δεσποτα] Kur. BA § F ακαθαρσιας] -σαι BA ουκείδισμους] -μων BA § 14. plen. F ουκ.] ουκ BA μου τ. εκ.] τ. ορ. μου BA corpus αρματ. BA ανδρος] pr. και B (sed non B^b A) § 15. ουχι] ουκ BA

between the cause—*servant's* gibes—and the result—desire for death; the strangeness of η^b in the mouth of servants (but rightly used by parents, x. 11, R^b, 12, R^v), Sarah's anxiety for her *father's* sake; the *figurative* use elsewhere in Tobit of $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{o}\omega$ (e.g. xi. 15, xiii. 2, 5, 9). He ingeniously conjectures that *her mother* (הַאִמָּה) not a *maid* (הַפֶּה) taunted her, that $\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\rho}\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ was a gloss inserted afterwards, and $\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ (c. 9) = the parents. Even if Levi were right, R^a (a *single* maid) would be nearer to the intention of the author than R^v.

8. ἀπόκτενν, (+ vi. 14 f. \aleph , xiv. 11 \aleph), Th. Gram., p. 225. ὠνάσθ, (R^v), Th. Gram., p. 200.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 4. 3-10

ii. The 'Teaching' of Tobit, vv. 3-21.

3 And he called Tobias his son and he came unto him and he said unto him, Bury me well, and honour thy mother; and forsake her not all the days of her life, and do that which is pleasing before her, and grieve not her spirit in any matter. Remember her, child, that she hath experienced many dangers for thee in her womb; and when she is dead, bury her by me in one grave. My child, be mindful of the Lord all thy days, and let not thy will be set to sin and to transgress his commandments: do acts of righteousness all the days of thy life, and walk not in the ways of unrighteousness. 6 < For if thou doest the truth, success shall be in thy works, and so it shall be unto all that do righteousness. Give alms of thy substance: turn not away thy face from any poor man, and the face of God shall not be turned away from thee. As thy substance is, give alms of it according to thine abundance: if thou have much, according to the abundance thereof, give alms; if thou have little bestow it, and be not afraid to give alms according to that little: for thou layest up a good treasure for thyself against the day of necessity: because alms delivereth from death, and suffereth

τουτον] > BA S +quam commendavi L עמקא דכספא Ar (cf. MF) 3. κ.1^o] כיד F εκαλεσεν] καλεσας BA S T. r. υιον αυτ.] αυτον BA S filium suum L F κ. γλθ. πρ. αυτ.] > BA L S Ar MF κ. > BA S αυτω] > BA S +Fili: et (et > γ) ille respondit: Quid est pater et Tobis dixi: (et dixi γ) α β θαψ.] pr. Παιδιον εαν αποθανω BA α β γ δ S Ar MF καλως] > BA S diligenter L F כיד F τιμα] μη υπεριδης BA S (cf. F) κ. μη εγκ.] τιμα BA S αυτης] σου BA S F κ. ποι . . . πραγμ.] > S ενωπ. αυτ.] αυτη BA illi . . . in conspectu eius L λυπησ.] חסרב Ar תמרה M τ. πνευ. αυτ.] αυτη BA פוטרה על Ar אה M +ואל חסרב אה חיה M > F εν π. πραγμ.] > BA Ar MF 4. αυτης] > BA α β γ δ Spec. κινδ. πολ.] < BA quanta pericula L > Ar במה צרות M pr. הרבה המטרות נמרה עלך. הרבה הטרות נמרה עלך. εωρακ.] εορ. B passa sit L אחעיקת Ar עכרו עליה M εν τ. κοιλ. αυτ.] > Ar pr. בחיותך MF κ.] > BA S εν. εν. ταφ.] pr. בכבוד M 5. facie simil. M κ.1^o] > BA π. τ. ημερ.] cum preced. coniung. A^{id} σου] > BA του Κυρ.] +τ. θεου ημων BA S Ar Deum L בוראך M יהוה אלהיך F κ.2^o. . . αδικας] plen. F κ.2^o] > B ημαρτιν κ.] > B -ταρειν κ. B ab ημ A δικαιοσυνας] -ηρ BA α β δ Cypr. Luc. pr. κ. α S > γ ποιαι] -εν A S > γ ταις οδ.] in viam α β γ δ (in vias Spec. 24) עם נבר חטוף Ar 6. > M οι ποιουντες] ποιουντος σου BA α β γ δ Luc. Cypr. S αληθειαν] -ια B^o A A pr. τηρ BA ex (in β) veritate α β γ Luc. Cypr. veritatem δ. ενδοθησ.] ενδομει εσονται BA S erit respectus α β γ Cypr. -tio Luc. bene tibi erit δ הצליח F εν τ. εργοις αυτων] εν τ. ε. σου BA α β γ δ + omnibus (+ in (ex Cypr.) substantia e versu seq. δ Cypr.) δ operibus tuis Luc. operum tuorum Cypr. דלך Ar הרבין ואו השביל F κ. π. τ. ποιουντων] cum v. 19 coniung. A (Svete) +טוביהן Ar > F δικαιοσ.] pr. τηρ BA > F 7-19^o. > A [7 usque ad 19^o B:—] 7. simil. M σοι] σου A κ. μη φθ. . . . ελεημοσυνη] > 71-106 S α β γ δ Spec. 24 Ar M σε] > A κ.2^o] > A ου μη . . . θεου] אלהא Ar לא יכסה שכניהה F לא יעלים מנך אל' προσωπων] cf. עניך MF πτωχ.] cf. מעניי ישראל M ואבין F του θεου] > S 8. simil. M ברי ער & fili L & filii L εξ αυτων ελεημ.] +εαν πολυ σοι υπαρχη κατα το πολυ εξ αυτων ποιησον ελεημοσυνην 249 α β γ (> δ cf. reliqua verba huius versus > δ) Cypr. Aug. (cf. F?) κατα το ολιγ.] +communica et α β γ Cypr. Spec. 24 Aug. ποιειω] cum (quia β) facies (facis γ Cypr.) α β γ Cypr. (cf. Spec. 24) φασιν ποιειω] ου ποι υπ αυτ B^{ab} 9. simil. cf. plen. M ותקנה נכסין ואם העביר צדקתא דרופתך טוב הקנה ביום ריתחא Ar γαρ] > α β γ δ Cypr. Caes. 10. ελεημοσυνη] -ηρ (v. ras A) A^o היא Ar צדקה M και ουκ . . . σκετος] יהיה וכל החסעם בצ' יהיה

5. Cf. Test. Job xlv, 'Behold I die; only forget not the Lord.' 6^b-19^a, full of reminiscences of Ahikar (see Introd. pp. 191 f.), certainly stood in R³. Apart from the fact that their presence in L cannot be attributed to later insertion from R⁵ or R⁶, a comparison of v. 5 with v. 19^a shows that some ethical instruction of the type found in L and R⁵ intervened in R³ between these two verses. The omission therefore is simply confined to N and is explicable on the supposition either of the loss of a page in a MS. or that the eye and mind of a scribe passed from the objective fact expressed in ποιουντων δακ. v. 6 to the cause and subjective motive for such action stated in δωσαι . . . βουλ. αγαθ. The gap has been filled in above from R⁵ except in a few cases (v. infra) in which that recension has evidently and seriously departed from the more ancient R³. 7. The words and when . . . grudging seem to be an interpolation in R⁵ from v. 16. The combination of 71, 106, α β, Spec. 24, S, Ar, M is emphatically against their originality in R³. 8. The parallelism demands the text of R³ preserved in L and the Patristic quotes:—ὡς σοὶ ἐπ. παιδιον αὐτως ποιεῖ εἰς πληθὺς σοὶ ὑπάρχει κατὰ τὸ πληθὺς ποίησον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐλεημ. εἰς ὀλίγ. σοὶ ὑπάρχει, κατὰ τὸ ὀλίγ. μεταδός (Communicatio = μεταδίδωμι in Wisd. vii. 13, cf. Test. Issachar vii. 5; Test. of Zeb. vi. 4. 7). 9. Possibly γάρ should be omitted and the verse construed closely (cf. L. Cypr. Caes.) with the preceding:—μη φασιν: ὅτι ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν σε ἐλεημ. θέμα αγαθ. θεοῦ. Ar's ריתחא should be read either רופתך = ὑποθήκη (Neaub.) or הפחת = ἀποθήκη (Nöld.). 10. Cf. Prov. xi. 4 (generalized in Sir. xxix. 12) with its counterpart in Syriac Ahikar (R. Harris, Story of Ahikar, pp. xlvii f.).

11 not to come into darkness. Alms is a good offering in the sight of the Most High for all that give
12 it. Beware, my child, of all whoredom, and take first a wife of the seed of thy fathers, take not
a strange wife, which is not of thy father's tribe; for we are the sons of the prophets. Noah,
Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, our fathers of old time, remember, my child, that they all took wives of
13 their kinsmen, and were blessed in their children, and their seed shall inherit the land. And now,
my child, love thy brethren, and scorn not in thy heart thy brethren and the sons and the daughters
of thy people so as not to take one of them: for in scornfulness is destruction and much trouble.
14 and in idleness is decay and great want, for idleness is the mother of famine. Let not the wages of
any man, which shall work for thee, tarry with thee, but render it unto him out of hand: and if thou
serve God, recompense shall be made unto thee. Take heed to thyself, my child, in all thy works,
15 and be discreet in all thy behaviour. And what thou thyself hatest, do to no man. Drink not wine
unto drunkenness, and let not drunkenness go with thee on thy way. Give of thy bread to the
16 hungry, and of thy garments to them that are naked: of all thine abundance give alms; and let not
17 thine eye be grudging when thou givest alms. Pour out thy bread and thy wine on the tomb of the

[illegible]

11. $\delta\omega_{\mu\sigma}$ = offering (cf. S), Lev. i. 2, Mark vii. 11. F's paraphrase is good.

12. See Test. Job xiv, Jub. iv. 33. See Introd., pp. 183 f., 186, and espec. 196.

13. Restore R^u from \mathbb{L} : τοῦ μὴ λαβεῖν μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν. On ἀχρεΐτης (R^v) see Th. *Gram.*, p. 82.

16. Restore in K² ταὺς γυμνοὺς and *pr* περιβαλεῖ (Is. lviii. 7) on basis of \mathfrak{L} .

17. The impossibility of *daily* 'pouring out bread' R¹) and the alleged paganism of the funeral rite here inculcated have led to numerous emendations and suggestions as to how a hypothetical Hebrew or Aramaic original could have been misread. Graetz (cf. *ib.*) suggested לֶחֶם נֶקֶב הַצְרִימִים; Hilgenfeld conjectured לֶחֶם הַצְרִימִים misread as לֶחֶם הַצְרִימִים; Hitzig read חֶסֶד misread as לֶחֶם; others שֶׁנֶּעַן misread as שֶׁנֶּעַן. The difficulty, even if R² were the true text, is not sufficiently great to warrant these hypotheses. But the Zeugma in R² (recovered from *ℳ Ar M*) is quite defensible and its claim to be the original text is now beyond controversy through the discovery of the Syriac and Arabic texts of Aḥīqar (see Introd. p. 192, footnote 2, and Cambr. Aḥīqar, pp. xlvii f.). It is, however, quite conceivable that *Y*'s *conspicue* may be a mistranslation of an Aramaic imper. כֶּךְ. For the custom of offering such sacrifices see Introd. p. 198.

18 just, and give not to sinners. Ask counsel of every man that is wise, and despise not any counsel
19 that is profitable. And bless the Lord thy God at all times, and ask of him that thy ways may be
made straight, and that all thy paths and counsels may prosper: for every nation hath not >good
counsel; <but> the Lord will give to them <all good things>; and whom he will the Lord
humbleth unto the nethermost Hades. And now, child, remember these commandments, and let them
20 not be blotted out of thy heart. And now, child, I shew thee that I left ten talents of silver in
21 trust with Gabael the brother of Gabri at Rages of Media. And fear not, my child, because we
have become poor: thou hast much wealth, if thou fear God and avoid every kind of sin and do
the things which are good in the sight of the Lord thy God.

iii. The Preparations, v. 1—17.

1 Then answered Tobias and said unto Tobit his father, All things, whatsoever thou hast com-
2 manded me, I will do, father. But how shall I be able to fetch it from him, seeing he knoweth
me not nor do I know him? What token shall I give him that he may recognize me and trust me
3 and give me the money? And the roads to Media I know not to journey there. Then answered
Tobit and said unto Tobias his son, His note of hand he gave me and a note of hand I gave him and
I parted it in two and we took to each of us a part, and I put it with the money, and now lo, it is
twenty years since I left this money in trust. And now, child, seek thee a trusty man which shall

a β + funde vin. t. γ Aug. Serm. + vin. t. δ vin. t. Auct. pr. ברי + חסרך Ar + ויניך M ep. τ. ταφ.]
super sepulcra a β γ δ cum iustis δ δ[is] + לעולם F και μη . . . αμαρτ.] > Ar M על ענה עשות
אל חתן ענה עשות
'רש' F δ[is] + illud L 18. ושמע לטובא טבא בכל עין Ar (cf. plen. M) ζητησ.] אל חתן F καταφρονησης
μεταφρον. A επι . . . χρησ.] quoniam omne consilium utile est L 19^b, plen. et multa e Script.
addit. F και¹⁰ . . . και²⁰] > Ar M και¹⁰] > L Κυρ. τ. θ.] Deo L לבואך F παρ' αυτ.] אלהך
σπως . . . ευσώσωσιν] והוא יבשר אורחותך Ar (cf. M) διοτι . . . αγαθα] אלהם לית לאיזע טלך טב אלהן אלהא
Ar (לבר) M כי אין ביד אדם שים עצה אלא ביד הב"ה (לבר) παν εθν.] caeterae nationes a β γ omnes gentes δ βουλην
+ bonam (-um δ) a β γ δ αλλ' αυτος . . . αγαθα] > a β γ Dominus dat nobis omnibus δ 19^b usque ad 13:
6^a N:— δωσει Κυριος] αλλα αυτος ο Κυρ. διδωσιν BA S (Ar M v. supra) βουλ. ay.] παντα τ. αγαθα BA S (v. Ar
M supra) ον αυ] ο εαν B ον εαν A quem ergo a β γ quemcunque δ Κυρ.] > BA S ipse a β Deus γ
(Dom. δ) > Ar M ταπεινοι] pr. allevat et quem voluerit ipse a β γ pr. exaltat et quemc. vult δ pr. וכל
דעבי Ar (cf. M F) εως ηδ. κατ.] καθως βουλουται (-ται A S) BA S usque ad inferos γ (deorsum a β sub terram
δ) a β γ δ > Ar M και νυν . . . σου] > S כעניך ולא ילכו כעניך > S Ar (cf. M) τ. εντολας
ταυτ.] τ. -λων μου BA L + ובכל נפשך . . . וחזק M 20. παδ.] > BA S υποδεικνυσθαι επαδεικ. B οτι τα
BA S > Ar M αρχην. pr. τον BA pr. עסק Ar (cf. M) παρεθ.] pr. a BA S Ar M Γαβαηλ] Γαμ. A
Gabelo L גבלי] S נבאל Ar נבאל M עבאל F Γαβρι] -ρια B -ια A Gabahel a β Gabrin δ Gabeli
γ > S Ar אחריו קרובי M נבראל F Αργους] Αργους BA L] כו] בקורי רינש S ב] M במדות רנאש
+ במוט' M ארם לא ידעת יום מותי Ar M > F 21. και μη . . . επιωχ.] > Ar M και] > S παδ.] -διον
abscess. est in A αγαθ¹⁰] > BA θεων] κν. A φυγης] αποστ. BA recesseris L היטר נטרך Ar ποιησ.
. . . θ. σου] ובצנעה חתך עמיה Ar > M τ. αγαθ.] τ. απεστος BA S bene L היטר F ευωπ. . . σου]
> L K. τ. θεου σου] αυτου BA S F + ולא תחסר כלום F

V. 1. τότε] κ. BA M F סו S > Ar T. τ. παρ. αυτ.] αυτω BA S לאבחי Ar M > F ποι. παρ.]
παρ. ποι. ante παρτα BA S אעביר Ar 2. πως δε] αλλα π. BA S Ar Quomodo autem L pr. לי
עצה M αυτω] το αργυριον BA S Ar M F hanc pecuniam a β γ pec. δ παρ' αυτ.] > BA מיד נבאל Ar M
איש F αυτος . . . εγω] > BA S τι σημ. . . εκει] > BA S F pr. vel L δφ] מיטך M κ. επιγρω
με] > Ar M κ. πιστευ. μ.] > M το] hanc L τ. εε M.] regionis illius L τ. παρ.] > L דיובילי (ante
eis M.) Ar שילכו בהם M εκει] > L Ar M 3. τότε . . . ειπω] > F τότε . . . τουτο εγω] κ. εδωκ.
αυτω το χειρογρ. BA S τ. ιωφ αυτ.] אר מברך לו + Ar M אשר תאמר לו > F χειρογρ. εδωκα αυτω
. . . μετα τ. αρχην.] et meum similiter accepit et divisit in duas partes unum accepi ego et alium posui cum ipsa
pecunia a β γ et cyrographum meum accepit in quo posui pecuniam apud illum et aliterum habeo δ
בועניה יהב מיד הוציא כתב ידו ונתן Ar M לי וטעני יהבית ליה (M קבל מיד) כמה דשוית כספא ופקדתניה (M > ופ') בידה
היום Ar וכן יומא ההוא עד יומא דין ע' ש' κ. νυν . . . ταυτη εγω] לו ואמר הראה לו זה כתב ויתן לך הכסף
M > F νυν παδ.] ειπεν BA S מיטך F πιστω] > BA S F πορευσ. μ. σου] ανμπ. σοι

19. Trans. presupposes Reusch's restoration of R². κυρωσάτω (R²), Th. Gram., p. 183.

V. 3. R², in abridging, has altered the story considerably, and Ar and M substitute bag for bonā, possibly through a confused recollection of a debased form of the Heb. original, e.g. Perles proposed either חרם (= a writing Isa. viii. 1, and a bag, 2 Ki. v. 23), or the Talmudic ריסקא.

go with thee, and we will give him wages, until thou return: and fetch thou this money from him.
4 And Tobias went out to seek a man who would go with him into Media and knew the way well ;
5 and he went out and found Raphaël, the angel, standing before him. And he knew not that he was
an angel of God, and said unto him, Whence art thou, young man? And he said unto him, Of the
children of Israel thy brethren; and I am come hither to work. And he said unto him, Knowest
6 thou the way to go to Media? And he said unto him, Yea, I have often been there, and I know it
well and I know all the ways; many times did I go unto Media and lodged with Gabael our kinsman,
who dwelleth in **Rages** of Media; and it is two regular days' journey from Ecbatana to **Rages**;
7 for it lieth in the hill country, but Ecbatana in the middle of the plain. And he said unto him, Wait
for me, young man, until I go in and shew my father; for I need that thou go with me and I will
8 give thee thy hire. And he said unto him, Behold, I will wait, only tarry not. And Tobias went
in and shewed Tobit his father and said unto him, Behold, I have found a man of our brethren
the children of Israel. And he said unto him, Call me the man, that I may know what is his family
and of what tribe he is, and whether he be a trusty man to go with thee, child.
9 And Tobias went forth, and called him and said unto him, Young man, my father calleth thee.
And he came in to him, and Tobit saluted him first. And he said unto him, Much cheer to thee!
And Tobit answered and said unto him, What cheer have I any more, who am a man impotent in
10 legs?

BΑ eat tecum ℣ δασμεν] -σω ΒΑΣ τως στ. ελεδ κ. λαζε] εως ζαι κ. λ. ΒΑΣ ArM (מות בטרם M) et
dum adhuc vivo recipe αβγ vade filii dum vivo accipe δ כפנים חישבו בעורתי חי מיר לקח בידו ככפים F παρ'
αυτ.] πορνενθ ΒΑΣ δι (ante eos) ArM > F τουτο] > ΒΑ ℣ S ArMF + ו' י' אלו יש ו' M 4. εξηλθ.
δ.] κ. ἐπορεύθη ΒΑΣ et exiit F ולקח F τωβαις] > ΒΑΣ os p[or. . . εξηλλθ.] > ΒΑΣ דיקך עמיס ArM
פור. μετ. αυτ.] eum duceret ℣ Μηδ.] pr. regionem ℣ > F as] pr. et ℣ od.] + regionis illius ℣ > F
κ. εξηλλθ.] > ℣ F κ. ευμιν . . . εστιν] [מבן ברטות ארז ועמר בשוק ראה אותו U] pr. τον A 23, 6,
243, 248 τ. αγγελλον] σε ημ -δος ΒΑΣ S + r M εστηκ.] > ΒΑΣ απεν. αυτ.] > ΒΑ ℣ S Ar γρω] ρδει
ΒΑ + M M οτι . . . εστιν] > ΒΑΣ (עבותת) M 5. κ. εισπ. αυτ.] Ar 'U יאומר המלאך אל 'U
κιοθεν . . . ειπεν αυτ.29] > ΒΑΣ F reliq. v. 5 et 6^a aliter F ναν.] > Ar κ. εισπ. αυτω29] ΑΤΗΙΘΗ Ar
יאמר טוביה ואמר U τ. αδελφ.] pr. אח אבי] מבני ישראל] M κ. εληλκ.] veni ℣ > Ar M ωδε ερχατ.]
> Ar M εισπ. αυτ.29] + Thobias ℣ ArM εισπατ. τ. οδ. πορ.] et deusmā por. μετα σου ΒΑΣ S nosti viam quae
ducit ℣ עמי התרע לכהן אדני החרע לעמי M eis Μηδ.] εν Ραγοις τ. Μηδ. ΒΑΣ S in regionem Mediam ℣ + κ. ei ἐμπερος
ει τ. τοπων ΒΑΣ S 6. αυτω] + o αγγ. ΒΑΣ S ArM Ναι . . . εκει] πορνενσμαι μετα σ. ΒΑΣ S multa ego
(cog-) γ novī αβγ multa sunt quae scio δ > Ar εμπ. κ. επιστ. τας οδ. παυσ.] της οδ. εμπ. ΒΑ teneo vias
omn. αβγ vias omnes novi δ ιδενα וחיתה ArM (כלל) M πλειονας . . . Μηδ.] > ΒΑΣ ArM aliquoties
ivi in illam reg. ℣ ηλιζ.] ηλιζαβετ post ημων ΒΑ ΑΙΣΙΑΣ במדבר הריגה אששיא ArM ראב. τφ ad.] Γαβαηλ του ad.
ΒΑΣ S עובאל F τ. οικοιστι . . . πεδιω] > ΒΑΣ F εν Εκβ. τ. Μ.] in Rages civitate Medorum αβγ δ
אנכתנת B רבית מרתת יהודי M κ. απχει . . . τ. πεδιω] et est iter bidui ec Bathanis usque Rages civitatem
l'agur quae posita est in monte et est Bathanu in medio campo αβγ et est b. iter a Batanis usq. ad R., quae
pos. est in m. et haec in m. c. γ et continet Ec bathnis dierum duo stadiorum R. pos. est in montem Ec bathana
in m. c. δ בנימרא ואנכתנת במדבר ArM (מ. נחב.) eis Γαρρας . . . Εκβι-
τανα] > n^e vid (hab. N¹⁰⁰) γ. κ. V] > Ar αυτ.] + τωβαις ΒΑ ℣ S ArM μνον με] υπομινουν με ΒΑ
sustine ℣ הרף M ναν.] > ΒΑΣ ℣ ציבתך Ar מענט במסדר Ar מענט מענט F μεχρ. στ. εισελθ.] κ. ΒΑ S
Ar υποδεξω] ερω ΒΑΣ S hoc ipse u . . . nunciem ℣ αυτ. και τηρε M μου] > ΒΑ Ar χριαν . . . μσθ.
σ.] > ΒΑ S F אנה איהה . . . דרגני ArM 8. εισ.] + Raph. ang. ℣ ιδου . . . προσκ.] πορευου ΒΑΣ S
+ te ℣ pr. כל מהר כי מלך תאתר A F ιδου] > Ar μων. μη χρ.] יתר דחיני τφ Ar μνον
> S F pr. כי שישבו עלי M γ. τωβαις . . . κ.29] > ΒΑΣ Ar αυτω] τφ πατρι ΒΑΣ S Ar F ιδου]
> ArMF ανερ.] > ΒΑ γ S + מוב M בתוך אחד F ευρον] -הκα ΒΑΣ S > γ τ. ad. ημ.] > ΒΑΣ S F
ex (de δ) frat. nostr. αβδ > γ τ. υ. larp.] σε αντιπρομνεστα (-μη, B¹⁰ A) μοι ΒΑ αβδ (> γ) > S ArM מנוסה
במוסות הווא κ.39] o δε ΗΑΣ > F αυτ.] > ΒΑ ℣ S + τωβ. ΒΑ אבוי F καλσα.] φωνηση
ΒΑ toga ℣ pr. δι Ar μοι] προς με ΒΑ > ArF τ. ανερ.] αυτον ΒΑΣ S ArMF σπως] ινα ΒΑΣ S
τι . . . κ.] > ΒΑ μ S ArM εκ] > ΒΑΣ φυλαξ] M F ιστω29] > B S (hab. A 23, 64, 243, 248,
249) ια πορ. μ. συν] του περιεστρημι μ. σ. ΒΑΣ S ArMF cui tu committaris ℣ παιδ.] > ΒΑ ℣ S ArF
εξηλθ. τωβ. κ.] > ΒΑ S F κ. εισπ. . . σε] > ΒΑΣ ArMF Νεαν.] + intra ℣ πατηρ] + meus ℣
το. πορ. αυτ.] רפאל ArM εχαρ. . . πρωτ.] ησανταστο αλληλους ΒΑΣ S F > Ar M κ. εισπ. αυτ. Χααρ.
. . . γανωσκω] > ΒΑΣ S F αυτ.] pr. ille ℣ αυτ.] > ℣ Ar χααρ. . . γενοιτο] gaudium tibi semper sit
(frater α) βγ pax super te δ ואיש האלהים M τι . . . χαρειν] ut quid mihi gaudium αβγ quis dixit

6. The tradition of R^{ss} seems to have been handed down in slight confusion, but the mistakes are easily rectified. In R^{ss} *ḥayyas* should be read with E for *ḥayyānne*. Reusch emends καὶ *ḥayyā* for *el ḥayyas* but *el ḥayyas* is simpler, and it is possibly an explanatory gloss. In *ḏ* Ecbatana has been dittographed, *stadiorum* written for *statutorum*; in *aB* quite before *posita* is possibly a remnant of *Rages quae*.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 5, 10-15

the eyes, and I behold not the light of heaven, but lie in darkness like the dead which no more see the light; while I live I am among the dead; the voice of men I hear, and themselves I behold not. And he said unto him, Be of good cheer! it is nigh with God to heal thee; be of good cheer! And Tobit said unto him, My son Tobias wisheth to go unto Media; canst thou go with him and direct him? And I will give thee thy hire, brother. And he said unto him, I shall be able to go with him, and I know all the ways, and often have I gone to Media and passed through all its plains 11 (10) and mountains, and all its ways I know. And he said unto him, Brother, of what family art thou, 12 (11) and out of what tribe? Shew me, brother. And he said, What need hast thou of a tribe? And he 13 (12) said unto him, I would know truly of what *tribe* thou art, brother, and what thy name. And he said 14 (13) unto him, I am Azarias, the son of Ananias the great, of thy kinsmen. And he said unto him, Welcome and safety, brother; and be not bitter towards me, brother, because I wished to know the truth and thy family. And thou chancest to be a kinsman, and thou art of a noble and good lineage: I knew Ananias and Nathan, the two sons of Semelias the great, and they used to go with me to Jerusalem and worship with me there and they went not astray. Thy brethren are good men; thou art of 15 (14) a good stock, and I bid thee welcome. And he said unto him, I give thee a drachma a day a

mishi prx δ > Ar M ויחית שלם עלי למה אירע לי כל דא > Ar M κ. εγω . . . σφθαλ.] > Ar κ. ου . . . sup.] > M
 κωμωι M οι κερ. οι μη. θε. τ. φ.] > Ar M ζων εγω εν κερ.] mortuus inter vivos αβγ > δ
 Ar M φωνη . . . βλεπ.] > M αυθραπων] סילן Ar σιτους N^a] αυτος N^a] ipsos Ar ונברא Ar αυτω^{3a}]
 + Raph. ang. M המלאך Ar Θαρσ.] > δ Ar M εγγυε . . . ιασ. α.] יבול אל' לאספא ארום
 Ar נבר אחר מנאר עינך הוא ירפאך כי צדק אחת ויטוב ויאמר בן (אמר נ"י) Ar נבר חסדא את
 > αβγ Ar M ε. Μηδ.] in regionem Mediam M κ. αργ. αυτ.] > Ar M δ, δωσ.] dabo M וניתן
 > Ar ειν. 6^a] + Raph. ang. M המלאך M αυτω^{6a}] > M M Δωτησ. . . μετ' αυτ.] בינלא נברא
 Ar שילחא אנה M כן אוכל M επιστ.] > Ar M κ.] quoniam M Μηδ.] pr. regionem M κ. πολλας. . .
 διηλθ. παντα] > Ar M παντα, πασ.] > Ar τ. οργ.] תחומיא Ar כל הכולים M πασ. τ. οδων.] > M
 11. ειν.] + Gobis M Ar M αυτω] > Ar M Αδελ.] > Ar M ποι. πατριδος κ. εκ π. φ.]: εκ π. φ. κ. εκ π.
 πατριδος συ ει BA S F את וישום קרתא דאת דייך בה Ar מאדון שבטא Ar מאדון ונא' זה
 עיר M Αδελ.] > BA S F Ar F 12. απτ.] + αυτω BA S F + Thobis Ar רפ' M הטל' M Τε χρ. εχ.
 φυλ.] φυλην κ. πατριαν συ ζητης η μιθων σε επιπροκαυεται μετα του (τ sup ras BA S F) σου SA δ Salt. Ep. 9 S
 (cf. F) עיר תבקש ויש לך ישיבו ישיקך עם בנך כרצונך Ar אם לית אנה כשר בעינך ויל ובליש נברא חורגא דיהך עם בנך
 M εχ. φυλ.] scire genus meum vel tribum meam mercenarium desideras genus et tribum meam cur quaeris
 (desid. aut tribum et patriam meam γ) sed si valde exigis αβγ κ. ειν. αυτ. Boul. . . σου] > αβγ (hab. δ)
 Salt. Ep. 9 αυτ.] + Twβ. BA S M γνω.] εντογ, BA pr. לא תהנעם עלי Ar τα καρ' αλ.] > BA S
 MF τινος ει] το γεινς σου BA S F ורעיתא Ar > M Αδελ.] post δουλομαι BA τα] > BA S F
 M ונא' M σου] > BA F משפחה אחת- M 13. κ. . . αυτ.] > αβγ κ.] ος εδ B ο δε 64, 71, 74,
 76, 243, 248, 249 αυτ.] > BA S מ'הל' M Εγω] > A + sum M Αραται] pr. משפחה M τ. με-
 γαλον pr. de domo Sellenmiae δ pr. מבינת שלמימ Ar pr. מבינת שלמימ M pr. עוררה B τ. Αδελφ. M
 > F 14. αυτ.] + Thobis M ט' Ar M κ. σωθ.] > BA S πικραν.] οργισ. BA S Ar F irascaris M
 Αδελ.] > BA S F τ. αλθθ. εβουλ. γωωωα κ. τ. πατριαν] εζητησα τ. φυλ. σ. κ. τ. πατριαν σ. (σ. > Bab A 23, 55,
 58, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108) πτογ. BA S vere (-um γ) scire de genere tuo αβγ scire veritatem generis tui
 > BA M τ. αλθθ.] > Ar F κ. σ. τυγχ.] ווא Ar M עתה ידעתי F אן] μου
 BA S ex fratr. meis M κ. εκ γερ. καλ. κ. αγ.] εκ τ. καλ. κ. α. γ. BA S מוהינחא טבא Ar (טו] σιν)
 > BA M εγωωωωω. γαρ εγω B γιγ. γ. ε. A Nosti αββ] Uno vero foderas אהא ידעת
 Naβan] Ιωθ. Athaskan γ. Nathanian δ (Nathan ε) יותם B דו] > BA γ F υνους] > γ
 Σεμειλιου] Σεμου B -ειου A Semeiae αβ Sellemmiel δ (> γ) מלכא Ar שלמימ F שלמן
 μεγάλ.] novi magni viri δ (magni viri αβ) > γ κ. α. συνεπ. μ.] ως αποκρινομεθα κωιους BA S pr. et dixit ille
 angelus γ κ. προσεκυεν.] -κυεν BA S pr. אהא ישראל כר יתיבנא בארעה ישראל Ar M > F μετ' με. κει.] αναφαιρantes
 τ. πρωτοτοκα κ. τ. δεκατος τ. γεννηματα BA S F ελπαυ.] + εν τη πλαση BA S τ. πλαση 64, 248, 249 την πλασην
 לא עובי . . . ווא טעו אחרי M אחרי אלהי נבר הארץ כאשר תעו Ar באנונא רטעו- A 23, 55, 71, 74, 76, 236
 F הנהל אשר טעו F αλ. σου] τ. Αδελφωσ ηρ. BA S hi omn. fratr. nostri αβ > γδ
 αγωθ.] > BA γ δ S optimi sunt αβ > Ar M בני ישראל F αγωθ.] καλ. B μεγάλ. A 55, 58, 64, 71, 74, 76,
 236, 243, 248, 249 > M מרוע קרדיים F סו] Αδελφ. BA S > MF κ. χαρ. ελθ.] > BA S M F
 salvus eas et salvus venias αβ salvus sis γ cum pace venias δ 15^a post 15^b M κ. ειν. αυτ.] αλλ'
 (לא A) ειπον μοι BA חתרנה אה F Εγω . . . μισθ.] τινι σοι εστωμα μισθ. δωδωα BA δδωα] dabo M τ.
 ημερων δραχ.] δρ. της ημερας (in the partium ras praef sefert B) BA מוסו] מוסו] didragma diurnam τ.
 ויהא מר טרמינא כל מ' בבל וים בבת מישל' מ' בבל וים מ' בבל וים M τ. δεκατ] וניביל Ar M > F ομοιος] ως

15. The periphrastic future *ἔσονται διδόναι* is characteristic of R^v's strong vernacular style.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 5. 16—6. 1

16 (15) wages, and those things that be necessary for thee, as unto my son; and go thou with my son, and I will add something to thy wages. And he said unto him, I will go with him, and fear thou not; 17 (16) we shall go safe and return safe unto thee, because the way is secure. And he said unto him, Blessing befall thee, brother! And he called his son, and said unto him, Child, prepare what is needful for the journey and go forth with thy kinsman. And God which is in heaven preserve you there and restore you to me in safety and his angel accompany you with deliverance, child.

B. THE DEPARTURE, v. 17^b—vi. 1.

And he went forth to go upon his journey; and he kissed his father and mother, and Tobit 18 (17) said unto him, Farewell. And his mother wept, and said unto Tobit, Why is it that thou hast sent 19 (18) away my child? Is he not the staff of our hand, and doth he not go in and out before us? Let 20 (19) not money be added to money; but let it be a ransom for our child. As the Lord hath given 21 (20) us to live, so doth it suffice us. And he said unto her, Trouble not: our child shall go in peace, and in peace come unto us and thine eyes shall see him in the day when he shall come unto thee in peace. 22 (21) Trouble not: fear not for them, sister; for a good angel shall go with him, and his journey shall be 6 1 (22) prospered, and he shall return in peace. And she was silent from her weeping.

BA S > F κ. πορ. . . . μου > BA S Ar + ובשלום תבואו בעזרת האל M עד אשר חלבו F 16. κ.¹⁹] + ואם ישיבכם הק' בה בשלום עוד M (cf. F) επιστροφ. BA adiciam L τ. μισθον BA S ad mere. tuam L + εαν γινωσκοντες (τε σου, πατ. Α.¹⁷) επιστρεψητε BA + כראוי F κ. επ. . . . ασφαλ. > BA S + אמר לו כדברך בן אעשה Ar (cf. M) ענא ר' לא תחיל דאנא אהך עם ברך ויתב בשלום > BA S + Raph. ang. L החל' M κ. μη ne L προς σε > M 17. επ.¹⁸ > BA pr. Thobis L S > Ar F aut.¹⁹ > BA L Ar F Ευλογία σοι γεν. ευδοκασαν (pr. κ. Α) ουτως BA S bene iter age frater et contingat tibi a β bene iter agere contingat tibi γ > δ Ar M F bene ambulatis F κ. εαλ.] > BA S + 'ט Ar M τ. vi. αντ.] > BA S pr. Thobiam L Ar F αυτω] προς Τωβιαν BA Παυδ.] > BA L S Ar M ετοιμ. τα] Ετοιμος γινου BA S praepara te L Ar pr. τ. οδ.] + κ. ευδοκασαυτε BA > L S Ar לאלתר F κ.¹⁹ + ητοιμασεν ο vi. αντ. τα προς τ. οδον BA et praeparavit (-erunt ea quae in itinere haberent δ) se ad viam Thobias (post σωτηρίας) α β γ δ (cf. F) εξελθε] Πορευου pr. κ. επ. αυτω ο πατ. αυτου BA + ובא לצאת לדרכו F αδελφου σου] ανθρωπ. BA S + ותחיל אביו מברכו F κ. ο θ. ο εν τ. ουρ.] ο δε εν τ. ουρ. οικων (κατοικ- Α 58, 243, 248, 249) θ. BA S Deus autem q. in caelo est L + אלהי השמים השכן בשמי מרים M אלהי השמים Ar אל שמי M אלהי השמים F διασ. υμ. εκ.] ευδοκασαυ τ. οδον υμων BA S F perducatur vos ibi cum pace L Ar M κ. αποκ. υμ. pr. επ. ιγ.] > BA S κ. ο αγγ. . . . μετα σωτ.] BA S παιδ.] > BA L S Ar M εξελθεν πορ. τ. οδον αυτου] -θαν (-ον Α 44, 58, 64, 71) αμφοτεροι απελθεν BA S F exiit ut iret α β γ egressi sunt ut proficiscerentur δ Ar M κ.⁹⁰ + ο κων τ. παιδαριον μετ' αυτων BA S F εφιλ. τ. πατ. αυτ. κ. τ. μητ.] > BA S F κ. επ. αυτ. T.] > BA S F + πατ. suus L + ואמר ליה Ar M Παρ.] > BA S F + fili L F ιγ.] > BA S F + venias L 18. κ. εκλ.] εκλ. δε BA + Ανω B ותחל אמו לבכות M Τωβ.] patri eius L + אל בעלה M F + αμειν. BA S F לא רחילתא למשלח Ar M + μων BA L S > Ar M F ουχ' αυτος] η ουχι η BA αμειν Ar παρδ. τ. χιρ. ημων] לנא בר יהודאי הוא לנא Ar בן זקונים הוא (לנו) M κ. αυτος . . . (επορευεται) εν τ. εισ-εσθαι αυτον κ. εκ-εσθαι BA S ενωπ. ημ.] > F 19. Nunquam esset pecunia illa σοι? pignamento sit (filio meo γ) α β γ] 19. 20. אלהי אבותי בנא כספא פרנסנא אלהי Ar + γαρ κ. ε. BA S + υπαρχει BA S sufficebat nobis L 21. αυτη] + T. BA L S Ar M + αμειν. BA S + αμειν. BA S + 21^c et 22^a Ar plen. et aliter F προς ημ.] > BA S Ar οψοντ.] + αυτον BA L S Ar εν τ. ημ. η αν ελθ.] > BA S F דיהוב Ar > M pr. σε υγ. μη λογ. εκ.] > BA L S M F בשלום Ar μη φαβ.] > BA S F π. αυτων] > BA S S F de illo α β γ Ar M αδελ.] supr. BA post εχ. > F 22. αγγ. . . . οδ. αυτου] שילח מלאכו עמי ויצליח דרכו M (v. supra v. 21 Ar) συνε-λευσεται] συνεπορευεται B σιμν. B^b συνεπορευεται Α 23, 249 S L + εσοδ.] bene disponet L

VI. 1. εσργ.] επαυται BA S cessavit L + ומנע Ar F ותוסף M + κλαιουσα] מלמכבי Ar F לבבות עוד M

16^b. Cf. quoniam in via recta est, Jub. xxvii. 17.
18. ελκουσεν. Cf. fleuit, Jub. xxvii. 13.
19. φθίματα. lit. omne, φθίματα having almost entirely lost its anticipatory force in the LXX (Th. Gram., p. 289); Müller can only understand the phrase as a translation from a Semitic original.
A παλαιον fix: this translation can be justified by a comparison with Ignatius, Ep. to Ephes. viii. 1, while xviii. 1 of the same epistle suggests the alternative 'offscouring for our child'.
21 f. R^a more closely than R^b resembles the words 'et dixit Isaac ad Rebecam, Soror, noli flere Iacob filium meum, quoniam in pace ibit et in pace rediet . . . dirigentur omnes viae eius . . . quousque revertatur ad nos in pace et videbimus eum cum pace. Noli ergo timere de illo, soror mea' in Jub. xxvii. 14-17.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 6. 2-8

C. THE EVENTS OF THE JOURNEY, vi. 2-ix. 6.

i. Tobias' Adventure with the Fish, vi. 2-9.

2 (vi. 1) And the young man went forth, and the angel with him, and the dog went forth with him and journeyed with them; and they journeyed both of them together. And once night came upon
3 (2) them, and they lodged by the river Tigris, and the young man went down to wash his feet in the river Tigris. And a great fish leaped up out of the water, and would have swallowed the foot of the young
4 (3) man. And he cried out. And the angel said unto the young man, Grasp and take hold of the fish.
5 (4) And the young man caught hold of the fish, and hauled it up on to the land. And the angel said unto him, Open the fish, and take out its gall and the heart and liver and put them by thee, and cast
6 (5) away the inwards; for its gall and heart and liver are for an useful medicament. And the young man opened the fish and collected the gall and the heart and the liver, and he roasted part of the
7 (6) fish and did eat, and left part thereof salted. And they journeyed both of them together until they drew nigh to Media. And then the young man asked the angel and said unto him, Brother Azarias,
8 (7) what is the medicament in the heart and the liver of the fish and in the gall? And he said unto him, As regards the heart and the liver of the fish, make thou a smoke before a man or a woman who hath

2. κ. εφ. . . αυτω] > BA S F עמיה (fr. הטלאך M) ורפאל (M לררבו) + illorum
εξ. μετ' αυτου κ.] > L εpor. μετ' αυτων] securus est eos L κ. εpor. αμφ.] οι δε πορευομενοι τ. οδον BA
S F > Ar M עד הערב (cum hac sententia) F κ. ετ. αυτ. συξ μια] ηλθον εσπερας BA S Ar M et com-
prehendit illos proxima nox L κ. ηλυσθ. επ. του Τεγγ. ποτ.] επ. του Τεγγιν ποταμον (L ריקיאה F) κ. ηλυσθοντο
εκει BA S Ar M F 3. κ. κατεβη τ. παιδιον] τ. δε παιδαριον κατ. BA S et descendit Thobias L M
'רוחט מ' F והלך הן' ונכנס F περηνψ.] περιελυσ. BA לקרר גפו F τ. ποδ.] > BA S e. τ. Τεγγιν
ποτ.] > BA S in flumine L לנרנא (ante περηνψ.) Ar M F αναπηδησας] -επηδησεν (sep. ras. 2 circ. litt. in B)
BA נפק Ar M F fr. ובשלו Ar M μέγας] > BA S Ar M εκ τ. υδ.] απο τ. ποταμου κ. BA S Ar F
εβουλα. . . παιδ.] circumplexus est pedes eius pene puerum devoraverat (-ravit γ) αβ γ ut puerum devoraret δ
εβουλατο] -ηθη BA > Ar M καταπειν] -πειν B¹ A τ. ποδ. του παιδ.] τ. παιδαριον BA S F לחמא דטליא
Ar M κ. εαρ. N²] κ. απο τ. φοβου εαρ. N²] > BA S et exclamavit puer αβ γ δ + Domine piscis
invadit me (cf. F) δ + טליא Ar חמא חמא אל חמא חמא F 4. κ. ο . . . επ.] > F
κ. ο] ο δε BA S רפ' Ar τ. παιδ. επ.] επ. αυτω BA S Ar M κ. εγχατ. γεμ.] > BA S ולא חשבקיניה Ar M
F τ. παιδ. του ιχθ.] τ. παιδ. BA S + מיד F αυτηνεκ.] αυθαλ. BA S eduxit L > M
αυτ. . . γεμ.] > M מידהנר F 5. ο αγγ.] 'רפ' Ar + רפ' F Ανασχε.] Ανασχε BA βουנו בכניע
Ar M ελετ] λαβων BA S tolle L χολ. . . καρδ. . . ηπ.] καρδ. . . ηπ. . . χολ. BA S F ליביה Ar
מטהר M αυτου] > BA F κ. αποθες αυτα μετα σαντου] θες ασφαλως BA S F > Ar κ. τ. εγα.
εαβ.] > BA S Ar M F post utilia L ε. φαρμ. χρησ. . . αυτ.] > BA S Ar F necessaria haec ad medica-
menta utilia L 6. post τ. 9 Ar ανασχε. τ. παιδ. . . ηπαρ.] επωρηεν τ. παιδ.
ως επ. αυτω ο αγγ. BA S F ומרתח דגנא M ועש כן הנער Ar עבר כן מ' נכס ליבא ומרתח דגנא
δε ιχθον σπησαντες BA S et partem piscis assaverunt et αβ et partem pis. adsumptos γ piscem vero assavit δ
assavit carnes eius F ואת הדג חקנו F εφαγεν] -ον BA S tulerunt in via αβ sustulerunt in victu γ man-
ducaverunt δ secum tulerunt F κ. αφηκεν εξ αυτ. ηλισμ.] > BA S caetera autem (> γ) salierunt αβ
reliquum autem eius in via reliquit δ caetera salierunt quae sufficerunt eis quosque etc. F ומותרא ינכ
באורחה Ar והנותר הניה M > F εpor.] ωδον BA S מרי Ar fr. תעדרו F αμφ.] > L Ar M F
κουτ.] > BA L S Ar M εως . . . ηγγισ.] > Ar M εως M.] εν Εκβαρτοις BA S in regionem Mediorum L
> Ar אינקבטני F 7. A versu 7 in codicibus 44, 106, 107 incipit græc. textus R^a > Ar τοτε
> BA L S ηρωτ. τ. παιδ. του αγγ. κ. επ. αυτω] επ. τ. παιδ. ('M) τω αγγ. BA S M τι τ. φαρμ. εν] τι εστιν
BA S F quod remedium est L מה רפואה תעשה M τ. καρδ. . . τ. ηπ. του ιχθ. . . τ. χολ.] το ηπαρ κ. η
καρδ. κ. η χολ. του ιχθ. BA S F hoc sel cor et iecur piscis L מלב הדג והמרה M vv. 8, 9 fr. v. 6 Ar
8 aliter F επ.] fr. ang. L > Ar αυτ.] > L Ar η καρδ.] τ. -ιαν N² טב Ar הוא טב κ. τ. ηπ.]
> Ar M τ. ιχθ.] αυτου ιχθ. N² > BA L S Ar M καπν.] -σαι N² ταυτα δε -σαι (τ. εδει -σαι A) post ποσηρ.

VI. 2. Even Ar and M employ the Greek word *Tigris* to denote the river known in O.T. as חרקל and in most North Semitic lands as רקלת (so Syriac) or דגלת (Jewish Aramaic and Mandaic).

3. Ar would directly support the originality of R^a if his 'ate the bread of the young man' was written with a knowledge or indistinct recollection—Bickell believed Ar was a direct translation—of a Hebrew text in which ויבא לחם had been changed into ויאכל לחם after the loss of רגל. Nöld's objections (p. 59) to the use of אכח would apply only to classical Hebrew (but even so, see Job xxxix. 9, 1s. i. 9). εφαγεν (Th. Gram., p. 234) of R^a is supported by F (which attributes the cry to Raphael) as well as Ar M.

8. ἀπώρημα = פגע only in 3 (1) Kings v. 4 (18), ואין פגע רע אין ישטן, and in Eccles. ix. 11, and appears in Sym. Ec. ii. 14, and Hos. xiii. 14. It is not a medical term. R^v has evidently rewritten this verse with due regard to the technicalities

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 6. 8-13

an attack of a demon or an evil spirit; and every attack will flee from him, and they shall nevermore
 9 (8) find an abode with him. And as for the gall—anoint a man's eyes, upon which white films have
 come up, <or> blow into them on the white films, and they become well.

ii. Tobias at Raguel's Home and his Marriage with Sarah, vi. 10-viii. 20.

Raphael's plans for Tobias' marriage, vi. 10-18.

10 (9) 11 (10) And when he had entered into Media and was already drawing nigh to Ecbatana, Raphael
 saith unto the young man, Brother Tobias. And he said unto him, Here am I. And he said unto him,
 In the house of Raguel we must lodge this night, the man being thy kinsman; and he hath a daughter
 12 (11) whose name is Sarah. And he hath no son nor daughter but Sarah alone, and thou art nearer kin
 to her than any man to inherit her, and what things are her father's it is right for thee to inherit;
 (12) and the maid is wise and steadfast and exceeding honourable, and her father is an honourable man.
 13 And he said, It is right for thee to take her; and hear me, brother, and I will speak this night unto
 her father concerning the maid, that we may take her to be thy bride. And when we return from
 Rages we will celebrate her marriage. And I know that Raguel can in no wise keep her back
 from thee or marry her to another—to incur liability to death according to the decree of the book
 of Moses—and because he knoweth that the inheritance appertaineth to thee to take his daughter
 before any man. And now, hear me, brother, and let us speak concerning the maid this night and
 we will betroth her to thee; and, when we return from Rages, we will take her and let us lead her

BA S. fumigator L. לא קטרא מינה Ar. מ יעיל להקטיר ממנו M. η γυν.] > Ar M. η] et L. φ] > BA S.
 αμωτ.] > BA S. Ar M. (cf. לנזקים F) δαι, η πν. πον.] εαν τινα οχλη δ-ων η πν-α κ-ρον BA (cf. S) רוח רעה
 או רוח השדים M. φειξ, . . . αμωα] ου μορετι (ουκετι ου μη Α) οχληθη BA S. ταυτα θυμιασις εμπροσθεν αυτου κ.
 φενξεται απ' αυτου 44. 106. יעקרקן מינה Ar M. μιν. μετ' αυτ.] apparebit L. (cf. 6, 18) 9. κ. η] η δε BA
 ενχηρ.] ενχηρ. BA^{1b} 44. 106. facit ad unguendos L. למיניטח מינה Ar. לחטח M. וס ישיח F. αυθρ.
 οφθ. ου λ. αυ. επ. αυτ.] -ου ος χει λ. (λ-μυ Α) εν τοις οφθ. BA S. οφθαλμονε εν οίς αν λευκωμα (-ατα 106) 44. 106
 ראה חורא ענין דאית בהן חורא Ar M. בעיני כל בעלי שכלל בע' F. εμφ. . . . λευκ.] > BA S. Ar M. η εμφ. εις αυτου
 44. 106. pr. vel L. κ. νγ.] κ. ιαθησεται BA S. M. -ουσιν 44. 106. Ar F. ut ad sanitatem perveniat a β γ
 10. κ. οτε] Ως δε BA F. κ. 44. 106. 107 > Ar M. εισηλθ. . . ηδη] > BA 44. 106. 107 S. M. F. εισηλθεν
 -αν α β γ Ar. Μηδ.] pr. regionem L. κ. ηδη] > L. Ar M. ηγγιζ.] προσηγγισαν BA S. α β γ F. παραγινονται
 44. 106. 107. ואתה Ar M. εις Εκβατανων] τ. Ραγελ BA. εις Εκβατανα 44. 106. 107 civitati Bathanis α β civ.
 Exbathanis γ. לא יביתם M. לעיר רגל F. 11. λγχι] εισ. BA F. κ. εισ. 44. 106. 107 L. S. Ar M.
 P.] ο αγγελ. BA S. 44. 106. 107 F. Raph. ang. α β γ. τ. παιδ.] > 44. 106. 107 α β γ Ar M. T.] > BA S.
 44. 106. 107 α β F. 'לט' Ar M. σελ.] > 44. 106. 107 α β F. κ. εισ.^{1b}. . . αυτῶς] > BA 44. 106. 107
 α β S. Ar M. F. αυτω ιδων ενω] quid est γ. Εν τοις P.] παρα Ραγουηλω (-ηλ Α) post αυλισθησ. BA S. τ. νκ.
 ταυτ.] Σήμερον (post αδελφε) BA 44. 106. 107 > Ar M. F. δει ημ.] > BA S. Ar M. ante σημερον 44. 106. 107
 הינה אס F. αυλισθησ.] -σμεθι (post σημερον) BA S. M. F. חתי Ar. ο αυθρωπ.] αυτας BA S. Ar M. F. συγγεν.
 σ.] נבר סב Ar M. + מנישבתח בית אביו F. ειστ. αυτ.] > 44. 106. 107. θυγ.] + μονογονης Α S. + speciosam
 L. + μια υπαρχει αυτω κ. αυτ. καλ. τ. ειδει 44. 106. 107 M. F. שפירתא לחרא Ar. η ον. S.] > 44. 106. 107
 η υνομα] -οτι ΒΛ 12. κ.¹⁰ > BA sed L. υι. . . . μον.] λαλησω περι αυτης του δοηναι (Ar M) σοι
 αυτην εις γυνικα BA Ar M. (cf. F) > S. κ.²⁰ οτι BA S. συ] σοι Α S. εγγ. . . . εικ. κληρ.] επιβαλλει η
 κληρονομια αυτης κ. συ. μόνις ει εκ του γένους αυτης BA S. το δικαίωμα αυτης εστι κληρονομησαι πατερα αυτης κ. σοι δικαίωμα
 λαβειν αυτην σοι εγγιζει παρα πατρός 44. 106. 107 > Ar M. κληρον. αυτην . . . κορσισιν] ut possideas (+ eam
 et α β) haereditatem illius et omnem substantiam patris eius; accipe illam uxorem; etenim (est autem γ) puella
 haec α β γ (cf. F) > Ar M. τ. κορ.] αυτη 44. 106. 107 Ar M. φρον. κ. αυθρ. κ. καλ. λιαν] καλ. κ. φρον. εστων
 BA S. ανδριου κ. φρονιμη (+ κ. καλ. 106. 107) 44. 106. 107 sapiens, fortis et bona valde et constabilita L.
 ואתה יחיד ואת יחידה M. טובת שכל Ar. ואתה יחידה F. κ. ο π. αυτ. καλ.] > BA S. F.
 καλ.] αγαπη αυτην 44. 106. 107 M. diligit illam L. שמיא ורחלת שבתא אלתא טובא והיא אלתא טובא
 13. κ.¹⁰. . . αυτη¹⁰] > BA 44. 106. 107 S. Ar M. F. (et α β) quaecunque
 possedit (-sides γ) illi tradet (dabit ei γ); tibi ergo destinata est haereditas patris eius et te oportet accipere
 illam α β γ αυτου.] pr. συν BA 44. 106. 107 S. M. F. > Ar. αδελ.] > BA 44. 106. 107 S. Ar M.
 בקולי F. λαλησω] loquere α β γ M. נדבר F. τ. πατ.] + αυτης BA S. F. > 44. 106. 107 α β γ M. לית Ar.
 π. τ. κορ. . . . νμφ.] > BA S. F. ריתנינה לך לאנתו Ar. בעבורה M. π. τ. κορ.] π. αυτης 44. 106. 107 α β γ

of the magico-medical profession (cf. Nestle, *Septuag.* iii, p. 27), an interesting parallel to St. Luke's treatment of
 St. Mark (cf. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*). Moreover, ὄχλῳ (R^v) and its compounds are character-
 istically medical and Lucan (see Luke vi. 18; Acts v. 16, xv. 19). For a less speedy ophthalmic cure in papyri see
 Deissni. *L.A.E.*, p. 132.

13. R^v had *Rages* in 13^a, as in 13^b, not *Raguel*, and ἀφαιδῆσαι not -σιν (R) or -σει (R^v), leaving it indeterminate
 whether the subject is Raguel (α β) or the suitors (γ); see *Introd.*, p. 196.

- 14 (13) back with us to thy home. Then Tobias answered and said unto Raphael, Brother Azarias,
I have heard that already the maid hath been given to seven men, and they have died in their
bridal-chambers; even in the night when they went in unto her they died. And I have heard them
15 (14) say that a demon slayeth them. And now for my part I fear—for her he harmeth not, but the
man who would come in unto her, him he slayeth, *and* I am my father's only child—lest I should
die and bring my father's and my mother's life to the grave with sorrow because of me: and they
16 (15) have no other son to bury them. And he saith unto him, Dost thou not remember the commands
of thy father, that he commanded thee to take a wife of thy father's house? And now hear me,
17 (16) brother: and make thou no reckoning of this demon, but take her. For I know that this night she

τ. νικ. τ.] σημερον (post autem) 44, 106, 107 αυτ. κ. 44, 106, 107 et a β γ λημφ. σ. αυτ. ενμφ.] αρμοσα-
 μεθα (-ομεθα 106) σ. αυτ. 44, 106, 107 επιστ.] υποστ. BA επαναστ. 44, 106, 107 Παρνηση] Payon BA διαι-
 106, 107 a β γ S Ar MF παρησ.] -ωμεν B 44, 106, 107 αυτη] > BA S Ar M ησχωτη F κ.⁵⁹] διαι-
 BA S > 44, 106, 107 Ar MF επιστ.] οὐδα 44, 106, 107 > F or. Pay.] Pay. or. BA S כי האט M
 ου μνη] ου 44, 106, 107 θυνηθη P. κωλ. . . εγγ.] δφ αυτην BA S θυναται αυτεισιν ουα σοι ου αρχις αυτης παρη-
 παν. τ. εθνη ουε γινωσκεις εαν (οι-κει σοι 106) δωσθι αυτην 44, 106, 107 negabit illam tibi novit enim quia (certus
 sum autem quoniam γ) si dederit illam a β γ יכרב פונק יתה לך Ar אחה מ יתה אף ולא יתה אה M ינשב
 ו'נ' שלא יתנה F eresp.] pr. αυτη BA 44, 106, 107 a β γ אפלה אפלה S MF > Ar אפלהישו] -λεσ-
 B -λρηει A 44, 107 -λει σοι 106 periet a β γ perient γ סאל e] S > Ar MF κ. τ. κρ. τ. ביבא. Mw.] κ.
 τ. νομον Μωυση (ante εφειδα) BA S M > Ar pr. παρνηση (P) M κ. δια τ. γινωσκειν] > BA 44, 106, 107 S
 Ar MF ου σοι κληρονομα καθ. λοβ. την θυγ. αυτ. παρη παντα αυτη] ουι την κληρ. σοι κ. λ. η π. αυθ. BA S > 44,
 106, 107 Ar M tibi maxime (m. t. γ) aptam esse haereditatem (+ accepta filia γ) illius a β γ (aliter F) την
 θυγ. n¹⁰⁻⁸] αυτην θυγ. n⁸ κ. νυν . . . οικον σου] > BA S F κ. νυν . . . Payon] > 44, 106, 107 Ar M
 τ. ρυκ. ταυτ.] > B λημφ. αυτ.] κ. λαζδοντες απ. 44, 106, 107 > B Ar M ημω] αυτ. 44, 106, 107 εις
 τ. οικ. σου] προς τ. πατερα σ. 44, 106, 107 Ar M 14. τοτε] κ. 44, 106, 107 > F αποκριθ.] > BA 44,
 106, 107 S Ar M T. επι.] επι. τ. παιδαριον BA S F επι. T. 44, 106, 107 P.] αγγλη BA 44, 106, 107 S M
 Raph. ang. B Λαρια] > 44, 106, 107 Ar M αδελ.] > Ar ηκουσα¹⁰] ακηκη εγω BA ante ad. 44, 106,
 107 על הנערה F ου. επι. ηδη εδ. αρ.] τ. κορασιον δεδοσθαι επι. αρ. BA S ου. εδ. (+ iam B M) αρ. επι. 44, 106,
 107 B Ar MF εδοθ. n⁸] εδρ. n⁸ κ. απ. εν τ. νυμφωσι αυτ.] κ. παϊτας εν τ. -ωσι αποδωλoτας BA > S
 Ar MF τ. ρυκτα . . . αποστ. αυτ.] > BA τ. ρυκτα οποτε] ρυκτος 44, 106, 107 nocte ea hora qua B ρ
 לא עד Ar M בלילה הראשון F εισεπ. προς αυτ.] אפלה אפלה S MF > F κ. απεθν.] > 44, 106,
 107 a β γ κ. ηκ.] κ. εγω ηκ. 106 > S F λεγοντ. αυτ.] > 44, 106, 107 S Ar MF quosdam dicentes
 a β γ δαμν.] εγω μονος εμι τ. πατρι κ. φοβ.] BA S F αποκτεινει] -εικει 44, 106, 107 > S F 15. φοβου-
 μεν . . . πατρι μου] εγω μονος εμι τ. πατρι κ. φοβ.] BA S F αποκτεινει] -εικει 44, 106, 107 > S F 15. φοβου-
 μεν γ) ουι φιλει αυτην κ. ταυτην (αυτ. 106) ουκ αδικ. αλ. ου εαν (αν 106) θελ. εγ. αποκτεινι αυτον (+ unicuius sum patri
 meo a β γ) 44, 106, 107 a β γ שרא אנה רחל מן מאד Ar ירא אני מאד M αποθανω] pr. εισελθων BA S pr. ποτε
 (τε 44) ουκ κ. εγω 44, 106, 107 pr. forte a β γ ירעבלין ארעבלין M κ. καταξω] pr. καθως κ. οι πριστ.
 ουι (διωτ A) δαμν. φιλει αυτην ο ουκ αδικει ουδενα πλην των πριστ. αυτην κ. νυν εγω φοβουμαι BA S (cf. F) τ. ζωην
 τ. γηρας 44, 106, 107 Ar MF επι] > 44, 106, 107 a β γ Ar M κ. κιος] pr. ουι μονογενης εμι 44, 106,
 107 στερος] + η θυγατρη 44, 106, 107 Ar M να θαψη αυτ.] ος-ει αυτ. BA S pr. οταν αποθανωσι 44, 106, 107 Ar M
 qui sepeliat illos et possideat haereditatem illorum a β γ qui sit eis haeres γ 16. κ. λεγ.] εισεν δε BA S
 (cf. F) κ. επι. 44, 106, 107 B M אשר Ar αυτω] + ο αγγ. BA S F ο αγγ. 44, 106, 107 Raph. ang. B
 Ar ου μ.] memor esto B M pr. וזכר את י וזכר את M τ. εντ.] τ. λογον BA S (cf. F) pr. πασ. 44,
 106, 107 τ. πατ. . . εντ. σοι] αν εντ. σοι ο πατ. σου (ο πρσ συν sup. ras. et in mg. A) BA S F τ. π. συν 44,
 106, 107 λυθ. γυν.] υπερ του λοβειν σε γυναικα BA S υπερ του λογον τουδου το λαβειν σε γυναι πατ. ras. et in mg. A? >
 > 44, 106, 107 εκ τ. οικ. τ. πατ. σ.] ε. τ. γενοσε σ. BA S > 44, 106, 107 de domo patris tui a β γ de
 genere patris tui Auct. de voc. gentl. מ'נא רעיתא Ar (cf. MF) ακουσθω . . . γυνη] μη φοβηθης ουε εγω ουδα
 ουι δοδωσεται σοι κ. μη λογον εχε περι του εν αυτη πνευμ. 44, 106, 107 ידענא (כ'י) M שריא חתלה מן יתנה כני וליא
 לאניחו רחמנא ליליא רדין לאניחו Ar M κ. μη λογ. . . γαν. εγω] διοτι σοι εσται εις γυν. κ. του δαμν. μηδενά λογ. εχ. BA S
 κ. λαβη] postula illam a β γ (cf. Auct. de Voc. Gentl.) γυνη] αυτη (> A) εις -νικα B S 17. κ. οταν] κ.
 ταν BA S οταν δε λαβησιν αυτην 44, 106, 107 κ. τ. νυμ.] τον ν. sup. ras. B^{ab} pr. προς αυτην 44, 106, 107
 > 44, 106, 107 λαζε . . . θυμιαμ.] λημφ. τεφραν θυμ. κ. επιδωσιν απο της καρδ. κ. του ηπ. του ιαχ. BA S επιδωθ. την
 καρδ. του ιαχ. κ. τ. ηπ. επι τ. θερμην τ. θυμ. 44, 106, 107 סב ליבא רדנא Ar M ετι τ. τ. θυμ.] super carbone

16. *U's postula* may possibly have arisen through the translator's (or a reviser's) knowledge of a Heb. MS. in which ל had been dittographed (לל שאל for לל שאל) just as *Ar* (which *M* follows) in v. 17, though actually translated from the Greek, might have been influenced by a Hebrew text in which לל שאל had been corrupted into לל שאל, but *direct* translation from such a text is precluded by the phrasing of viii. 2 in *Ar* as well as by the fact that he chiefly used *R** (Nöld. *op. cit.*, p. 50, n. 1). More probably *Ar*'s 'under her garments' is an independent version of a baser process of exorcism (cf. a similar story in *The Arabian Nights*). *F*'s affinities with *Ar* and *M*, especially in viii. 2, are noteworthy.

shall be given to thee to wife. And when thou comest into the bride-chamber, take of the liver of
18 (17) the fish with the heart and place them upon the ashes of the incense and the smell shall go forth,
and the devil shall smell it, and flee away, and never appear any more to her. And when thou art
about to be with her, rise up both of you first and pray and supplicate the Lord of heaven that
mercy and deliverance may be extended to you. And fear not, for she was set apart for thee
before the world was; and thou shalt save her, and she shall go with thee. And I suppose that
thou shalt have children of her and they shall be as brothers unto thee. Take no reckoning. And
when Tobias heard the words of Raphael, and that she was his sister of the seed of his father's house,
he loved her exceedingly, and his heart clave unto her.

Arrival and welcome at Raguel's, vii. 1-9^a.

71 R^a And when he came into Ecbatana, he saith unto him, Brother Azarias, lead me straight to Raguel our brother. And he led him to the house of Raguel, and they found him sitting by the door of the court; and they saluted him first, and he said unto them, Much cheer to you, brethren, and ye are well come in safety. And he brought them into his house.

And they came to Ecbatana, and arrived at R^v the house of Raguel. But Sarah met them; and she saluted them, and they her; and she brought them into the house.

2, 3 And he said unto Edna his wife, How like is this young man to Tobias my kinsman! And Edna asked them and said unto them, Whence are ye, brethren? And they said unto her, We are of the 4 sons of Naphtali, which are captives in Nineveh. And she said unto them, Know ye Tobit our

αβ *Auct. de Voc. Goul.* super carbonesi gnis ardentis γ *עלה אש* *Ar* κ. η *οσμη παρεν.* κ. *καπνισσας* BA'S > 44.
 106, 107 *ואקטר מיניה חחות לברשה* *Ar* M עד שיעשן F 18. κ. *οσφρ.* . . . *μετ' αυτ.* > 44, 106, 107
αυκτα . . . αυτη¹⁸ *οικ επανδουσεται* (*post επανε ras. aliq.* B17 a11) BA S *Ar* M F τ. *παν. αυουα* (*eis* A) τ. *αι.*
του αι. BA κ. *οταν* σ. *de Ba* *μελλης . . . μετ' αυτ.* *πρωσπαρση* (-ση A) *αυη* BA S *κ. ελμα* לוטה
Ar M *ענה* לרבר ענה F *εξηγρησθ* *εγ.* BA *ποιεις αυτην εγρηθης* 44, 106, 107 *κ. ερασ* *κ. ερασ* *Ar* M
πρωτ. > BA S *Ar* M F *αμφ.* κ. *προσ.* κ. *δεθ.* τ. *κυρ.* τ. *ουρ.* a. κ. *βοησατε προς τ.* *ελεημονα θ.* BA S (*cf.* *Ar* M F)
προσ. *εκστηρι κ.* *δεθ.* τ. *ουρ.* 44, 106, 107 *ambo et deprecamini dominum caeli* *pr.* *κ. ελμα* *Ar* M *αμφ.* >
Ar M *υ.* *ελ.* *γεν.* κ. *σωτ.* *εφ' υμ.* κ. *σωσει υμ.* (ημ. A) κ. *ελεησι* BA S κ. *δοθησιν αυτη ιασις κ.* *ελεον* 44, 106, 107
(cf. Ar M) *ut detur vobis misericordia et sanitas* κ. *μη φοβ.* . . . *σωσεις κ.* > 44, 106, 107 *pr.* *בנין* . . . *חעיל*
Ar M κ.^{8a} > BA S *σ. γαρ* *οτι σοι* BA *εστ.* *μεμ.* *αυτη ητοιμασμενη ην* BA S (*cf.* 6, 12)
προ του N1 *προ του N8* *απο του* BA 44, 106, 107 *κ. ελμα* *Ar* (cf. M) *מישה ימי בראשית* F *σωσεις*
עשרת *κ. Ar* M > F *μετ.* σ. BA *επδλυσθη προς αυτην* (*pr.* F) 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M
επλοαμ, *οτι* > 44, 106, 107 *Ar* M *εσονται σοι¹⁹* σ. *εσται* BA *γεννησις* 44, 106, 107 > *Ar*
πυλιδ *τεκεν* 44, 106, 107 > *Ar* M κ. *εσονται²⁰* . . . λ. *εχ* > BA *Ar* M *ο τι σοι εστι τ.* *δικαιομα λαβειν*
αυτην απο τ. *αιωνος* (*v. supra*) 44, 106, 107 *κ. ελμα* F κ. *οτε ηκ.* . . . *εκολλ.* *εις αυτ.* > 44, 106, 107 M *οτε*
ως BA τ. *λογ.* P.] *ταυτα* BA S *Ar* F + *angeli* κ. *οτι . . . παρ. αυτ.* > BA S *Ar* F κ. *ανις* εκ τ. *σπερμ.* M
λιν ηγασ. *εφιλ.* BA S > *cf.* F *עלת רח' רח' בלביה* *Ar* *αυτην* *in η ras. aliq.* B > S κ. η *καρδ.*
αντ. *εκολλ.* *εις αυτ.* κ. η *ψυχ.* *αυτ.* *εκολλ.* *αυτη* (*εκακολλη* A) *σφαδρα* BA S (*cf.* F) *haesit cordi eius* > *Ar*
κ. ελμα F

VII. 1. κ, στε . . . P.²⁰ באנכתיס Ar M ועלו בבית רע' באנכתיס F σρε] > BA εισηλθεν] γλθ. B
 ηλθον A 44, 106, 107 § αβγ Ec.] civitatem Ec. λγαί . . . ημων] > BA 44, 106, 107 § αυταρ Th. angelo
 ἀελ. ημ.] > ℒ απηγ. αυτοι παρηγομενο B παρ-αυτο A 44, 106, 107, 108 τ. οικων T. -ιαν BA > 44, 106, 107
 F.] > ℒ κ. ευρ. αυτ. καθ. παρα τ. θυρ. τ. αυλ. S. δε υπηρχεν αυτω [-οis A F) BA § F. ευρ. αυτ. καθ. π. τ. αυλειαν θυραν
 44, 106, 107 et inven. ill. sed. in atrio (> γ) circa ostium domus suae (d. s. > γ) αβγ ואשבחו יתיה סתר חרע
 ביתה Ar M χαριτισσα]- εν BA ησασατο 44, 106, 107. pr. ησασα αυτοις]-τους A 44, 106, 107 > F
 πρωτοις κ. αυτοις αυτοις B κ. ται-την A λδ ασο σοτ λδ σολδα λδ > 44, 106, 107 Ar וישב להם שלום M הוא וחיא L
 κ. εισ. . . ιγναυ.] > BA § κ. εισ. εν ειρηη. ἀδελ. εισλθ. εις τ. οικ. τ. ἀδελ. υμων A 44, 106, 107
 לביות Ar ואמר לו המלךך ואת הנערה αυτοις] > ℒ καλ. ηλθ. υγ.] intrate salvi et sani ηγγαεν
 αυτοις εις τ. οικων αυτ.] εισηγ. ε. τ. -ιαν BA § ενεστο σε εισηλθοσαν 44, 106, 107 Ar ועלו לביתא
 אביה F 2. κ.] + Pay. 44, 106, 107 § Ar MF Ed.] Annae (et ubique) ℒ ουτο] > BA
 Τωζην] -αι B 44, 106, 107 τη-ιτ A ἀδελ.] ανεψφη BA § consobriani αβ -πο γ Ed.] Pay. BA § F
 Anna ℒ κ. εισ. αυτ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 § Ar MF dicens ℒ Ποθ. στ. ἀδελ.; κ.] > 44, 106, 107
 > Ar F εισπα]- εν A > 44, 106, 107 αυτη]-τη BA F > 44, 106, 107 εκ τ. υι. . . εν N. 44, 106,
 107 ex f. N. sumus ex captivis N. ℒ משיבתא דנפ' מן שבותא אר M מניטא נפ' אשר בני' N. ημ.]
 > BA εν] εκ B pr. των A 4. κ.] ιυνε § > Ar γινωσκεται]-εται A ημ] αυω 106 §

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 7. 4-11

kinsman? And they said unto her, We know him. And she said unto them, Is he in good health?
 5. 6 And they said unto her, He is in good health and alive. And Tobias said, He is my father. And
 7 Raguel sprang up, and kissed him, and wept; and he spake and said unto him, Blessing be unto thee,
 lad, who art the son of a noble and good father. Oh, dire calamity, that a man, righteous and
 8, 9 almsdoing, should have become blind! And he fell on the neck of Tobias his kinsman and wept,
 and Edna his wife bewept him, and Sarah their daughter also wept. And he killed a ram of the
 flock and received them gladly.

The negotiations and the marriage, vv. 9^b-14.

And when they had bathed, and washed their hands and laid them down to dine, Tobias said unto
 10 (9) Raphael, Brother Azarias, speak unto Raguel that he give me Sarah my sister. And Raguel heard
 (10) the word and said unto the young man, Eat and drink, and make merry this night: for there is no
 man unto whom it appertaineth to take Sarah my daughter except thee, brother; and likewise, further,
 I have not power to give her to another man than thee, because thou art my nearest kin. Yea,
 11 verily, I will shew thee the truth, lad. I have given her to seven men of our brethren and all died

ειπον αυτη] > B οι δε επω A S M κ. ειπον αυτ. 44 + τ. εκ τ. υι. N. κ. ειπε και κ. απεκριναντο 44, 106, 107
 γυνωσκ.] > B γιγν. A ημ. αυτ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S L F λיה רשלם Ar κ. ειπ.] > BA Ar -αν 106
 αυτοας] > B 44, 106, 107 L Ar υ F υγιαν.] > B Ar fortis est L 5. κ. 10. . . κ. ζ.] > 44, 106, 107
 S Ar κ. 10] οι δε BA L αυτη] > BA L M F υγ. κ. ζ.] κ. ζ. κ. υγ. BA S λον M F κ. ειπ. . . εστ.]
 > BA 44, 106, 107 pr. טובי אחיכם M εστ.] + de quo quacris α β d. q.
 interrogas γ 6. απεπ.] επηδ. 44, 106, 107 pr. רחט לרמיותה Ar M pr. מיד F κατεφ.] pr. נפח Ar M F
 κ. εκλαυσεν] κ. -τ BA > S lacrymans L ובבו Ar (cf. M) ελαλ. κ.] ελογ. (ην- A) αυτ. κ. BA S F > 44,
 106, 107 α β γ ρ' אבר Ar M αυτω] > 44, 106, 107 α β γ Ar M F ελογια σοι γενοιο] > BA S εν. σ.
 -ηται 44 > 44, 106, 107 Ar παιδ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 Ar ο του] ναι ανδρος 44, 106, 107 pr. בי M
 πατρ.] ανθρωπ. BA > 44, 106, 107 S ω ταλ. . . ελεμη.] > BA 44, 106, 107 O infelicitas L κακων] κ. ακουσθη BA S
 (cf. F) ετιφλ.] T. απωλεισεν τ. σφθαλμ. αυτ. (ε. > A) BA S (cf. F) επηρ. 44, 106, 107 ανηρ δικ.] > BA S F
 κ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S F ποι. ελεμη.] > BA S F π. δικαιοσ. 44, 106, 107 επιπ. . . αδελ. αυτ.] ελυπηθη
 κ. BA S περιλαβ. αυτον (T. τ. υιον τ. αδελ. αυτ. 106 L) κ. 44, 106, 107 L Ar > M F εκλαυσ.] + επι τ. τραχ. αυτ.
 44, 106, 107 L Ar > M F 8. κ.] + εφιλησεν αυτον 44, 106, 107 M υισιοι F התחילי F αυτου] P. 44,
 106, 107 εκλαυσ. αυτ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 α β γ M בנו עליו Ar ρ' לבנות עמו M αυτων] -της BA 44,
 106, 107 (cf. F) εκλαυσεν] -αν BA (-εν B¹⁰) L > 44, 106, 107 S Ar M F κ. αυτη] > BA
 44, 106, 107 L Ar M F 9. κ. 10] pr. κ. υπεδεξαντο (-ατο 106 S εδ-ατο 44, 107) αυτ. προθ. BA
 44, 106, 107 F εβουεν] -αν BA 44, 106, 107 L pr. ρε' Ar εκ προθ.] προθ. BA 106 S > 44,
 107 L Ar M F + ρε' F υπεδεξαντο αυτ. προθ.] παρεθηκεν (ρωσ S) οψα πλειονα BA S
 Ar M κ. οτε . . . δειπν.] > BA S αβλο וישתו עד לא אבלו Ar (cf. M) plen. F κ. οτε] κ. 44, 107 κ. ενψ.]
 > 44, 106, 107 α β γ κ. 10] > L ανεπεσαν] -σων 44 δεικνυσαι] εις τ. δειπνον 44, 106, 107 ειπ.] + δε
 BA¹ S κ. ειπ. 44, 106, 107 L + T. ad ang. L P.] המלאך M F אף. αδελ.] > Ar ειπον . . . αδελ. μου]
 λαλησων υπερ ων ελεγες εν τ. πορτια (-ια A) κ. τελεισθητω (-στητω A) τ. πραγμα BA S (cf. F) λαλ. (+ δε 106) προς P.
 περι της θυγ. αυτ. κ. δωσει μοι αυτ. εις γυν. 44, 106, 107 Ar M 10. ηκ. P.] μετεδωκεν BA S (cf. Ar F) > 44, 106,
 107 τ. λογ.] + τω P. BA S Ar F > 44, 106, 107 κ. 20] > 44, 106, 107 Ar τ. παιδι] P. προς T. (-αν
 B¹⁰ A) BA S Ar illi L φαγ. . . ταυτ.] > Ar M κ. 30] > B τ. νυκτα ταυτ.] > BA S F τ. νυκτα ταυτ. 44,
 106, 107 ου γορ . . . φ] σοι γορ BA S επισταμαι γ. οτι αλλω εν 106, 107 κ. ελαλ. ταυτα Αζ. προς P. 44 > Ar
 M F καθκει . . . πλην σου] καθ. παιδιον μ. λαβ. BA S καθ. λαβ. τ. θ. μ. ει μη σοι 106, 107 > 44 Ar M F
 αδελ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S L Ar M F ωσαυτ. . . εγγ. μου] > BA 44, 106, 107 S > BA 44, 106, 107 S
 Ar M ηναולה בני משפח בני טוביה F εγγισ. μου] + et tibi Sarra α β γ κ. μοχα τ. αλ. σοι υποδ. παιδ.] πλην
 υποδ. (+ σοι A Ar) τ. αλ. BA S Ar F κ. τρω τ. αλ. προς σε τεκνον 106, 107 L M > 44 11. > 44. εδοκ.]
 pr. ρδη 106, 107 Ar pr. רע כי בכר M αυτην] τ. παιδιον μ. (παιδαριον A¹ παιδιον (ε. sup. ras.) A¹) BA S F
 ζ] επτα BA 106, 107 τ. αδελ. ημ.] > BA 106, 107 S Ar M παντες . . . προς αυτ.] οποτε εαν (αν A) εισεπ.
 pr. αυτ. απεδοσαν (-κοσαν B¹⁰ A) υπο (+ την A) νυκτα BA S απεθ. 106, 107 > BA 106, 107 α β γ Ar
 τ. νυκτ.] > L κ. νυν . . . πτε] αλλα το νυν εχων (-ον B¹⁰ A) ηδεως BA κ. Κυρ. . . υμιν] > BA 106, 107 α β γ Ar
 > BA 106, 107 S ου μη . . . πτω] ου
 γενηται (-σομαι A) ουδεν ωδε BA ου μη φ. ουδ' ου μη π. 106, 107 > BA 106, 107 εως αυ] κ. αν 106, 107 εως δαυτ.

VII. 11. The precise and legalistic emendation of K^v seems to mean 'until ye make covenant with me and have your covenant ratified by me', Th. *Critica*, p. 254, n. 1, *Θρησκαστω* (B¹⁰ A), Th. *Critica*, p. 214. With this verse commences the second S recension, with affinities to R³ and R^c instead of R^v.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 7. 11-17

in the night when they came in unto her. And now, child, eat and drink, and the Lord will deal mercifully with you. And Tobias said, I will taste nothing here nor will I drink until thou settle
(12) mine affairs. And Raguel said to him, I do so; she is given to thee according to the decree of the book of Moses, and from heaven it hath been decreed that she is given to thee; take thy sister. From henceforth thou art her brother, and she is thy sister; she hath been given to thee, from to-day even for ever. And the Lord of heaven give success to you, child, this night, even to do mercy and
(13) peace towards you. And Raguel called his daughter Sarah, and she came to him and he took her by the hand, and gave her to him, and said, Take her according to the law and according to the decree which is written in the book of Moses to give her unto thee to wife. Have her and
(14) lead her away to thy father in peace; and the God of heaven prosper you with peace. And he called her mother, and told her to bring a book, and he wrote an instrument of co-habitation, even
(15) that he gave her to him to wife according to the decree of the law of Moses. Then they began to eat and to drink.

Sarah's recovery and the consummation of the marriage, vii. 15–viii. 9^a.

15 (16) And Ragnel called Edna, his wife, and said unto her, Sister, prepare the other chamber, and
16 (17) bring her in thither. And she went and spread the bed in the chamber as he bade her and
17 (18) brought her thither; and she wept for her and wiped away her tears, and said unto her, Be

[illegible]

13. *συνγραφή*. Cf. the 1st inscription from *los. ἐγὼ συνγραφεὶς γὰρ καὶ* [s] *ἐβρα* 11. 33 in reproduction in Deissm. *L.A.E.*, p. 136].

16. Some of the changes made by the later redactors and versions are pleasing, e.g. R^{vi}'s alterations (incorporated as usual in F) to make the daughter weep and the mother catch her tears, and F's 'the Holy One, Blessed be He, received her tears', but R^c lacks the poetic imagination.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 8. 6-14

wife for a helper *and* a stay for him: of them both came the seed of men: and thou didst say, It is
7 not good that the man should be alone: let us make him a helper like unto him. And now
I take not this my sister for lust, but in truth: command that I and she may find mercy and grow
8, 9 old together. And they said together, Amen. And they slept the night.

The parents' joy and the ensuing feast, vv. 9^b-21.

10 And Raguel arose and called his servants with him and they went and digged a grave, for he
11 said, Lest he perish, and we become a derision and a reproach. And when they had finished
12 digging the grave Raguel came into the house, and called his wife, and said, Send one of the maid-
servants and let her go in and see if he be alive: and if he is dead that we may bury him, that no
13 man know it. And they sent the maidservant and lighted the lamp and opened the door, and she
14 went in and found them sleeping and slumbering together. And the maidservant came forth, and

A *αὐτῶν Ar* > γ Aug. *aliter F* κ. συ. . . βασιλ⁷⁰.] > 44, 107 αβγ Aug. κ. συ] συν BA σι] > BA 106 τ., ανθρ.] ρη' s*r* Aug. ποιήσωμ.] ܠܚܕ s*r* F 7. ιυν] + Κυrie BA s̄ + Κυrie συν γνώσκω. σι 44, 106, 107
α β γ δ εϛ. (ση γ ἡμε). Ar M ουχ] ου BA δια πορνειαν] δι. -ων Ba 44, 106, 107 luxuria causa l̄ τ.
κ. νουτ.] uxorem sororem mean α β ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθ]. άλλα κ. υ. A άλλα κατα (τα 44) δικαιομα (-ατα 44) τ.
romani σοκ (σ > 106 s̄) 44, 106, 107 s̄ sed ipsa veritate l̄ אורייתא כחללת משרה וישראל
מִשְׁרָ לַכֹּהֵן נָתַתָּ בְּנֵיהֶם וְיִשְׂרָאֵל
לקיים דברך האמת F επιρ. . . κοιν.] plen. F επιρ. ελεσηρ. με κ. αυτην] κ. ελ. μ. BA επι τη ελεθηνοι ημη
κυrie (+ em te κ. αυτην 106, 107) 44, 106, 107 ܟܘܪܝܬܢܐ ܥܰܠ ܩܘܳܡܐ ܨܰܠܬܐ ut (< γ) miserearis nostri Domine
α β γ Aug. חסדך חסדך עולנו והב לנו חסד (cf. M) κ. συνεκαταγαρησαι κοινας] κ. αυτη (ταυτ. Α) συνεκαταγαρησαι
(αγγ.) Bāā συνεκαταγαρησατο (σηρα inh. ras. A) BA κ. συνεκαταγαρησαι (= συν καταρασαι?) τ. ακαβαρη. θαμι. κ. δοκ
ημαυ κυριε τεκει κ. ευλογειτω 106, 107 ei (ut γ) consensescamus pariter sani cum pace α β γ ולא תברא אך הרא
+ (+ ועשיקים וחורתך M) ופנסו כל פנסו s̄ α β Ar M 8. ειπαν μεθ' εαντων] -εν μετ' αυτον BA
-αν κοινος 44, 106, 107 ܣܰܠܒܰܗ ܠܰܫܰܠܰܘܬ (cf. F) dixerunt ואמרה ואחיבת ש' אמרת G. εκουρ.] + αμφότεροι
BA (cf. F) ועל לחמה Ar M et receperunt se α β γ τ. νεκτη. εν τη ν. κεαρ. 44, 106, 107 S F post ταφον α β γ
αναστ. P. εκδλ. τοτε οικετ. μ. ενν. κ.] αναστ. P. BA F επ. (pr. ιοικ. π. λολε) P. τοis οικ. αυτ. 44, 106, 107 M κ.
Αr οτου בפליעת לוויא קם ר' ואמר לעברותי φαστοι κ. ωρεζαν ταφ]. επιστευθη κ. -εν τ. BA (cf. F) ορυgate τ. νεκτι
ταυτ. . . (cf. s̄) 44, 106, 107 s̄ + per noclem l̄ להפרא בקרא בליליא Ar M 10. ειπ. γαρ] λεγων BA
44, 106, 107 ואמר לחון Μη ποτε] μη κ. αυτος (αυτ. Α) BA ινα εαν 44, 106, 107 EN Ar αποθαν] η
teuthikas (+ τιλα + Ar) θαψω (Ar) αυτον νεκος κ. μηδεξ γνηφ (cf. v. 12) 44, 106, 107 S Ar simil. (pr. בקרות. R)
κ. γεν. κατυτ. κ. απελ.] > BA ιην μη γενη (lana) ιδוא לאנה eis ονειδυμαι κ. καταγελυτα 44, 106, 107 Ar (cf. F) ܠܰܫܰܠܰܘܬ
et omnibus fiam derisio et opprob. l̄ 11. στε . . . οικω] > Ar M στε . . . ταφος]
> BAF εγειροτο (> 44) στην εξηλυσσαν οι οικετ. (+ εφελαι.) s̄ 44, 106, 107 s̄ σι] > l̄
ηλβ. E.] > 44, 106, 107 s̄ τ. οικω] τ. -ων αυτους BAF > 44, 106, 107 s̄ εκαλ. την γιν. αυτ. κ.
> BA 44 F εκ. Ρ. (Ρ. > Ar) Εδ. (Εδ. > s̄) τ. γ. αυ. 106, 107 s̄ Ar M 12. αιπα.] + E. (P. 44) τη
γ. αυτ. BAF + αυτη 106, 107 s̄ Ar M Αποστ.] + δη 44, 106, 107 κ. εισελθ.] > BA s̄ F εις τ. κυτωια κ.
44, 106, 107 l̄ Ar ρεβοιη + בית + Ar ideraw ειδωσωμ. (ιδ. Bl) BA [g] + εν ιερηση 44, 106, 107
> F κ. ει. . . γνη] ει δε μη (an mortuus est l̄) ιυν θανφ. αυτ. (+ καινι אור הבקר. κ. μηδ. γγη -ιωτω
A) BA l̄ Ar M שימא נפטרי גמ הוא ואקברהו F > 44, 106, 107 s̄ 13. απεστ. . . λυχν. κ.] εισηλθ. η
παϊδαση BA F απιστ. Edra τ. παιδ. κ. 106, 107 s̄ Ar M απαλδ. η παιδ. κ. 44 λαορινω Ar M misit unam
ex ancillis et αβγ προειπε] ανοιξαθα BA ανεως 44, 106, 107 s̄ αβγ > Ar MF θυρ.] + του κοιτ. 106, 107 s̄
> Ar MF εισηλθ. κ.] > BA Ar MF ο λυχιος εν τη χειρι αυτης κ. 44, 106, 107 s̄ κ. τυρ. αυτους καθευδ. κ.
υπι. κοιμ.] κ. τυρ. τ. δυο καθευδ. BA s̄ κ. δου αυτοι καθευδ. κοιμ. 44, 106, 107 et invenit illos pariter dorm. l̄
(+ τ. ψιλος M) יחד טעלו M ותזוז ותא שכבו חרוקה Ar M ומצאתים ישבים 14. εξελθουσα] εξηλθε (+ Ed. 44) κ. 44, 106,
107 s̄ Ar M η παιδ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 s̄ l̄ Ar MF υπεδ. αυτ.] υπεδειξ. αποχηρηλ. BA 44, 106, 107 αυτοις Ed. τ. ανδρι αυτης 106, 107 s̄ > 44 + (ותאמר להם) M

9. In the original story (R¹), along with his servants (who are omitted in R², accidentally or for brevity's sake, as Müller admits), Jagoel digs the grave and returns from doing so before he addresses his wife (v. 11). R², however, denies Jagoel's presence at the digging and his share in the manual labour, as it is inconceivable 'that a rich man should himself do such work' (Söld, *op.cit.*, p. 48, who with singular inaccuracy attributes this alteration and motive to R² 3).

12. *σιδιτασιν*. B* A, misplaced augment, Th. *Gram.*, p. 209.

13. The three chief consonants, particularly R^h, have not retained their individuality in this verse, but both the later ones seem as usual to have been based on R^h either in the form it assumes in 8 or in that of L.

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4 while they are coming. And they went both together; and he said unto him, Take in thy hands the
5 gall. And the dog went with them, behind him and her son. And Anna sat watching the road by
6 which her son would come. And she espied him coming, and said unto his father, Behold, thy son
7 cometh, and the man that went with him. And Raphael said unto Tobias before he drew nigh to his
8 father, I know that his eyes will be opened; stuff the gall of the fish into his eyes and the medicament
9 will draw up and scale off the white films from his eyes, and thy father will see again and behold
10 the light. And she ran, and fell upon the neck of her son, and said unto him, I have seen thee, my
11 child; hereafter I can die. And she wept. And Tobit rose and stumbled with his feet and went forth
12 toward the door of the porch. And Tobias went towards him with the gall of the fish in his hand.

[illegible]

5. dog, see *Introd.*, p. 195.

8. ἀνυβλέψαι (N R^c), *Th. Gram.*, pp. 232, 262.

9. Cf. Gen. xvi. 29 f. for thought and language. *St* with true Oriental instinct adds the detail of Anna's veiling herself.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 11. 17—12. 5

them, because God had shewed mercy on him, and because he had opened his eyes. And Tobit came near to Sarah the wife of Tobias his son, and he blessed her, and said unto her, Welcome, daughter; and blessed is thy God which hath brought thee unto us, daughter, and blessed is thy father and blessed is Tobias my son and blessed art thou, daughter; welcome, daughter, to thy home, with blessing and joy, welcome, daughter. On this day there was joy to all the Jews which were at Nineveh. And Ahikar and Nadab his cousin [] came rejoicing unto Tobit.

E. THE SELF-REVELATION AND ASCENSION OF RAPHAEL, xii. 1-22.

i. The Offer of Wages, vv. 1-5.

- 12¹ And when the wedding feast was ended Tobit called his son Tobias, and said unto him, Child, see that thou give the wages to the man which went with thee, so that thou give him more for his wages. And he said unto him, Father, How much shall I give him as his wages? It is no harm to me to give him the half of the possessions which he has brought with me. He hath led me in safety, and he cured my wife, and brought the money with me, and cured thee; how much shall I give him further as wages? And Tobit said unto him, It is due unto him, child, to take the half of all which thou hadst when thou camest. And he called him and said, Take the half of all that thou hadst when thou camest for thy wages, and go in peace.

κ. 20] > 44, 106, 107 εν τ. ημερη ταυτ. κ. BA 44, 106, 107 F (cf. M) χαρη] + εν τ. ημερη εκεινη 44, 106, 107 + גדולה F Ιουδαιοις εν Νινευη αδελφοις αυτου BA > F τοις . . . Νινευη] > BA τ. κατοικουσιν 44, 106, 107 F 18. > Ar Λχειαρ Ν* Λχειαρος Ν^{ca} Λχειαρος BA Λχειαρ 44 حفيص S Achicarus αβ Achiacar γ Achior Y > MF Ναβαδ BA Ναβας 44, 106, 107 نبال S Nabal αβ in navis γ Nabath Y > MF οι εξαδελφοι Ν* α-φοι Ν^{eb} BA اوسله S avunculus αβ consobrini Y > γ MF αυτου] حفيص S Tobiae Y > MF χαιροτες προς T.] (+ αβ γ) κ. ηχθη ο γαμος Τωβια μετ' ευφροσυνης επτα ημερας BA αβ γ (cf. F) π. τ. χ. 44, 106, 107 + et data sunt יתנו M illi munera multa (+ יקרות M) αβ γ M χαιροτες] > (postea restituit) Ν^{eb} gaudens γ

XII. aliter Ar 1. στε (N^{id}) > στε Ν*] επερ. ο γαρ. > BA MF εκαλ. . . αυτω] επ. T. T. τ. υω αυτ. 44, 106, 107 S M παιδ. ορα] ο. τεκν. BA τεκν. 44, 106, 107 > S ορα] > M δουναι τον] > BA αποδωμεν 44, 106, 107 S M נתן M והשלים F πορευθ. μετ. α.] συνελθοντι σοι BA qui tecum fuit S προσ- θειναι] pr. κ. BA S κ. (> S M) -θωμεν 44, 106, 107 S M > F αυτω] > 44, 106, 107 F εις τ. μισθ. δει BA + αυτου 44, 106, 107 S > F 2. αυτω] > B S Τωβιας 44, 106, 107 S pr. 'ενα F ποσ. . . μισθ. > BA MF αυτ. δωσω] δω αυτ. 44, 106, 107 του] > 44, 106, 107 S S μισθ. > S S ου βλαπτ. S לא non enim satis est S > M ראי לנו F δδου S δους BA γαρ (> 44) εαν δω 44, 106, 107 τ. υπαρχ. > BA 44, 106, 107 S הכסף MF εμροχεν -χα BA S αβ γ MF ηρεγκε 106, 107 μτ' εμ. > BA משם M 3. εμε] σι με με BA S S pr. διοτι 44, 106, 107 pr. הרבה עשה לנו F ηεροχεν -ηρεχ B^b + σοι BA εστηρεσεν 44, 106, 107 S duxit et reduxit S הציל מן-הרג F נגמאותא -יה BA εν τ. οδω 44, 106, 107 S + והביאני בשלום M αργυρ. + μου BA μετ' εμου] > BA 44, 106, 107 S F BA εν τ. σ. σ. εθερ. > S σε] + ομοιως BA ποσων . . . μισθων] > BA F ου βλαπτο- μακ οσον αν (εαν 106 > 44) δω αυτω 44, 106, 107 S לא S לא S לא S לא S ומה ראי לתת לו M ετι] > S F על כל זאת M 4. > S M κ. 1^o pr. 'ενα F αυτω] > BA 44, 106, 107 S T.] ο πρεσβυτης BA Δικαιουνται Δικαιον δουναι 44, 106, 107 לו מן הדין ומן הצדק ראי לו F παιδιον . . . ηλθεν] > BA F παιδιον] > 44, 106, 107 F λαβειν] > 44, 106, 107 F παντων] horum S הצני הכסף F εχων ηλθεν] ηλθεν (-θες 44) εχ. μετα σου 44, 106, 107 tecum attulit S 5. εκαλ.] + טוביה M pr. מיד F αυτου] τ. αγγ. BA pr. T. S אל-ר' M למלאך רפאל F επ. + αυτω BA S S (M) F + [בא] M עזריה אחי M בני עז' F παντων] horum S הכסף MF εχων ηλθεν] εμροχате B εμροχας A εχω 44 חפץ S וילבש חפץ S בשבר מורחק] M [כי הוא שכרך] > F εις τ. μισθον σ.] > BA S haec erit merces tua S [כי הוא שכרך] M

18. R² (except γ) and R^c reproduce fairly faithfully the original form of the name Ahikar, which R^v has by no means entirely lost. Y has Achior, an instance of Y's affinities with some Syriac version (ܐܚܝܘܪ = ܐܚܝܘܪ). Nasbas in R^v (with which R^c is a compromise) may be meant for the younger brother of Nadan, but Nadab is the original, the second and third cons. having suffered metathesis in N, characteristic transcriptional changes in αβ S (ܢܒܠܝܢ into ܢܒܠܝܢ), vocalic confusion in Y, and more serious textual corruption in γ. Cf. the variations in the Ahikar story and E. d. Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 106, footnote 2. αβ (cf. Y) contain the original statement of R^c, from which N only departed by mistaking the sing. for the plur. Granted this slight change, R^s is quite in conformity with the Ahikar story.

XII. 3. ἀγίοχεν, Th. Gram., p. 204.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 12. 12-21

12 And now, when thou didst pray and Sarah, I did bring the memorial of your prayer before the
13 glory of the Lord: and when thou didst bury the dead, likewise. And when thou didst not delay
14 to rise up, and leave thy dinner, but didst go and cover the dead, then I was sent unto thee to try
(14). 15 thee; and at the same time God did send me also to heal Sarah thy daughter-in-law. I am Raphael,
one of the seven angels, which stand and enter before the glory of the Lord.

iii. Raphael's Commission and Ascension, *vv.* 16-22.

16, 17 And they were both troubled, and fell upon their faces; and they were afraid. And he said
18 unto them, Be not afraid, peace be unto you; bless God to all eternity. I when I was with you,
was not with you of any favour of mine, but by the will of God; him bless ye day by day, him
praise.

<p>19 ^{RS} And ye behold me that I have eaten nothing, 20 but a vision hath appeared to you. And now bless the Lord on the earth and give God thanks: Behold I ascend to him that sent me: write down all these things which have been happened to you. 21 And he ascended. And they rose up and could</p>	<p>All these days did I appear unto you; and I R did neither eat nor drink, but it was a vision ye yourselves saw. And now give God thanks because I ascend to him that sent me: and write in a book all the things which have been done. And they rose up and saw him no more. And</p>
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13. *plen.* M κ. σρε] et quia αβγ Cypr. Aug. ουκ ωκεν.] > 44, 106, 107 MF حذو س انصاشرن
-itas] > 44, 106, 107 S > MF κ.²⁰ . . . κ.⁴⁹] 44, 106, 107 S καταλειπειν] -λεσιν A σου post arist.
BA κ.] σωως BA ωχον κ.] απελθων BA περιστοιχεις] -στευλης A -σειδαις 44, 106, 107 محمد
sepelisti M MF ونبليها F τασε . . περ. σε] ουκ ελαβη με (ς με sup. ras. Aⁿ) αγαθοποιον (αγαθον ποιων Α) αλλά
στον σοι ημην ΒΑ κ. ηλθεν επι σε παρισμος 44, 106, 107 S (αβγ Cypr. Aug. = x) + ei S. nulum tuam (ex v. 14) α β
plen. M 14. > α β simil. M κ.] > S iterum Cypr. Aug. اما nun BA F ο θ. 44, 106, 107 S
ונבע ציהר M απεσταλκει] -ειδεν BA 44, 106, 107 μ.] + [ωφρ.] S ο θ.] > 44, 106, 107 S κ.²⁰] pr.
σε BA 44, 106, 107 S γr. Cypr. Aug. Σ.] post σου BA > 44, 106, 107 S 15. εγω pr. W] S P.] + [ωλκα]
M eis] + εκ B [επτα] > 44, 106, 107 M αγγελ.] pr. αγων BA αβγ Cypr. Ps-Aug. (> in altero loc.
Ps-Aug.) > 44, 106, 107 + iustis Cypr. Aug. in all. loc. השרים M οι] > 44, 106, 107 S παρεστη-
κασιν] προσαναφεροντι τ. προσχεας τ. αγων BA τ. παριστωτων 44, 106, 107 S κ. ευπορη.] > 44, 106, 107 S M
τ. δοξ.] > 44, 106, 107 S F fr. כסא M Κυρ.] τ. αγων BA του θ. 44, 106, 107 S Dei W] > M קדמב F
16. [εταραχθ.] سده لوللحه κ. διδο] αμφότεροι 44, 106, 107 והי ששעם את כל הדברים M (cf.) F επσαν]
-ov B 44 + αμφότεροι 44 αυτων] > BA + επι τ. γην 44, 106, 107 S κ.³⁰] σι BA 106, 107 > 44 S
εφυζθ.] > 44 S M 17. [επ.] + R. W] M εισηγη] pr. σι A ante μ. φοβ. M υμων] + εσται BA 44.
106, 107 τον] + δε B των θ.] post eulogy. 44, 106, 107 eis] 44, 106, 107 S παντα] > BA 44, 106,
107 S τ. αιωνα] > 44, 106, 107 S aliter M (cf. F) 18. > M aliter F εγω . . υμων¹⁰] > BA 44.
106, 107 S ουχι] σι ου BA 44, 106, 107 S εμη] εμαυτον BA χαριτι] S حذو س ημην με φμ.]
> BA 44, 106, 107 S S θελησι] حذو س B θευ] + υμων B + υ. ηλθον Α + εγω ηλθον υμ.]
106, 107 + حبب 000 S αυτων . . υμνετε] > 44, 106, 107 S αυτ. ειλ.] σθεν ειλ. αυτ. BA W] κατα . .
ημвр.] εις τ. αιωνα BA pr. et αβγ αυτη υμвр.] > BA 19. et videbatis me α β videbatis enim
me quia manducabam sed visu vestro videbatis γ videbatis me manducare sed visu vestro videbatis Aug.
13122 vidistis me &c. Aug. simil. MF κ. θεωρεστε με] πασ. τ. ημερας ωπατονημν υμων BA > 44, 106, 107
S σι] κ. BA 44, 106, 107 S ανθεν] ουδε εποιν BA 44, 106, 107 S ορασις . . εθεωρειτο] سلام لوللحه
ل' سلا ل' فوسل ح' سلسل سلسل سلسل ορασισ] -αν BA -σεις 44, 106, 107 υμвр.] -αις BA > 44,
106, 107 εθεωρειτο] -reite BA 44, 106, 107 20. ονομασεν με ενλες הדברים מיד נעלם מעניניה F ελογα . .
Κυρ. κ.] > BA M αναστη εκ τ. γης 44, 106, 107 S et nunc benedicite in terra γ et nunc surgite a terra α β
εξομολ. . . αποστ. με] > 44, 106, 107 S M ιδον εγω] διοτι BA γραψ.] pr. κ. BA 44, 106, 107 S pr. ergo W
παντα] pr. ταυτα 44, 106, 107 S لس حکم ταυτ. τ. συμβατα υμ.] τ. συντελεσθητα BA > 44, 106, 107 S
κ. ανεβη] εις βαβυλον 44, 106, 107 S (+ mult. verb.) M + κ. τον θ. ελογησε εγω γαρ αναβαινα προς τ. αποστι-
λанта me θ. (θ. >) 44, 106, 107 S (cf. M) וישלחונו B 21. > (cf. c. 20) F κ. ανεστησεν] עצל מלאך

16-22. The linguistic affinities with the records of the Transfiguration, Resurrection, and Ascension of Christ are remarkable. With the whole of v. 16 cf. Matt. xvii. 6, Luke xxiv. 5. With *ἡ φθορία* in 17 cf. Matt. xviii. 5, 10. *ἀπὸ τῆς κτλ* cf. Luke xxiv. 36 (> *ἔγω κτλ*, *ἡ φθορία* G old Lat.), John xv. 19, xxi. 26. (With v. 18 cf. John i. 13.) With *ἐκταραξέ* (19) cf. Luke xxiv. 37, 39; *οὐκ ἐξήκου* contrast Luke xxiv. 43; with *ὁπταίνου* (in LXX 3 (1) Kings viii. 8 and in papyri, e.g. *ὁπταίται* in *Paris* No. 49. 33; c. 160 B.C., and *ὁπταίνουσιν* *Tebnin* No. 245. 117 B.C. cf. Acts i. 3 and the 'Great magical papyrus' of c. 300 A.D. (No. 574 of the *Supplément grec* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, reproduced in part by Deissin, in *L.A.L.*, pp. 250-60), in the Jewish text of which occur the words *ἀρκίζω σε τὸν ὁπταίνετα* τῷ 'Οσραηλ. In v. 20 with *ἀναβαίτω* *πρὸς* cf. John xx. 17; *πρὸς τὸν ἄποστ.* cf. John xvi. 5, xx. 21. With *ᾤψατο* and *ἐβλάστη* (R^v) cf. John xv. 30, xxi. 25, Rev. i. 11; *ἀνέβη* (R^s) cf. Ephes. iv. 9, with v. 21 cf. Acts xxix. 9, 10. With *ἡλίκους* in v. 22 (R^s) cf. Luke xxiv. 53; *ᾤψθη αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλους* cf. 1 Tim. iii. 16 *ᾤψθη ἀγγέλ.*

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 11. 22—13. 6

22 no longer see him. And they blessed and praised God and they gave him thanks for these his great works, how the angel of God had appeared unto them.

they confessed the great and wonderful works of God, and how the angel of the Lord had appeared unto them.

iv. Tobit's Prayer of Joy, xiii. 1-18.

The Exile's prayer of exhortation and consolation, vv. 1-6.

13 I

And he said

Blessed is God that liveth for ever, and his kingdom.

2

For he chastiseth, and sheweth mercy.

He leadeth down to Hades below the earth.

And he bringeth up from the great destruction:

And there is nothing that shall escape his hand.

3

Give thanks unto him before the Gentiles, ye children of Israel.

For he hath scattered you among them.

And there he hath shown you his greatness;

And extol ye him before all the living.

Because he is our Lord, and he our God, and he our Father.

Yea, he is God to all the ages :

He will chastise you for your iniquities,

And will show mercy unto you all.

6

When ye turn unto him out of all the nations

Whithersoever ye shall be scattered,

ἡ τοῦ M οὐκ εἶδον ἤδυν, εἶδεν] οὐκ εἶδον BA 44 οὐκ εἶδοσαν 106, 107 𐤀𐤓𐤁 𐤇𐤓𐤁 𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤁 𐤀𐤓𐤁 M
 αυτου] > ουκ εἶδον 106, 107 > 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 𐤓 22. ἡλογ. . . αυτου] 𐤀𐤓𐤁 𐤀𐤓𐤁 F 𐤀𐤓𐤁. . .
 ἡν εκ.] > BA ἡλογ. τ. θ. κ. 44, 107 𐤓 -αυτο τ. κ. 106 αυτου] > BA 44, 106, 107 𐤓 𐤀𐤓𐤁 > BA
 αυτου] > BA τ. μεγαλα] > 44, 106, 107 𐤓 ταυτα] κ. 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤀 αυτου] (τον θ. Α) BA > 44, 106, 107 𐤓
 omnibus 𐤀 𐤀𐤓. . . 𐤀𐤓𐤁] α ἐποιήσεν αυτοις 44, 106, 107 𐤓 > M 𐤀𐤓] 𐤓. κ. Α ἀγγελος] 𐤓. ο Α
 𐤀𐤓𐤁 𐤀𐤓𐤁 BA

XIII. > Ar 1. κ¹⁹] pr. κ. T. εγραψεν πρωτευχην (την πρ. (الحمد لله) S) τιντ. 44, 106, 107 S] εν γραλλυαυ
BA 44, 106, 107 S M חתחיל לחתפל ו'ו' חקן חפלה וחחיל לחתפל F Time locutus est T. et scripsit orationem: in laetitiam
(-ia u) αβγ επι.] + ܡܨܚܐ S M Ευλογ. ο θς.] Benedictus es (S passim in pp. 1-18) deus U S ο ζωσ] quia
magnus es et visis U פלאי לעמו ועבריו (II salom) הגדול המפליע לעשות T eis τ. αιωνας] eis τ. -tas BA 44,
106, 107 > S M κ²⁰] οτι εις παντ. τ. αιωνας 44, 106, 107 U + ܠܚܕܐ S η βλαστ. αυτ.] + est U שם
מלכותו כבוד F 2. pr. הוא טרף וירפאני U elea] -cei B Bab ורופא MF ומטית ומחיה M עוש אבות]
eis adon BA κατωτ. τ. γης] > BA 44 S MF κατω 100, 107 U [κ. αυτ. αναγ. ιωσηφ ad καρπ. fin. aliter F
aut.²⁰] > BA 44 S U εκ τ. απωλ.] > BA 44 S F τ. μεζ.] > BA S F εν τ. ανακαταστησιν αυτου 44, 106, 107 U
ουδ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 S U F u] os BA 44, 106, 107 S U F εκφευξ.] effugiat U τ. χ. αυτ.] ܡܦ
ܡܥܬܝ S > F 3. εξημολογησθε] εξημολογησθαι A οι] > 44 Ιερ.] θουν 44, 106, 107 ενωστ. τ.
εθνον] pr. תמיד בקשו פנוי תמיד F vmas] ημ. BA 44, 106, 107 S 4. simid, F κ¹⁹] > BA 44,
106, 107 S εκει] > 44, 106, 107 S υπεδειξαν . . . ζωνταν] ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ S υπεδειξαν
vmas] υποδειξατε BA 44, 106, 107 αβ μεγαλοθυμ.] misericordiam U κ²⁰] > BA 44 καθ'οτι] διوتي 44, 106,
107 quoniam U ημ.¹⁹ κυρ. εστιν κ.²⁰ αυτ.²⁰ θ.¹⁹ ημ.²⁰] κυρ. ημ. κ. θ. αυτ. (ο θς ο Α) BA κυρ. κ. θ. ημ. 106, 107
κυρ. θ. 44 est Dominus Deus noster ημ. κ.¹⁹ αυτ.¹⁹] > BA κ. 106, 107 o 44 κ.²⁰ αυτ.²⁰ θ.²⁰] > BA S
et deus U 5. μαστ.] pr. κ. BA flagellavit U μαστιγ. . . υμων κ. ܡܫܬܝܓ ܡܫܬܝܓ S ܡܫܬܝܓ S
vmas] ημ. BA 44, 106, 107 επι] εν BA 44, 106, 107 ου U υμων] ημ. BA 44, 106, 107 παντ. υρ.]
παλιαν BA 44, 106, 107 S > F ελεος.] באהרת הימים ולהרשיעם F κ. συναξι vmas BA 44, 106, 107 S η σ
σπον αν] ου εισ BA ου 44, 106, 107 ubicumque U δισκοκουρισθητε] σκορη. B εκσκορουσθητε
44, 106, 107 S dispersi fueritis U 6. aliter F οταν] εισ BA 44, 106, 107 κ.¹⁹ . . υμων κ.²⁰] >

22. ἐξομολ. (Cod. Vat.) cf. Th. *Gram.*, p. 199.

XIII. 3. $\delta\tau_i$ may be an error for $\alpha\tau_i$ as it is common to all recensions, a mistranslation of $\alpha\tau\alpha$ (Muller, *op. cit.*, p. 33, n. 1).

6^b–10^a. N's lacuna is due to that very common cause of such omissions, homoeoteleuton, and is not a proof of more than average frailty on the part of its scribe. After he had transcribed τ, βαρ, τ, αωρ, of 6^a, his eye returning to the MS. he was copying, lighted on τ, βαρ, τ, αωρ, in v. 10^a and he proceeded to transcribe 10^b.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT—13. 6-10

With your whole heart and with your whole soul, to do truth before him,
Then he will turn unto you, and will no longer hide his face from you.

And now see what he hath wrought with you,
And give him thanks with your whole mouth,
And bless the Lord of righteousness,
And exalt the everlasting King.

< I, in the land of my captivity, give him thanks,
And show his strength and majesty unto nations of sinners.
Turn, ye sinners, and do righteousness before him.
Who can tell if he will accept you and have mercy on you ?

The New Jerusalem, vv. 7-18^a.

- 7 I exalt my God, and my soul [] shall rejoice in the King of heaven ;
8 Of his greatness let all men tell,
And let them give him thanks in Jerusalem.
9 O Jerusalem, thou holy city ! he will chastise thee for the works of thy hands,
And will again have mercy on the sons of the righteous.
10 Give thanks to the Lord with goodness, and bless the everlasting King, >
That thy tabernacle may be builded in thee again with joy,
And that he may make glad in thee all that are captives,
And love in thee all that are miserable and all the generations of eternity.

7¹⁰] > B εν ολη. . . ψυχῇ > S υμῶν 2^o] > B ενωπιον] εμπροσθεν 44, 106, 107 αληθ.]
+ חבבן S τότε . . . αφ. υμων] > S επιστρεψει] ε sup. ras. A¹ ουκει] > BA 44, 106, 107
κ. νυν . . . δικαιοσυνης κ.] > 44 νυν] > BA 106, 107 εποιησεν] παυσηται BA 106, 107 μεθ' με sup. ras.
B^{ab} στοματι] σωματι B חבבן S corde L ευλογησατε] -γειτε A 106, 107 υμων 5^o] + ut
facialis coram illo veritatem L κυριον] S שמו F τ. δικαιοσυν.] > F in iustitia L τ. αιωνων]
ועד אשר מלכותו עומדת לעולם ועד F εγω—10^a > N [usque ad 10^a B:—] εγω . . . αμαρτωλων] > S ואספר
חי נפלאותיו ובהו וגבורתו לעיני כל חי F μόν] > 44, 106, 107 εξομολογουμεναι] -γησονται 44, 106, 107 ισχυν]
+ ipsius L εβη αμαρτωλων B.] -νει -λαφ 248, 249 coram [in Cypr.] natione peccatrice αβ Cypr. αμαρτωλοι
> 44, 106, 107 pr. המורדים F κ. παυσηται . . . αυτων] > F τις γιν. . . υμιν ;] > 44 τις γιν. (γεν. Α)]
> S F η B^a] ε Α > B^b ο S اولי F θελήσει] > F υμας] ημας 106, 107 > αβ (vos Spec. 5)
κ. ποιήσει] ut faciat L υμιν] eis υμας A ημιν 106, 107 + ואמת + חסד ואמת + רחום . . . רחם F 7. τον]
pr. εγω 44, 106, 107 F pr. S חבבן S τ. θεον μ.] > αβ υψω] אקרא F ego (vide sub τ. ονρ.) αβ
τ. βασιλει] τ. βασιλεα A 44, 106, 107 חבבן S τ. ονρ. (γ. υψω)] > S caeli laetationem (-orum -titiam
Fac. Herm. Def.) dicimus αβ κ. 2^o] + anima mea (iterum) αβ κ. 2^o αγαλλιασεται] αγαλλισομαι 44, 106
> S חסד והדר לפניו F + omnibus diebus vitae meae αβ τ. μεγ. αυτ.] > S עז ותפארת במקדשו F maie-
statem eius post laudate (v. 8) αβ 8. λεγ. παντες] Benedicite domino omnes electi, et omnes laudate αβ
λεγ. > S F παντες] post Ieros. 44 > S הענינים F κ. εξομ.] S וְלֹאֲמֹנִי F et
confitemini L εν Ιεροσολ.] seq. ras. 2 vel 3 litt. in A + παντες 44 agite dies laetitiae ante κ. 9.
Ieros.] > S F [αγιον usque ad cap. fin.] > S αγιον] αγια A L αγιασματος 44, 106, 107 μαστιγωσει]
flagellavit L μαστιγ. . . δικ.] הוא שלם לך עונות בניך ועוד וישעם ויט תקוה לאחריתך נאם יהוה ישבו בניס לנבולם
F επι τ. εργ.] in operibus L ענות F ויאר] ουκετων 44, 106, 107 manuum αβ κ. παλιν . . .
δικαιων] > αβ 10. > 44 plen. et aliter F κυρ. αγαθως] αγαθω A in bono L [κ. 1^o usque ad libri
capit. N:—] κ.] ινα BA 106, 107 L η σκηνη αυτ. οικου.] cf. בשוכך F η] > A σκηνη]
σπουδη 106 σου] αυτου BA 106, 107 οικοδομηθησεται] -θη BA 106, 107 σοι 1^o] pr. εν A 44, 106, 107 L
ευφραναι] -ρανη A -ροσυνης 106, 107 παντας] > BA 106, 107 (his) μιχαλωτ.] pr. εκει A κ. 3^o] > 106,

7, 8. A line seems to be lacking and λεγ. is awkward without an object. Metre, parallelism, and grammar are alike improved if *kai* in v. 7 is omitted, *ψυχῇ* taken as subject of *ἀγαλλ.*, and *τ. μεγ.* as object of *λεγ.* on the analogy of *אשר* and *דבר* with direct accus., Ps. cxlv. 6, 11, Sir. xxxiii. 10, John viii. 27.

9. *works of thy hands*, i.e. idols (with reference to Is. xxxi. 7), restored by Reusch from αβ in place of the colourless *sons* (derived from γ^b) of R^v and R^c.

10. The connexion of 10^b with the earlier portion of the poem being lost after the omission of 6^b-10^a, the scribe of N substituted *kai* for *ina*, which must therefore be restored. The Semitic construction of the infin. (*εὐφράναι*) carrying on the finite verb was first altered in R^c.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 13. 11-14

- 11 A bright light shall shine unto all the ends of the earth;
Many nations < shall > come from afar,
And the inhabitants of the utmost ends of the earth unto thy holy name;
With their gifts also in their hands unto the King of heaven,
Generations of generations shall utter rejoicing in thee,
And thy name that is elect unto the generations of eternity.
- 12 Cursed shall be all they that shall speak a hard word;
Cursed shall be all they that demolish thee,
And throw down thy walls;
And all they that overthrow thy towers,
And set on fire thy habitations;
But blessed shall be all they that fear thee for ever.
- 13 Then go and be exceeding glad for the sons of the righteous:
For they all shall be gathered together,
And bless the everlasting Lord.
- 14 Blessed shall they be that love thee;
And blessed shall they be
That shall rejoice for thy peace:
And blessed shall be all the men
That shall sorrow for thee
For all thy chastisements:
Because they shall rejoice in thee
And shall see all thy joy for ever.

107 εν 2^ο σοι 3^ο κ. 106, 107 > L κ. 4^ο εις BA 106, 107 α β τ. αιωνος] υμων 106, 107 11. φως
... γης] > BA 44, 106, 107 F φως λαμπ. λαμψει] luce splendida fulgebunt α β luce clara fulgebis Brev.
Moz. Vig. Epiph. יִשְׁמְרוּךְ בְּשִׁמְרוֹךְ F κ. κατωκ. ηξει BA 44, 106, 107 venient illi habitare (ἐλθουσιν
Brev. Prosp.) α β Brev. Ps.-Prosp. παντ. . . γης] > BA 44, 106, 107 παντ. τ. ισχ.] α novissimis
partibus α β τ. αγι. σου] κυρ. του θ. BA 44, 106, 107 Brev. Ps. Prosp. dei mei α β (cf. יהוה עליך מלכי הרעים
יהוה) κ. 3^ο > BA 44, 106, 107 τα δ. αυτων 1^ο δ. BA 44, 106, 107 ταις χ. αυτων 2^ο χ. BA 44, 106,
107 L κ. B 44, 106, 107 τω βασιλ.] fr. δωρα iterum BA 44, 106, 107 του ουρη] caeli (-orum
Prosp.) et terrae L γενει γεν.] -εα γεν. A > F > (sed τ. εις τας γ.) L δωσουσιν] fr. αντιστοιχου σοι κ. A
post in laet. offerentes α β post terrae offerent Prosp. -runt Brev. (cf. יִשְׁמְרוּךְ וְכָל הַיְּהוּדִים וְכָל הַיְּהוֹנָדָה) 12. σπ. σπ.
αγαλλιαμα] σοι αγ. B 44, 106, 107 -λασσω A in lactida post terrae α β cum lact. post off. Prosp. κ. 3^ο
ον. . . αιωνος] > BA 44, 106, 107 F ον, της εδ.] nomen magnum (fr. domini Brev.) erit α β εις
τας γεν. τ. αιωνος] in saecula saeculorum α β Prosp. in omnibus -lis Brev. 12. επικατ.] cf. יִרְשֶׁנּוּ
אֶחָד F παντες] + qui spernunt (+ in Brev.) te et omnes q. blasphemant te: maledicti erunt
omn. q. odiunt (-erunt Brev.) te et α β Brev. ερισται . . . οικηταις σου] μετανοητες σε BA 44, 106, 107
επακατ. 2^ο εουσιν. παντ.] ante q. odiunt α β Brev. κατανοησιν] fr. omni. q. Brev. εμπνεσθ.] fr. omni. q. L
κ. 4^ο . . . σε] > F κ. 4^ο > BA 44, 106, 107 ελπογητ.] -γομεν. BA 44, 106, 107 εις τ. αιωνος] post σε BA
α β Brev. οι φοβ. σε] οι αγαπωντες BA 44, 106, 107 qui aedificant te α β Brev. 13. τοτε] > BA 44,
106, 107 πορευθητ.] χαρητι B^o A 44, 106, 107 α β Brev. χαρηθι B^{ab} + יִרְשֶׁנּוּ F προι τους υι.] επι τους υι.
BA 44, 106, 107 in filiis α β Brev. τ. υι. τ. δικ.] על קבוין בניך השבים בקרבך F παντες] > BA 44, 106,
107 F επισυναχθ.] συναχθ. BA 44, 106, 107 ρηט ירד F κυριον] יהוה F τ. αιωνος] δικαιοη BA 44,
106, 107 > F 14. μακ. . . σε] > 44 F μακ. 2^ο] fr. ω BA 44, 106, 107 κ. μακ. υι.] > BA F
εὐλογημένοι εἰσονται πάντες 44, 106, 107 et qui L χαρ. επι τ. εφ. σου] οι αγαπωντες σε εις τ. αιωνος 44, 106, 107
> F χαρ.] gaudent L κ. 2^ο > BA 44, 106, 107 L παντ. οι ανθρ.] απο B 44, 106, 107 ω A επι σοι
λυπηθησ.] ελυπηθησαν BA 44, 106, 107 contristabuntur L πασις] > B (A^o B^o b) 44, 106, 107 ει] επι BA
106, 107 κ. οφονται] θεασαμενοι BA 44, 106, 107 יתבחרו F χαρ.] δοξ. BA 44, 106, 107 F σου 3^ο + κ. ενφραδθησεται

11. The fine metaphor of R^s in 11^s finds support in α β Brev. Moz. Vig. Epiph. The prosaic R^v omitted it along with the universalistic κ. κατοικοι . . . γης which has been handed down by the scribe of R in a corrupt form. Reussch emends κατοικοι απο παντ. and inserts ηξει after μακροθεν from L.

13. χαρητι B^o A, cf. Sir, iv, 25 εντραπητι B^o AC for -ηθι B^o. The emendation χαρ. for πορευ. (R^s) was so obvious that it was adopted not only in R^v and R^c but in L.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 13. 15—14. 2

- 15 My soul doth bless the Lord the great King ;
16 For Jerusalem shall be builded again as his house unto all the ages.
Happy shall I be if the remnant of my seed come to see thy glory
And give thanks unto the King of heaven.
And the gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphire and emerald,
And all thy walls with precious stone.
The towers of Jerusalem shall be builded with gold,
And their battlements with pure gold.
17 The streets of Jerusalem shall be paved
With carbuncle and stones of Ophir.
18 And the gates of Jerusalem shall utter hymns of gladness
And all her houses shall say, Halleluiah.

Final benediction, v. 18^b.

Blessed is the God of Israel,
And the blessed shall bless the name
That is holy for ever and ever.

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY, xiv. 1-15.

i. Tobit's Age, xiv, 1, 2.

- 14 And the words of Tobit's thanksgiving were ended, and he died in peace being an hundred and
2 twelve years old, and was buried magnificently in Nineveh. And he was threescore and two years old
when he became maimed in his eyes; and after he recovered his sight he lived in prosperity and gave
alms, and he still continued to bless God, and to give thanks for the greatness of God.

B כ, ευφρανθησονται A 44, 106, 107 F 15. ελογει] -γειτω A 44, 106, 107 benedic 11 F κυριον θ. BA 44, 106, 107 16. Ιερου.12] > BA 44, 106, 107 liberavit Hierus. et 11 οικοδομηθησεται i sup. ras. (sup. ras. i li). A^a aedificabit αβ ur Brev. יבנה יהוה ימי F תי פדלי... α θυρ. > BA 44, 106, 107 F תי פדלי iterum 11 τῷ βασι.] nomini regis 11 κ.20] > 11 σαπφειρ.] σαππειρ. B σαπφειρ A οικοδομηθ.12] > BA 44, 106, 107 F λιθ. τιμι.] λιθ. εντιμο B 44, 106, 107 λιθ. επιτιμο A ובזבח F παντα] > BA 44, 106, 107 F אבני ארז F oi πυργ.] pr. κ. BA 44, 106, 107 Ιερου. χρυσ. οικοδομηθ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 F προμαχωνες] -μαχοι 44, 106, 107 αυτων] > BA 44, 106, 107 eius 11 F χρυσιω22] pr. εν A 44, 106, 107 17. pr. κ. BA 44, 106, 107 11 αι] > 44, 106, 107 πλαταιαι] -ται A pr. כל F αυθρ.] pr. βηρυλλω κ. BA 44, 106, 107 אבני ארז F αυθρ... 11 Σουφειρ] carbunculo lapide sterneretur 11 ψηφολογηθ.] post Σουφ. A -λογιστ. post Σουφ. 44, 106, 107 Σουφ.] pr. εκ BA 44, 106, 107 מנחות F 18. α θυρ... 11 αγαλλ.] > BA 44, 106, 107 F Ιερου.] illius 11 F κ.22 et κρουσι22] λεγοντες (γον sup. ras. A^a) post αυθρ. BA 44, 106, 107 11 οικι.] μυμ. BA 44, 106, 107 11 F Αλληλ.] + κ. αυθθον + pr. αυθθουσιν (ουσιν sup. ras. A^a) A^a 44, 106, 107 > 11 τ. Ιερ.] ος ψωψων (-σε σε 44, 106, 107) παντας (+ κ. αυθθουσιν) (ουσιν sup. ras. A^a) Dominus qui exaltat te et benedictus in omnia saec. (-nibus -lis Brev.) saeculorum αβ Brev. יהוה ועד עלולם קרן מלכותך הרים קרן אשר הרים F κ. ελογ. ... κ. ετι] > BA 44, 106, 107 F quoniam in te benedictet (-cent? -etur Brev.) nomen (omne Brev.) sanctum (suum αβ) in aeternum αβ Brev.

XIV. > Ar M 1. συντελε... ἐξομολογήσας] ἔπαυσσε ἐξομολογούμενος BA דבר מוסר אשמה וסלחא ליה
 ש עור כזן חסלה F סυντ., pr. ut κ. απεθ... εν Ν:] > BA F pr. [דבר מוסר אשמה וסלחא ליה] δωδεκα]
 אלהיך ש נודה[.] + וסלחא 2. Εἰς τὸν νη] ην ετ. πενήτηκτα οκτω BA S II F ην ετ. ογδοήκοντα οκτώ A
 εγεν... σφθ[.] ἀπώλεεν τ. σφας BA F τ. αναβλ... αγαθ[.] ετη οκτω ανεβλεψεν ην F λω עלי שבע
 שבע אדם וכל יום של חמשה שבועות לא יכלו לא שנו אשלף השבועה ש et quin-
 quaginta quattuor annis postquam lucem recepit vixit in omnibus II על. עתשה.] עפויע על. BAF עת]
 > BA S προσεθ.] bis scr. κ. προς Α* (ras. 1° A1) proposuit II > S עלוג.] פובשיבאי BAF
 colare II > S τον θ:] pr. κυριον ΒΑ שנו ב הקדש ברך הוא F εξομολογησάτω - ωμολογιάντο (-ισται
 Α) αυτω BA 44, 106 S F την μεγ. τ. θ.] μεγαλωσ (citt de vt. 3) BA μεγαλωσ 44, 106 דבר מוסר אשמה

16. As \mathbb{L} testifies $\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\kappa$ stood in \mathbb{R}^5 . \mathbb{N} has $\tau\eta\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\iota$, $\tau\eta$ being an incorrect repetition of the last three letters of the previous word, and $\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ a later scribal blunder for $\pi\acute{\omega}\lambda\epsilon\kappa$ under the influence of the $\tau\eta$. For the complete disappearance of the aspirate in $\sigma\alpha\mu\pi$. (Vat). see Th. *Gramm.*, p. 121. For thought and language cf. Is. liv. 11, 12, Rev. xxi. 10–21.

XIV. 1. *š* supports *k^h*, the difference resulting from the Syriac copyist's omission of *ten*, as in viii. 20 he omitted *four*.

2. ἀνάπειρ, not -πηνρ., cf. 2 Macc. viii. 24 A.V.; Luke xiv. 13, 21; Th. *Gram.*, p. 83.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 14. 3-5

ii. Tobit's last words and hopes for the Messianic Age, vv. 3-11^a.

The future of Jerusalem, Israel, and the heathen, vv. 3-7.

3 And when he was dying he called Tobias his son, and charged him, saying, Child take thy
4 children; and go into Media, for I believe the word of God upon Nineveh, which Nahum spake, that
all those things will be, and will befall Assyria and Nineveh. And all the things which the prophets
of Israel spake, whom God sent, shall befall; and nothing shall be minished of all the words; and all
things shall come to pass in their seasons. And in Media shall be deliverance more than among the
Assyrians and in Babylon; wherefore I know and believe that all the things which God hath spoken
will be accomplished and will be, and there will not fall to the ground a word of the prophecies. And
as for our brethren which dwell in the land of Israel, against all of them will God devise evils, and they
will be carried captive from the goodly land, and all the land of Israel will be desolate, and Samaria and
5 Jerusalem will be desolate, and the house of God will be in grief and be burned up for a time; and
God will again have mercy on them, and God will bring them back into the land of Israel, and they
will again build the house, but not like the first, until the time when the time of the seasons be
fulfilled; and afterward they will return, all of them, from their captivity, and build up Jerusalem
with honour, and the house of God shall be builded in her, even as the prophets of Israel spake con-

+ עת F magnitudinem eius L 3. κ. ὅτε] δε (fr. μεγάλως ε. τι. 2) BA ως δε 44. 106 απειθν.]
εγγρασαν κ. BA + Thobis L T.] > BA αυτου] + κ. τ. υιου (εξ υιου πιζι πολιυς εξ υιου A) αυτου BA
et septem filios eius L ט' בני יסח F ενετ. αυτ. λεγων] ειπεν αυτ. BA S precep. illis dicens L Παιδιον . . .
παυδια] τεκν. λαβε τ. υιους BA fr. משה ויחזקאל S > F απαγ.] dilige L σου] + ιδου γεγηρακα κ.
προς τ. αποτρεχειν εκ (απο A) τ. (ην ειμι BA (cf. F) 4. plen. et aliter F κ. αποτρ.] απελθε BA recurre L
Μηδειαν] -ιαν B^a A fr. την BA + τεκνον BA regionem Medorum L πιστ. εγω τ. ρ. τ. θ.] πεπεισμαι BA
יחזקאל ויחזקאל S επι N.] περι N. post. προφ. BA > S ροζι ελαλ. L a] οσα BA quod L
Ναουμ] Ιωνας ο προφητ. BA > L יחזקאל S οτι παντα . . . απειν. S > S παντα εσται . . . καιροις
αυτων] καταστραφησεται B κατασκαφ. A κ. οση . . . απαντ.] > S κ. οσα] quae L κ. ου μηθ. . . ρηματ.]
יחזקאל S μνηεν N^a μη ουθεν N^a κ. παντα . . . καιρ. αυτ.] > S κ. εν^{1a}] εν δε BA
Μηδειαν] -ια A + παλιν 44. 106 σωτηρια] ειρηνη BA יחזקאל S ηπερ . . . λογων] εως καιρου BA εν Ασσ.]
fr. יחזקאל S δια . . . λογων] > S α θ.] dominus L διαπισ.] excedet L λογων] + dei L
κ. οι] κ. οτι οι BA οι κατοικ.] > BA εν τ. γη] > S Ισρ. παντ. λογισθ. κ.] > BA Ισρ.] יחזקאל S
παντων] omnes L λογισθ.] dispergentur L αιχμαλωτ.] σκορπ. BA S fr. ex illis L εκ τ. γη
τ. αγ.] απο τ. αγ. γ. BA יחזקאל S ad terram optimam L κ. εστι πωσ. . . ερημ^{2a}]
יחזקאל S εσται πωσ. . . Σαρ. κ.] > BA L Σαρ. . . ερημ^{2a}] > L εν λεπη] εν
αυτ. BA יחזקאל S quae in illa est L κ. κούθησ.] κατακησ. BA L > S μεχρι χρον.] fr. κ. ερημ^{2a}]
εσται BA L > S 5. plen. F ελεησ.] יחזקאל F αυτ.^{1a}] > S κ. επιστρ. . . θ.^{2a}] > L α θ.^{2a}] > BA S
κ. αυχ . . . πρωτ.] κ. επιστ. αυτ.] > L εις τ. γην] > S in terra L τ. Ισρ.^{1a}] > BA παλιν^{2a}] > BA S
κ. αυχ . . . πρωτ.] ουχ οιος ο προτερος BA > S εως . . . καιρων] εως (ως A) πληρωθωσιν καιροι τ. αιωνος BA > S
quoad usque repleatur tempus maledictionum L κ. μετα ταυτα . . . οικου^{2a}] יחזקאל S
יחזקאל S μετα ταυτα] > S cf. יחזקאל S תהיה פלגים ויעור F της αιχμαλ. αυτ. παντες] των αιχμαλ. BA
παντες] post κ. L τ. θ. εν αυτ.] > S του θ.] > S οικοδομηθ.] + ενδοξω B^b fr. εις πωσ. τ.
γνηντας τ. αιωνος οικοδομη (scq. rias.) B^{ab} in S] B S + εις πωσ. τ. γεν. τ. αιων. οικοδομη ενδοξω A (cf. F) + et in
omnia saecula saeculorum aedificabitur L ελαλ.] יחזקאל S οι προφ.] fr. omnes L τ. Ισρ.^{2a}] > BA

3. The κ. ὅτε of R^s was changed in R^v into ως δε, his favourite construction, e.g. vi. 10 (where R^s also has καὶ ὅτε v; viii. 4 (R^s simply καί); xi. 12 (where the whole verse is edited by R^v). R^s has preserved this ως δε of R^s, but it has fallen out of BA by haplography. μεγάλως therefore in R^v originally belonged to v. 2 and appears to have been a conjectural abridgement (earlier than R^s) of μεγαλωσίην (R^s) necessitated by a scribe's insertion of αὐτῷ before it; and the consequent omission of τ. θ. after it.

4. Before the discovery of N Grotius had correctly conjectured that Jonah had been inserted in place of Nahum under the influence of Jonah iii. 4. κατακησ. (R^v) Th. Gram., p. 237. Dr. Charles conjectures that λογισθ. (R^s) is a translation of יחזקאל, which was a dittography of יחזקאל, and regards παντων as a solecism for παντες. Marshall suggests that σκορπ. (R^v) = יחזקאל, λογισθ. (R^s) = יחזקאל, but this does not account for the difficult παντων. Further σκορπ. in R^v (followed by S) is a variation of αιχμαλ. (to suit the circumstances of the Diaspora of that time), not of παντων λογισθ. which was omitted on account of its difficulty and which is paraphrased in L just as ex illis is inserted in the next clause with a definite motive. παντων λογισθ. is an intentional corruption of ἐπὶ πάντας λογίζεται ὁ θεὸς κακὰ. οἱ ἀδελ. . . 'Ισρ. was thus a casus pendens, and ἐπὶ πάντας (cf. the resumptive παντες in 5^b) was only corrupted into παντων after λογίζεται ὁ θεὸς had been changed on dogmatic grounds into λογισθήσονται and κακὰ omitted. Cf. Mic.

ii. 3 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ λογίζομαι ἐπὶ τὴν φυλὴν ταύτην κακὰ, Ps. xxxiv. (xxxv.) 4, xl. (xli.) 7.

5. πρώτων (R^s) and πρότερος (R^v) v. Th. Gram., p. 183. For יחזקאל Ilgen would read יחזקאל.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT 14. 6-10

6 cerning her. And all the nations which are in the whole earth, all shall turn and fear God truly, and
7 all shall leave their idols, who err after their false error. And they shall bless the everlasting God in
righteousness. All the children of Israel that are delivered in those days, remembering God in truth,
shall be gathered together and come to Jerusalem and shall dwell for ever in the land of Abraham
with security, and it shall be given over to them; and they that love God in truth shall rejoice, and
they that do sin and unrighteousness shall cease from all the earth.

Special injunctions to his descendants, vv. 9-11^a.

9 And now, children, I charge you, serve God in truth and do what is pleasing in his sight; and upon your children it shall be enjoined to do [] alms, and that they be mindful of God and bless his name at every season in truth and with all their strength. And now, child, depart thou from 10 Nineveh, and abide not here. In what day soever thou buryest thy mother with me, in the self-same day abide not in the borders thereof; for I see that there is much unrighteousness therein, and much guile is wrought therein, and they are not ashamed. See, child, what things Nadab did unto **Ahikar** that brought him up! Was he not brought down alive into the earth? and God recompensed the shame upon his face, and **Ahikar** came forth into the light, and Nadab went into the eternal darkness, because he had sought to slay **Ahikar**. Because I did alms, he came forth from the snare of death which Nadab had set for him, and Nadab fell into the snare of death.

pr. **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ ⲛⲓⲙⲏ** F αλφθ.] **ⲡⲟⲥⲧ ⲉⲑⲱⲣⲉϫ** BA αβ **ⲛⲓⲙⲏ** F τα εν ... παντες] > BA S terrae αβ **ⲟⲩⲏⲦ** F
[πιστ.] **ⲛⲓⲙⲏ** BA κ. φοβεθ.] φοβεσθαι BA αβ **ⲛⲓⲙⲏ** F τον θ.] *pr.* κυριον BA
ⲉⲩⲃⲁ F αλφθ.] **ⲡⲟⲥⲧ ⲉⲑⲱⲣⲉϫ** BA [αβ] > F κ. αφησ... πλαν. αυτ.] κατορξουσιν
(*pr.* κ. Α) τ, ειδωλα αυτ. BA > S τ. πλωνωντ. . . αυτ.] quae seducunt illos falso errore αβ 7. > S
ⲡⲟⲥⲧ F αλφθ.] + παπτα τ. εθνῃ BA *pr.* omnes αβ τον θ. . . εν δικ.] κυριον (*pr.* του Α) BA
dominum in aeternum et in iustitia αβ πάντες . . . ημερ. εκειν.] κ. ο λαος αυτου BA *pr.* et α β
οι σωζουμ.] qui liberabuntur α β μνημ. . . αλφθ.] εξομολογουνται τ. θ. BA μνημ.] memores erunt α β
επισυναχθ. . . παραδοθ. αυτ.] κ. νψιστοι κυριος τ. λαον αυτου BA επισυναχθ.] *pr.* et α β τ. αυτων] *pr.* in
α β εν τ. γῇ . . . παραδοθ. αυτ.] in die illa cum diligentia et omnis iustitia in illis erit α β οι αγ.] *pr.* παντες
BA τον θ.] *pr.* Κυριον BA επ' αλφθ.] εν αλφθ. κ. δικαιοσυνη BA κ. οι ποιουντ. . . τ. γῆς] ποιουντες ελεος
τους αδελ. ἡμων BA παστ. τ. γῆς] terris omnibus α β 9. 8. *simil.* F 9. κ. νυν] παιδ. . . αλφθ.¹⁰⁾
> S **ⲡⲟⲥⲧ** τεκν. BA εγω νυν . . . δικαι. κ. ελεμ.] συ δε τηρησον τ. νομον κ. τ. προστάγματα κ. γενοι (γιν. Α)
φιλελημων κ. δικαιοσ **ⲡⲟⲥⲧ** προφ. Ιωαν BA τῳ θ.] domino II ενυποταγ.] α β Spec. Cyprr. κ. ινα α β
ισχ. αυτων] ινα σοι καλωσ ην (η Β⁴) BA τον θ.] **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** > II εν αλφθ. κ.] **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** + in toto corde
suo et II 8. κ. νυν συν **ⲡⲟⲥⲧ** > BA nunc vero fili II εξελθε εκ Ν. κ. μη μειν. ωδε] απελθε απο Ν. και παϊτως
(παντως Α) εσται α ελαδ. ο προφ. Ιωαν ante συν δε τηρ. BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** ante εξελθε τ. 8 S *pr.* sed II αυτ. τη ημ. . . οριοις
θαψης] κ. θαψον με καλωσ κ. BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** ante εξελθε τ. 8 S *pr.* sed II αυτ. τη ημ. . . οριοις
αυτ.] μιμητι αυλισθητε εις (εν Α) Ν. BA > S ορω γαρ . . . αισχυν.] > BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** εν αυτ.¹²⁾ > II ιδε . . . Ναδαβ εποι.] τεκνον ιδε τι εποι. Αδαμ (Αμαν Α) BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** ecce
filius Nabad quid fecit α β Αχηκαρῳ] Αχιαχαρω BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** Achicaro α β τ. εκθρεψ. αυτ.] τ. θρεψ.
αυτ. BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** ουχι ζων . . . γην z.] ως εκ τ. φωτος ηγαγεν αυτον εις τ. σκοτος BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ**
ⲉⲩⲃⲁ quem vivum deduxit in terram deorsum α β απεδωκ. . . προσωπ. αυτ.] κ. οσα απεδωκεν αυτω BA
> S τ. ατιμ.] malitiam illius α β **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ**. . . Αχηκαρος] Αχιαχαρον (-ος Α) μεν εισασεν (-θη Α) BA > (vide
infra) S κ. Ναδαβ . . . ανωνος] εκεινω δε τ. ανταποδομα απεδοθη κ. αυτος καταβη εις τ. (τ. > Α) σκοτος BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ**
ⲉⲩⲃⲁ S οτι εξητ. αποκτ. Αχεικαρων] > BA S **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** + Nabad α β εν τ. ποιεσ. . . απωλ. αυτ.]
> α β εν τ. ποιησαι με **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ**] Ματαρσες εποικισεν ελεγμ. BA > S **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ**. . . Ναδαβ] κ. εσωθη εκ παγ. τ. θαν.
ης επηξεν αυτω BA **ⲉⲩⲃⲁ** παγ. N^{ca} (bis) κ. Ναδαβ

6. τοὺς πλ. κτλ. in loose apposition to εἰδωλα, the gender of the original Hebrew or Aramaic probably being left unchanged, cf. Ezek. xlviii. 11.

9, 8. R^v by no means placed *v.* 8 entire before *v.* 9, as Swete's verse-numbering (which is retained for convenience's sake) suggests.

to. Ἀδὴμ in Vat. has arisen from *Nadīm* (= Nadab) by the attachment of its initial ν to the end of ἐποίησε while Cod. Al.'s Ἀβάρ is an attempt to identify Ahikar's nephew with the villain of the book of Esther. Μανασσῆς in R^v is the result of textual confusion in that recension, possibly for Νασσῶς (xi. 18 R.V.), possibly through a misreading of an anticipatory and partial excised με ἔλεημι before εἶποι. In S the order is disturbed and the text possibly corrupt. ܠܗܕܝܐ after ܐܬܝܢ may be a gloss from ii. 10 (Ilgem) or a corruption of ܠܗܕܝܐ (Frit.). ܥܬܥ is not = Ahab (Fuller) but a corruption of ܥܒ and ܥܬܥ is a variation of ܥܬܥ.

11 and it destroyed him. And now, children, consider what alms-giving doeth, and what unrighteousness doeth, that it slayeth. And behold my soul fainteth.

iii. Tobias' piety towards his parents and his long life, vv. 11^b-14.

11^b, 12 And they laid him upon his bed and he died; and he was buried magnificently. And when his mother died, Tobias buried her with his father, and he and his wife departed to Media and 13 dwelt in Ecbatana with Raguel his father-in-law. And he sustained their old age in honour and buried them in Ecbatana of Media, and he inherited the house of Raguel and of Tobit his father. 14 And he died, being an hundred and seventeen years old, full of renown.

iv. The Dawn of the Messianic Age, p. 15.

15 And before he died he saw and heard of the destruction of Nineveh, and saw her captivity led into Media which **Nebuchadnezzar** the king of Media took captive. And he blessed God for all he did unto the children of Nineveh and Assyria; and before his death he rejoiced over Nineveh, and blessed the Lord God for ever and ever. Amen.

[illegible]

11. In R^v 'if the text be right, there should be a strong stop after δαμονίον', Dr. Harris, *Story of Aëthar*, p. 1, n. 1.

13. For ἐγγοβ, cf. Eur. *Iud.* 1033, *Alc.* 663, and in the passive Ar. *Ach.* 678. R^v is impossible since Tobit could himself scarcely have grown so old before he buried his parents! He has been influenced by a desire to emphasize the fulfilment of the prayer in viii. 7. Cf. Nestle, *Sept.*, ii, p. 24.

15. *Ἀσχινοπος* seems originally to have stood in K¹, for which the scribe of B wrote *Ἀσχινοπος*, influenced by the frequent recurrence of the latter. Dr. Harris (*op. cit.* p. xxxii) however supposes that *Ναδωχ* has been omitted and that in Cod. Vat. *Ἀσχινοπος* is a corruption of *Ἀδρις* or *Ἀδριανος* and *ἡ ψαυαλ*, a gloss or displacement (*AJF*, p. 354). Nestle, *Septuaginta*, iii, p. 24, argues that just as a corrector attached *Ἀσχινοπος* to *Ἀδριανος* in K, if Tisch. is right and it should not refer to *Ἀσχινοπος*, so in K¹ καὶ *Ἀσχινοπος*, for which two MSS. have *Ἀσχινοπος* whilst another omits the two words, may be a confusion with καὶ *Ἀδριανος*, i.e. καὶ *Ἀσχινοπος*, which found a place in the text after *Ναδωχ*, instead of after *Νιρεν*. The assumption of confusion with *Cyaxares* or *Xerxes* (Lohr) is improbable.