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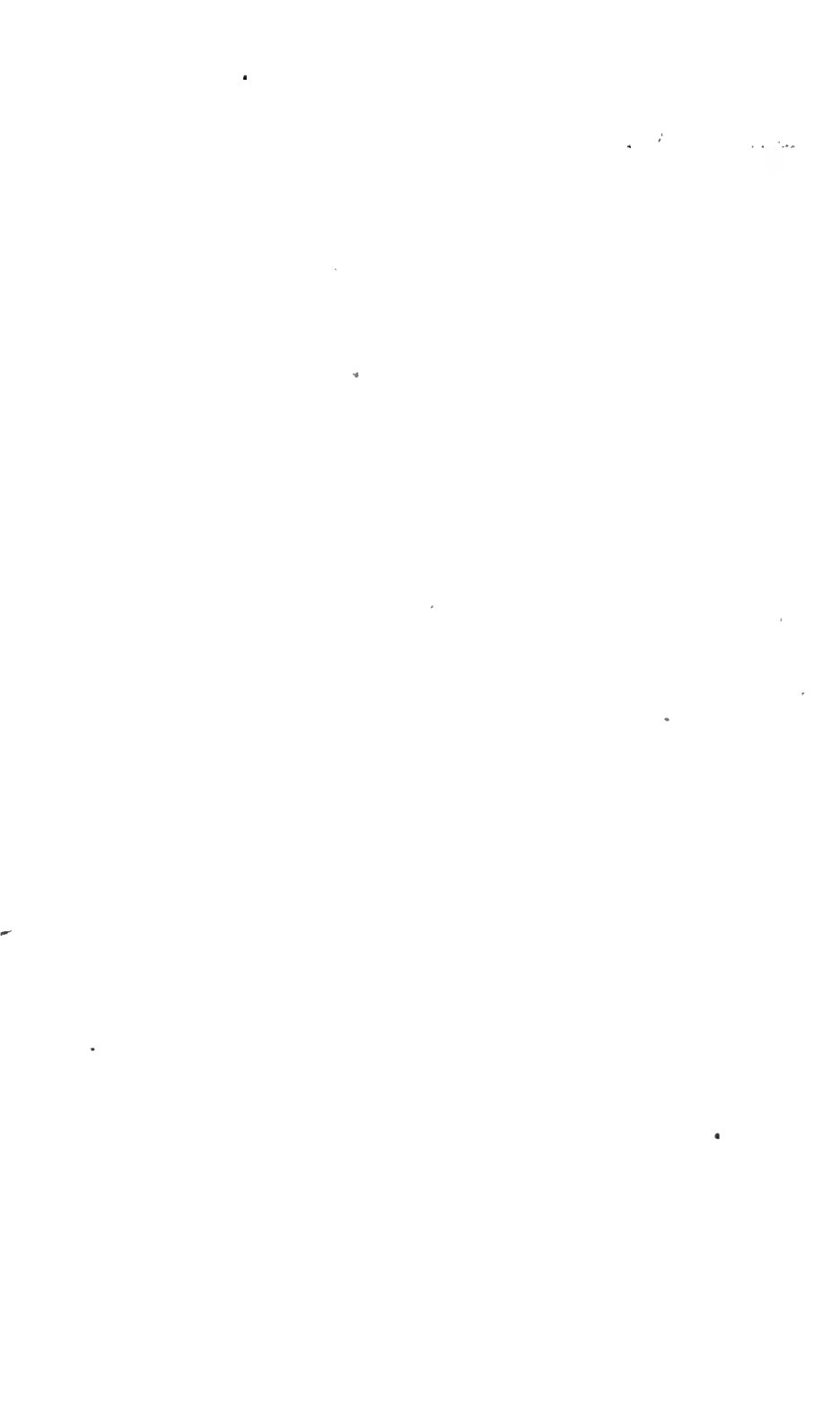
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THE CHIEF RECENSIONS OF THE BOOK OF TOBIT.

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 THE Book of Tobit has been preserved in three chief recensions in addition to at least one less important redaction. Each of these three appears, more or less complete, in Greek and in various non-Greek versions. One type of text can be reconstructed from the Greek *Codex Sinaiticus* and certain old Latin MSS. It will be convenient to refer to this as R^s.¹ A second recension, practically that translated in the Revised English Version, has survived in *Codd. Vat.* and *Alex.*, several Greek cursives, the first half of the Syriac (S), and the Ethiopic; and it is the basis of Fagius's Hebrew version (F). In the following pages it will be referred to as R^v. The third and shortest recension—vi 7 (8)—xiii 8 being extant in three Greek cursives, a fragment of ch. ii in the *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus*, No. 1076, and the latter half of the book in S—may be briefly termed R^c. With Neubauer's Aramaic (*Ar*) and Münster's Hebrew (M) versions we are not so vitally concerned at the present juncture, since they are probably a by-product, and certainly not the archetypes, of R^s.² Nor does the hypothesis of *independent translation* from a Hebrew or Aramaic original offer any satisfactory solution of the problems raised by R^s, R^v, R^c, or even *Ar* and M^s; it will therefore not be discussed here. The remaining versions lie outside the immediate scope of our enquiry.

There has been considerable diversity of opinion with regard to the relative antiquity and originality of the two older recensions, R^s and R^v. The *causes* of their differing traditions, phraseology, and vocabulary, are still more debateable. R^v, which is the commoner text and is popularly regarded as the oldest, was adopted by Fritzsche in 1851 as the original. In 1870, on the other hand, Reusch published his reconstructed text of R^s, and in 1878 Schürer⁴ favoured this scholar's hypothesis. Nöldeke's essay, again, published in 1879,⁵ was destined to bias

¹ I have translated this text in the *Oxford Apocrypha* (edited by Dr Charles) where the more important details of the various versions and MSS are briefly stated, and to which constant reference will be made in the following pages. Dr Swete's verse-numbering of N has also been adopted, that of the Revised English Version appearing in brackets wherever it differs.

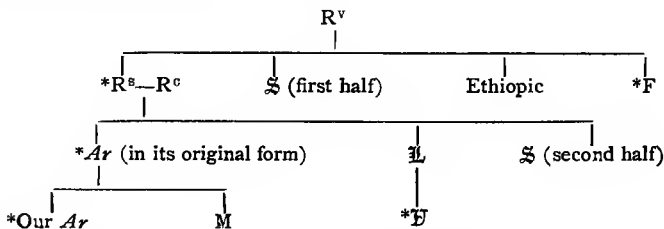
² See *Oxf. Apocr.*, sub TOBIT, pp. 176-179.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 181 sq.

⁴ *Theol. Lit.-ztg.* 1878, pp. 333 sq.

⁵ *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1879.

subsequent enquirers unduly in favour of R^v. Thus Rosenmann¹ in 1894 accepted Nöldeke's verdict, the arguments for which were simply repeated by Löhr in 1900.² As late as 1908 they must have strongly influenced the more independent and scholarly Johannes Müller³; since otherwise his predilection for R^v would be inexplicable in view of his attempt to form an eclectic text from R^s, R^v, and R^c. Moreover, scholars, whose investigations have been connected chiefly with the contents or sources of Tobit, have in textual matters for the most part presupposed Nöldeke's position.⁴ The latter's conclusions, therefore, merit attention on account both of his own eminence as a scholar and of their wide acceptance. They may be briefly expressed in the following tabular form⁵ :—



Though Graetz,⁶ in the very year in which Nöldeke's brilliant essay was published, expressed his preference for R^s, it was not till 1899 that a careful but very brief restatement of the truth of Reusch's position was made with scholarly precision by Nestle.⁷ Simonsen in 1900⁸ accepted the priority of R^s. The conclusions of two other scholars are still more noteworthy. Dr Rendall Harris, interested in Tobit as a result of the publication of *Ahikar*, argued in 1899 that 'the Sinaitic is the better text, and it either represents the original Semitic more closely than does the Vatican text, or has been corrected from the original Semitic'.⁹ Schürer describes the stages by which he himself came to recognize at least the general trustworthiness of R^s: 'I, too, in

¹ *Studien zum Buche Tobit* pp. 28 sq.

² *Z.A.T.W.* xx pp. 243-263, intended as an answer to Nestle's pertinent criticism of Löhr's *Tobit* in Kautzsch's *Apocrypha*.

³ *Beihefte zur Z.A.T.W.* 1908, pp. 33-53.

⁴ E.g. M. Plath.

⁵ Recensions as distinct from mere translations are indicated by an asterisk. The interrelation of R^v and R^c is purposely left untouched in this scheme as it is by Nöldeke himself.

⁶ *Monatschr. f. Gesch. d. Judenth.* 1879, pp. 388 sqq.

⁷ *Septuagintastudien* iii (Maulbronn-Progr. 1899) pp. 5, 22-27; cf. iv, 1903, pp. 9 sq.

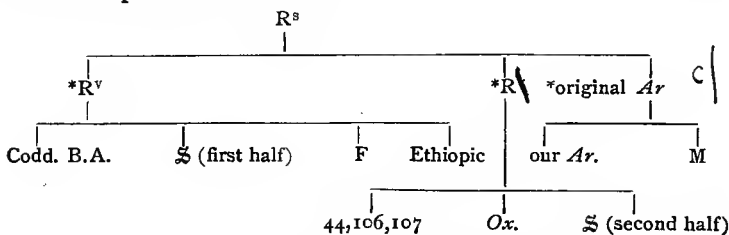
⁸ *Gedenkbuch für Kaufmann* pp. 107-109.

⁹ 'The Double Text of Tobit' in the *American Journal of Theology*, 1899, vol. iii p. 554.

the *Theol. Lit.-ztg.* 1878, pp. 333 sq., had expressed myself in favour of the priority of this [R^s]. Then, however, in the second and third editions of this book [*G. V. J.*], yielding to the authority of Nöldeke, I expressed myself with greater reserve; but after renewed investigation, I must revert to what I had stated before.¹

The fact that R^s has so slowly won its way to recognition as the oldest form in which the original writing has been preserved, is due, not to the inadequacy of the evidence, but to the failure of the students of Tobit in two important points. In the first place, till lately attention has been paid almost exclusively to the textual, literary, and linguistic evidence R^s affords of its own originality in comparison with R^v—though even within this restricted sphere R^s is superior to R^v—to the disregard of the equally, if not more, important evidence of the subject-matter. Secondly, students have been too much inclined to narrow the investigation to a general consideration of the rival merits of *Codex Sinaiticus* standing alone² on the one hand, and *Codex Vaticanus*, with *Alexandrinus*, alone on the other hand³; and that, too, with an investigation carried on without any very careful consideration of detailed grammatical evidence. In fact only after the construction of a critical synopsis of the variants, such as is attempted in the *Oxford Apocrypha*, can any just or lasting estimate be formed of the intrinsic worth of individual variants of, or within, the three distinct redactions, R^s, R^v, R^c, and their allied texts.

In tabular form the *true* inter-relation of the texts, it would seem, should be expressed as follows:—



The following is an attempt to summarize the overwhelming evidence in favour of the priority of R^s, and to determine the date and causes of the comparatively late settlement of the text of R^v and of the still later vogue of R^c.

A. A considerable mass of evidence, derived from a comparison of the subject-matter, is available to shew that R^v is a modification of R^s

¹ *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed., 1909, iii p. 242.

² See e. g. viii 3 and notes *ad loc.* in the *Oxford Apocrypha*.

³ Müller has done much to widen the field of examination by his extensive use of the Old Latin and R^c (including the Syriac).

inasmuch as it reflects (1) the general presuppositions and ideas, (2) the historical conditions, and (3) the religious characteristics and theological developements, of an age long subsequent to that in which R^s was written.¹ R^v is consequently a less exact and faithful reproduction of the author's original work. Some of these changes, like the stylistic and literary modifications, were probably introduced gradually, and, slowly taking definite shape, only finally won definite recognition at the hands of some one redactor or committee of redaction; others were first introduced by that final redactional board.

1. (a) An illustration of the *general ideas* of the period in which R^v wrote is afforded by the modifications in that redaction of the *geographical* details of R^s. These were made with a view to the more or less complete removal (i) of details meaningless to non-residents in Palestine, e. g. i 1; (ii) of inexactitudes and fallacies offensive to the comparatively cosmopolitan Jew of the Christian era with his more correct knowledge of the non-Jewish world, e. g. v 6, xi 2 (1).² The alternative view, that R^s incorrectly glossed R^v at a time when the literary world was better informed in matters of geography than ever before, is unlikely. The statements in R^v are, of course, still far from accurate, e. g. vi 10 (9) is contradicted by Alexander's ten days' march between Ecbatana and Rhaga; see Arrian iii 20.

(b) Another example of the changed ideas of the period of R^v is to be found in ii 10. In R^s the old Hebrew prejudice against the medical profession is inculcated.³ In R^v, however, Tobit does not undergo a long treatment (*ἐπορεύθη* instead of *ἐπορευόμην* in R^s); no charges are made against the medical profession generally (*ιατρούς*, not *τοὺς ιατρούς*); and while they fail to cure Tobit, their treatment is not, as in R^s, immediately responsible for Tobit's *complete* loss of eyesight.⁴

(c) Of several other instances, the omission of the Oriental form of greeting, v 5, and the careful legal phraseology (vii 11; see note *ad. loc.*),

¹ If R^s, as seems to be the case, represents the most original form of the story, it is practically as old as the author even if he wrote in Aramaic; i. e. it dates at the very earliest from 350 B. C., at the latest c. 170 B. C., probably much nearer the latter than the former (*Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 183-185).

² Acts vii 43, as compared with Amos v 27, exemplifies in the New Testament the use of this principle of accommodation to the wider horizon of a later age.

³ Ben-Sirach, almost contemporary with our author, finds it necessary in xxxviii 1-8 to defend the practice of medicine against attacks upon it such as this; see E. Bevan *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1904, p. 67.

⁴ Thus R^v stands to R^s exactly as Luke viii 43 to Mark v 26. It is perhaps precarious to infer from this that the change was introduced into R^v owing to its being intended for circles in which the medical profession was not entirely unrepresented, just as the change in Luke is usually regarded as being due to the author's membership of that class. Still R^v is at least the product of a more enlightened epoch than R^s. Cf. the changes in R^v in vi 8 (7); see note *ad. loc.* in *Oxf. Apocr.*

and the changed conditions of travel and escort in ix 5, need only be mentioned here.

2. In the time of R^v Tobit still remained a thoroughly popular work which might be put into the hands of a heathen to instruct him in the beauty of Judaism, as well as into those of a simple unlearned Jew to strengthen his faith. But the historical conditions in which R^v took its final form were different from those of R^s and of the original writing.¹ The Diaspora, for which R^v was intended, seems to be similar to that to which Christianity had to make its appeal in the years succeeding A. D. 70, particularly after the final revolt under Bar-Kokeba. The religious apostasy of North Israel from Jahvism, as practised at Jerusalem, had always been connected in the canonical Scriptures as in R^s (i 4), with the Northerners' rejection of the Davidic line at the time of the disruption. In R^v, however, when the Jewish State had just fallen, it was only politic not to emphasize the downfall of the State in a manner possibly suggestive of sedition against the Roman Empire, or to reopen national wounds as yet only partially healed,² or to admit the Christian argument that the Jews had rejected the Son of David. Somewhat similarly national pride led to the suppression of Jeroboam's name and of his acts of sacrilegious idolatry, since otherwise the Roman might retort that he himself was only repeating the religious policy of a former Israelitish king. To avoid giving offence to these same Roman tyrants, 'the bread of the Gentiles' in i 11 was omitted; while a similar motive dictated the omission of the far too personal charge of blasphemy levelled in R^s against the foreign conqueror in i 18, as well as xiii 12^b with its painfully obvious application and too patent prayer for vengeance on the foe. On the other hand, the prejudice against the 'publican', and, in fact, against all Jews who accepted public posts under the Roman government, resulted in R^v's abridgement of i 13 sq., 22.³ Thus redacted to meet the historical circumstances of a new and critical era in the national life,⁴ our book

¹ See *Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 185-187.

² In xiv 4 (see note *ad loc.* in *Oxf. Apocr.*) there is a reference in R^v to the dispersion and disorganization of Judaism resulting from the rebellion.

³ If the meaning of ἡγόραζον suggested in the note to verse 14 be correct, there would be still more reason for the excision, since some of the Jews themselves were now unhappily in slavery as a result of the war.

⁴ Tobit, it must be remembered, from the moment of its composition in the pre-Maccabean period, had never ceased to be a popular work. In the hour of national depression it gave its inspired message to each generation of pious and faithful Jews—whether it was the cruelty of Bacchides, the apostasy of a Jason, the persecuting zeal of 'the crowned apostle of Hellenism', the blasphemy of a Pompey, or the victory of a Titus in A. D. 70. Still nearer the time of R^v attention would be directed to the book by the destruction of Antioch, 'the Rome of Asia Minor', by an earthquake in A. D. 113 (see Hitzig *Zeitschr. für wiss. Theol.* 1860, pp. 250 sqq.).

made once again an irresistible appeal to the heroic remnants of the nation. At first, in the kindly-disposed Esarhaddon, i 21, 22, they would see a prophecy of the early hope-inspiring years of Hadrian¹ following the harder days of Trajan and of his representative Lusius Quietus.² Soon, however, Hadrian assumed the rôle of Sennacherib. Relief at the accession of Antoninus Pius would connect the latter with Esarhaddon, while his reign would afford the opportunity for the settlement of this secondary recension which we term R^v.³ The stress laid in the book upon the duty of fitting burial of the dead, especially of those who had died in conflict with non-Jews, was no longer primarily a literary allusion⁴ or an example of charity for charity's own sake,⁵ but a sacred trust actually and literally to be discharged in spite of the jeers of the Roman crowds who sacrificed to their emperor-god, in spite of the exultation of the Christians who saw in the destruction of Jerusalem the vengeance of heaven upon the murderers 'of the Prince of Life', and, above all, in spite of Hadrian's barbarous treatment of the corpses of the defenders of Bether.

3. Certain modifications in the spheres of theology and religious observance appear in R^v which stamp it as undoubtedly later than R^s, a reflexion in fact of the practices and ideas of a distinct and subsequent period in the religious and institutional development of the nation.

(a) The tendency, apparent even in R^s, to emphasize the transcendence of the Godhead has resulted in the introduction of additional phrases descriptive of this, e. g. 'the Most High', i 4, and 'the Holy One', xii 15 (14).⁶

(b) The development in angelology is still more significant. R^v emphasizes the peculiar holiness of the seven chief angels, xii 15 (14). In R^s Raphael alone presents human prayer before God, and that, too, only on one occasion, xii 12; in R^v the doctrine is inculcated that all prayer offered by the saints, i. e. all prayer acceptable to God, reaches Him through the medium of the seven angels.⁷ Of the special privileges of the latter only one, that of access to and personal attendance on God, was recognized in the earlier days of R^s. In R^v, moreover, Raphael occupies a supreme position, which in the earlier days of R^s

¹ See Grätz *G. J.*, 2nd ed., iv 137 sq.

² Cf. Rosenthal in *Vier Apokryph-Bücher* p. 135, who so clearly recognizes this possibility that he supposes that Tobit was composed at this period.

³ Grätz (*Monatschrift* pp. 513 sqq.; *G. J.*, 2nd ed., iv, note 17), recognizing this fact, and failing to see that the original work is pre-Maccabean, supposed that the book was only composed in the reign of Antoninus Pius!

⁴ See *Oxf. Apocr.* p. 193.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁶ Cf. xii 12.

⁷ Cf. Wilhelm Lucken *Michael*, 1898, pp. 7 sq., 36.

would have been regarded as polytheistic, if not blasphemous, in tendency. In R^v Raphael, designated as 'the great one', possesses a 'glory', and as God's vice-gerent apparently adjudicates what prayers are to be permitted to penetrate—through the medium of his six coadjutors, xii 15 (14)—to the higher court of God Himself, iii 16.¹ The transposition in R^v of the first two clauses of xii 19 possibly emphasizes the thoroughly docetic character of the brief visit which this highest official of the heavenly court paid to earth. Among the reasons for this visit, that of *trying* Tobit, xii 14, is not mentioned in R^v, since the more developed angelology of the latter would attribute this duty to a member of a minor order, if not to the Satan (cf. Job i 6 sqq., Zech. iii 1 sqq.). As in later Judaism, in comparison with pre-exilic Jahvism, there is a tendency to avoid the use of the Divine Name by the substitution of words such as *Heaven, the Blessed, Maqom, Memra,* &c., so R^v betrays a tendency to substitute 'the angel' for Raphael, e. g. vi 14 (13). This same term is reverently introduced in R^v instead of the pronoun, e. g. xii 5; the old Jahvistic phrase 'angel of the Lord', expressive of a theophany, appears in xii 22. An attempt is made in v 4, by the omission of the words 'an angel of God' to minimize the possibility of Tobias's ignorance of Raphael's office. So consistently is this dogmatic use of ἀγγελος carried out in R^v that the word ἀγγέλους is omitted in x 8² on the ground that its application to merely human couriers would be irreverent.³ The same motive of reverence led to the transformation of the statement of the amount of wages in R^s into an interrogative sentence in R^v, v 15 (14).

(c) The late period which the foregoing religious tendencies demand for R^v is still more closely defined by another characteristic of R^v to which sufficient attention is not usually given. In the more original form of the book, as preserved in R^s, no protest is raised against the later eschatological or apocalyptic, as opposed to the earlier or prophetic, point of view. R^s in fact contains statements which, in the light of the subsequent development of Apocalyptic, might be regarded as something more even than the germs of such a doctrine. R^v on the other hand presents a text from which the majority of these remarks have been carefully expurgated to make the work absolutely⁴ inoffensive to

¹ The italicized *God* of the Revised Version only makes clearer the impossibility of the various expedients to avoid this logical dogma of a consistently developed angelology, e. g. the theory of textual corruption accepted even by Bousset (*Die Religion des Judentums* p. 379 note 2).

² It is noteworthy that R^v is otherwise following R^s with exceptional closeness in this verse.

³ Cf. the transformation of εὐλογητοί into εὐλογημένοι in xiii 12 from a similar motive.

⁴ The close affinities with Dan. ii 5 in i 20 (see note *ad loc.*) were possibly

the school of thought of which Rabbi Akiba is the most illustrious representative.¹ (i) A characteristic feature of apocalyptic was its elaboration of a philosophy of world periods. A number of passages in R^s, though unobjectionable in themselves and written before this doctrine was elaborated, were mostly rendered inoffensive or omitted by R^v.² (ii) One of the most important moments in the eschatological drama is usually assigned to the great assize. R^v accordingly paraphrased 'thou judgest the world' of R^s by a quite general statement. (iii) A third important characteristic of Apocalyptic was connected with its teaching as to the ingathering of Israel. The omission in R^v of 'Happy . . . king of heaven' of R^s in xiii 16, whatever the ultimate cause of the omission,³ would relieve the book of all suspicion in this connexion, while the description of the subject-nations and the physical disturbance of nature by the world-wide lightning are curtailed in xiii 11^a. (iv) Apocalyptic dealt especially with the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple and the felicity of the Messianic age. The omission in R^v of xiii 16^a is noteworthy. The predictions of ch. xiv were allowed to stand by virtue of the specific appeal to the earlier prophecy contained in the Canonical Scriptures, xiv 5. Moreover, prayer for the restoration of the Holy City and the Temple would not necessarily be barred along with Apocalyptic in which it had been enshrined. It still appears to-day in clauses 14 and 17 of the *Shemoneh*

removed in R^v to avoid even the suspicion of affinity with Apocalyptic literature. Daniel itself was admitted to the Canon on account of its popularity with the masses, not because it was a favourite with the Rabbis themselves.

¹ It is generally agreed that ד'צדק ו'צדק in *Sanh.* 97 b illustrates the Talmudic hostility to the Apocalyptic tendency of thought consequent upon the destruction of Jerusalem. That catastrophe might not have taken place but for the false hopes of immediate victory inspired by a degenerate and materialistic apocalyptic. Cf. G. H. Box *Ezra-Apocalypse*, 1912, pp. 304 sq.; Oesterley and Box *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*, 1907, pp. 216 sqq.

² Thus ἐστὶν μεμερισμένη πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος suggestive of the existence of previous world-epochs, was weakened in R^v into ἡτοιμασμένη ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος in vi 18 (17). In vi 8 (7), vii 11 (12), viii 21, εἰς τον αἰῶνα suggestive of another, beyond the present, world-epoch, has been excised in R^v. R^v has retained εἰς αἰῶνα in eight passages in the ordinary sense of 'for ever'. In viii 5 (*bis*), 15, xi 14, xiii 16 πάντας occurs before αἰῶνας; in two of these the πάντας is dropped in R^v, and in the rest the whole phrase has disappeared. Only in the quite harmless passages, xiii 4, 18, has R^v preserved the πάντας. In xiii 11 εἰς τὰς γενεάς τοῦ αἰῶνος is absent from R^v. In two harmless passages, i 4, xiii 10, similar phrases are retained. And, though τὸν βασιλέα τῶν αἰῶνων is retained in vi 10 (9), the stronger τὸν κύριον τοῦ αἰῶνος and τὸν θεὸν τοῦ αἰῶνος in xiv 7 are purposely altered: οἰκήσουσιν τὸν αἰῶνα; xiv 7 εἰς τὸ σκότος τοῦ αἰῶνος; xiv 10, and εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων; xiv 15 have no counterpart in R^v. The definite ὁ χρόνος τῶν καιρῶν is converted into the indeterminate καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος with its message of patience.

³ The abbreviation in R^v is perhaps due to the error of a scribe who passed from the first to the second 'Jerusalem' of the verse.

*Esreh.*¹ (v) R^v in xiii 2 reflects the ordinary Pharisaic view of the future life and a conscious approximation to the phraseology of the Canonical Scriptures rather than the specifically apocalyptic details which might be forced into 'the great destruction' of R^s.

(d) R^v similarly reflects a stage later than that of R^s in the evolution of the religious customs of Judaism. The following are the most important instances in R^v of the ramifications and increased emphasis laid in later times upon such matters. (i) The tithe of 'the cattle', given to the priests in i 6 in R^s, is in conformity with the more ancient practice based upon Lev. xxvii 32-33 and mentioned as late as Jub. xxxii 15. R^v on the other hand agrees with the Mishnic regulation, which enacted that the tithe of the cattle should be treated as 'second tithe', which was not given to the priests, but was used by the offerers themselves at the sacred festivals of Jerusalem. (ii) Moreover, R^s agrees with the earlier practice of paying a tithe for the poor every third year *in place of* the second tithe; R^v on the other hand has been edited in the interests of the later custom of exacting a tithe for the poor every third year *in addition to* the second tithe.² (iii) The stress on fasting increased rather than decreased in the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 150. Hence the mention of Sarah's fasting in R^v in x 7 is still another indication of the comparative lateness of this redaction. Again, *δικαιοσύνη* was now³ almost *entirely* debased into a synonym of *ἐλεημοσύνη*, and was therefore no longer a correlative of *ἀδικία*: hence the modification in R^v in xiv 11. (iv) While c. 200 B.C. the Old Testament was the sole court of appeal, c. A.D. 150 the national customs, both ecclesiastical and domestic, were regulated still more minutely by *Halakha* and *Aggada*. Thus there was less need in the later period which produced R^v to insist strongly on the conformity of the marriage contract to the Mosaic legislation in vii 13 (14). (v) A slight 'heightening of the miraculous' is observable in R^v,⁵ e.g. vi 2 (1)-9 (8). In R^s the incident is related chiefly to explain the circumstances under which the medicinal parts of the fish were obtained, and to illustrate Raphael's resourcefulness in all emergencies; there is no miracle involved in the seizure of a man's foot⁶ by a great

¹ Cf. *Lev. Rabbah* ix.

² See Schürer *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, 4th ed. ii pp. 306 sq. ³ Cf. Acts xxiii 12.

⁴ R. Akiba is accredited with the remark 'Almsgiving saves from the punishment of Hell', *Baba Bathra* 10 a; cf. Bousset *Rel. d. Jud.* p. 163.

⁵ This is a fairly certain criterion of the secondary character of R^v and is parallel to the treatment of Marcan matter in St Matthew's Gospel (see W. C. Allen *St Matthew* p. xxxii sq.).

⁶ In view of the use of the middle *περιψασθαι* (see further below) and the preposition *eis*, not *ἐν*, which follows, it is conceivable that *τοὺς πόδας* was a very early addition, which shews that the *τὸν πόδα* was already in the text and original.

fish. In R^v, however, the extraordinary and marvellous character of the incident is emphasized: the fish, no longer a large one, is on the point of swallowing Tobias whole and Raphael brings about a marvellous escape. R^v may well add *θαυμαστά* to R^s in xii 22.

B. LITERARY EVIDENCE. It is already clear that R^v reflects, so far as the period between 200 B.C. and A.D. 150 is concerned, the culmination of the gradual evolution of our book on lines exactly parallel to, and expressive of, much of the development in the theological presuppositions and religious customs of the period. This entailed literary modifications of the original tradition. That it went through such a process of modification is evidence of the high esteem in which it was held and the great popularity it achieved. The story became a household word; the simplest as well as the most cultured found in its incidents and in its maxims the truest source of inspiration and comfort, and a worthy model upon which to frame their lives. They would read and meditate on it privately and in public meetings, if not in the synagogue itself, and at home would repeat or read out aloud portions of a story so like their own in its record of struggle with poverty and foreign tyranny. Because Tobit was not among the books which were already tending more and more to be relegated to the category of the Canonical, they could incorporate new features and remove old ones from the text, so that the hero became the more real to their imagination and instinct with the truest and finest aspirations of their own day. Consequently among the stylistic and literary divergences of R^s and R^v it is only natural that a certain proportion should be more or less accidental and of no importance in themselves. In several cases, however, they seem, in my judgement, to point to the priority of R^s and the comparatively late date of R^v. At any rate they certainly shew that between these two recensions a considerable period elapsed, even if in a few cases they afford no more than a subsidiary argument, and that, too, at times based on subjective reasoning, for the priority of R^s. Thus in the literary sphere especially the following among other modifications of R^s are only what is to be expected in R^v if we are right in relegating the latter to the second century of our era.¹

1. The literary allusions of the author are more accurately preserved

¹ Just as the transformations and modifications in the subject-matter are parallel in many respects in St Matthew and St Luke's changes of St Mark (*v. supra*), so in literary, lexicographical and stylistic points the treatment of R^s in R^v finds several parallels in the literary characteristics of the Synoptic Gospels and the earlier transcriptional and copyists' changes in the New Testament. Naturally it is only possible here to indicate the *lines* upon which the literary and textual changes were developed and the *principles* upon which an exhaustive treatment should be based.

in R^s than in R^v. R^s quite clearly belongs to a period when the references to Aḥīkar¹ were still intelligible, whereas R^v only dates back in this respect to a much later period when Aḥīkar, as appears to be the case on independent grounds, was at last becoming a comparatively little known work. This is beyond question in the case of the proper names with regard to which more or less ingenious speculations (i 21 sq., ii 10, xi 18, xiv 10, see note *ad loc.* in *Oxf. Apocr.*) were already rife.² The change from the third to the first person at the end of i 22 can only point to the same fact. Similarly the references to the *wisdom* of Aḥīkar are better preserved in R^s than in R^v.³ Even on the hypothesis, which must now be discredited, that the references to Aḥīkar are interpolations,⁴ R^s is the more original, since R^v only contains them in a debased and corrupt form. But granted that the original author was immediately dependent on Aḥīkar, then it is only logical to infer that the redaction, namely R^s, which preserves the references most faithfully, is absolutely original at least in this respect. Now this is an evident and undeniable case in which the originality of R^s is beyond dispute. If in other important respects R^s exhibits marks of originality, even if they are not all of so certain a character as the present instances, a chain of cumulative evidence will be created pointing unmistakably to the final settlement of the inter-relation of R^s and R^v.

2. The literary style and vocabulary of R^v is not that of the cultured author, or, if he wrote a Semitic language, of the cultured circles which were responsible for the translation into Greek. They belong rather to the vernacular in which the book would afterwards circulate among the simple-minded, God-fearing population of the Diaspora or of Palestine until a redactor or committee of redactors sought more or less definitely to fix its text. He or they thus adapted it to the needs and circumstances and linguistic usages of a later time. Of the mass of evidence pointing to the greater antiquity, in almost every respect, of the Greek of R^s space allows only of the following illustrations *in addition to those referred to in the notes below the translation in the Oxf. Apocrypha* as being dealt with by Thackeray,⁵ Deissmann,⁶ Moulton,⁷ and other papyrologists and grammarians.⁸

¹ See *Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 189-192.

² Cf. Ed. Meyer *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, 1912, p. 106 footnote 2.

³ N's accidental omission of iv 6^b-19^a (see note *ad loc.*) is more than counter-balanced by B's preservation of the whole, and particularly by its reading in iv 7.

⁴ See *Oxf. Apocr.* pp. 194 sq.

⁵ *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* i, to which constant reference is made in the notes to the translation; see e. g. iii 8, iv 19, vi 3, vii 12, ix 3, x 2, 7, 10, xi 8, xii 3, 6, xiii 16, xiv 2, 4, 5.

⁶ See notes to i 6, iii 17, x 10, xii 19.

⁷ See notes to xii 6, &c.

⁸ See notes to i 6, 15, 17, ii 10, v 15, vi 8, xii 9.

(a) Characteristic particles and conjunctions of R^s are avoided.¹

(b) The historic presents and imperfects of R^s are frequently replaced by aorists.²

(c) The repetition and redundancy which are such striking features of the style of R^s are absent.³

(d) Not infrequently a commonplace word or construction in vogue in the redactor's time is substituted for a rarer word or construction preserved in R^s.⁴

(e) In R^v the harshness of the syntax and vocabulary in R^s is often corrected.⁵

¹ E. g. avoidance of *καί* whether by total omission, e. g. i 14, viii 6 (*bis*), 16, 17; or by substitution of a participle and *δέ*, e. g. i 19; or *ὁ δέ*, e. g. ii 14, v 9, vi 2 (1), vii 5, viii 2, ix 5; *δς δέ*, v 13, or *ὅτε δέ*, e. g. ii 1, viii 3, or *δέ* alone v 18 (17), vi 3 (2) sq., 6 (5), 9 (8) sq., 16 (15), 18 (17), vii 11, viii 1, 4, x 4, 7, 8, 10, &c. Similarly *πῶς δέ* is strengthened to *ἀλλὰ πῶς*, v 2; cf. insertions such as *γάρ*, e. g. v 14 (13), and *διότι* for *καί*, e. g. vi 13 (12). Moreover R^v omits *ὅτι* after verbs of saying; e. g. vii 11. Cf. Sir John Hawkins *Horae Synopticae* pp. 150 sqq. for similar treatment of Mark's style by St Matthew and St Luke and the usage of the LXX; and Allen *op. cit.* pp. xxiii sqq. for a comparison of the LXX and Theod. in Daniel.

² E. g. i 18^b, ii 10. The avoidance in R^v of the characteristic *λέγει* of R^s is as remarkable as the rejection of St Mark's use of it by the other Evangelists (cf. Sir John Hawkins *op. cit.* pp. 144 sqq.). Note especially ii 3, 14 (*bis*), iii 10, vi 11 (10), 16 (15), vii 1, x 4, 12. R^v has *λέγει* only in x 6, 9. Of six cases of *ἤρξατο* with an infinitive the construction is avoided in R^v in iii 1, viii 19, x 3 (cf. Allen *op. cit.* pp. xxi sq.).

³ This extends to (i) doublet-like or tautologous clauses, e. g. i 10, ix 14^b; (ii) full descriptions of interviews and dramatic moments which became irksome especially in public reading when the story was a household word, e. g. vi 11, xi 16, how Tobit walked, and the total omission of x 6 b (cf. x 8, 9 and the shorter list of gifts x 10); (iii) picturesque, aesthetic and dramatic details equally otiose in the judgement of later and prosaic readers, e. g. ii 9, iii 4, vii 9; (iv) minor phrases, e. g. 'who were of my nation' i 16, 'of the Ninevite captives' ii 2; (v) the substitution of compounded verbs, substantives, &c., e. g. *παρακαταθήκη* x 13 (xi 1), *κατενλόγησεν* xi 17. This is paralleled by St Matthew's and St Luke's treatment of Marcan material. And yet most scholars who have dealt with the problem of R^s and R^v have presupposed that the shorter, less circumstantial and less pictorial narrative is always the earlier!

⁴ E. g. *χάριν* for *χαράν* vii 17 and see note to xiv 13. Cf. the avoidance of the pregnant construction in xiii 5. Similarly the levelling-down process of which the substitution of *κύριε* for *δέσποτα* iii 14 and the frequent omission of *κύριος* (twice in iii 6) are only two of many examples, resulting in a loss of dramatic interest, e. g. vii 16, the avoidance of *ἀπάντημα* vi 8 (see note *ad loc.*).

⁵ E. g. of syntax by the insertion of *δεῖ* xii 1 (cf. xii 12 to end), or of the vocabulary e. g. *χορησθῆναι* xii 9, the omission of the awkwardly placed *βαλλάντια*. In vi 15 R^v endeavours to simplify R^s by breaking up the period into two sentences. Explanatory glosses sometimes appear, e. g. 'of the Lord', to make room for which 'with whole heart' of R^s is omitted ii 2, or the meaning is made easier by an omission, e. g. *τοῖς ἔργοις* ii 11. Note especially the avoidance of the anacoluthon, e. g. iii 15 (cf. xii 12).

(f) The same prepositions occur, but with different cases after them, e. g. xi 16. The less usual order is inverted, e. g. *πάλιν ἰδοῦ*, ii 8.

(iii) Traces of the devotional, if not liturgical, application of the book appear, e. g. xi 14, 15^a.¹

(iv) There is a natural tendency to assimilate the literary descriptions of the more important situations to those of the Old Testament, making such allusions more definite and pointed.²

(v) The interchange of synonyms and particularly the laxity, e. g., in putting 'Tobit' for 'his father', 'Edna' for 'his wife'; addition of 'Anna' with 'his mother', v 18, &c. *passim*, are most likely due to the elasticity of *oral* tradition and the current transcriptional method of circulating and handing down the hero's fame and wisdom.³ Again, the growing familiarity with the story independently of the professional copyist and public reader would lead inevitably to the insertion of clauses and words forestalling the *dénouement* or anticipating information imparted in R^s at a later point, e. g. Tobit's wife's name is inserted in i 9. These, subconsciously affecting the copyists, would ultimately find a place in the text, e. g. *ἐνώπιον τοῦ Κυρίου* in x 12 came to be connected with the following clause, and oral tradition preferred, to the pessimism which had been expressed in R^s, the more comforting

¹ Cf. the general ascription of thanksgiving addressed to God in R^v as contrasted with the ejaculatory confession of R^s in xi 14, 15^a. Possibly the brief *ὡς ἐν γυναιξίν* in iii 8 and similar periphrases of longer and unifying details of R^s are due to the exigencies of such public reading.

² This is especially apparent in vii 1 (see note *ad loc.*) and in the substitution of 'Jonah' for 'Nahum' (xiv 3); xii 1 (xi 19) is assimilated to Gen. xxix 27 (cf. *Oxf. Apocr.* p. 192 footnote 6, R^s and R^v are placed side by side in the accompanying translation of this verse in order to illustrate this fact). *Ξεμεοῦ* in v 14 is influenced by the Biblical name common among the priestly classes, e. g. 1 Chron. xv 8, 11, Ezra x 21, 31, Neh. x 8, xi 15. In view of this the attempts to find traces of assimilation to Biblical language and models in R^s and not R^v are quite beside the point.

³ Cf. Sir John Hawkins *op. cit.* pp. 67 sqq., 217, in the case of the Synoptic Gospels even on the documentary hypothesis; Dr Sanday's remarks in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, 1911, pp. 16-19, on the methods of copyists of the Synoptic Gospels and their tendency to change the text in minor matters as a result of their first reading a line or two of the MS from which they were copying, and then laying it aside in order to transcribe what they had read in it to the new MS in course of preparation. Thus are explained a number of variations (e. g. v 17, x 4, 'because he delays'), of no significance in themselves but evidence of the long period of development between R^s and the settlement of the text of R^v; e. g. *καθότι* for *καὶ ὅτι* in i 12; *ἀέλυσα* for *ἐλουσάμην* (since they had already copied one statement as to washing) ii 9; *ὅτι* for *διότι* in iii 8; *ἔτι προσθήσω* for *ἐπιπροσθήσω* in v 16 (15); *κύριε* for *οὐχί* in viii 7; *πορευθεῖς* for *παρ' αὐτοῦ* v 3; *κατήσχυνται* see note to x 2; *κατελόγησεν* for *καὶ εὐλόγησεν* xi 17; *πολύ* for *πλοῦτος* xii 8; *ὅτι οὐ* for *οὐχί* resulting from the omission in xii 18; xiii 13 (note *ad loc.*); transpositions e. g. ix 4, 3; xiv 9, 8 (note *ad loc.*); omissions like that in xiii 16.

thought which it itself substituted immediately before these words (cf. the change in v 3).

CONCLUSION AS TO THE DATE, PURPOSE, AND HISTORY OF R^V. R^V is the immediate result of a comparatively late attempt to settle the text, probably 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. But it is equally clear that the latter authorities finally rejected R^V and fell back on the revered and ancient Greek text of R^S, from which they must have made a Semitic translation, the progenitor of the Aramaic text from which our *Ar.* and M are derived. Thus R^V remained for the undisputed use of the Christians, who would not be slow to use it since it contained nothing definitely anti-Christian, and many of its characteristics had been slowly crystallizing before the final settlement of the text. We can scarcely hope to settle definitely the question as to the reason why this Jewish rejection of it took place, or the exact manner in which it passed over from the Jewish Diaspora to become the official text of North-east Europe and, in part, of Christian Syria, and finally of Ethiopia. Possibly large numbers of these Jewish circles in which R^V had flourished were converted to Christianity, and this may have helped to bring down on the new revision the condemnation of the official Rabbinitism. Possibly the Rabbis rejected it solely because it was written in a pagan language, and, like the LXX, was to a great extent already in use among the Christians.

RELATION OF R^C TO R^S AND R^V. A Jewish revision such as R^V, even though it had been of slow growth, could not be expected to commend itself to all the Christian churches equally. In Egypt, in particular, where R^S as well as R^V had originated and both had probably flourished side by side in different circles, Christian Jews might well be dissatisfied at the announcement of the acceptance of R^V first in Jewish and afterwards in Christian circles. Conservative feeling and traditional tendencies would naturally tend to swing the pendulum back in favour of R^S. The modern spirit, the larger outlook, the liturgical fitness, the richer theology, and the vernacular style of R^V, on the other hand, together with the unsettled and still isolated condition of the Christian churches fully occupied with doctrinal and practical issues, would make a complete and universal boycott of R^V for long impossible. While R^S, in the Old Latin, mostly held its own in the Western Church, the compromising text of R^{C1} gradually won a comparatively short-lived triumph in some quarters. It contained, in the estimation of the period, the best in R^S and in R^V, but never attained the fixed character

¹ See *Oxf. Apocr.* p. 176.

of R^s or R^v,¹ though it penetrated into the Syrian Church and partially supplanted R^v. If, indeed, it was ever fixed by an official board of redaction or a synod, it may well have been thus fixed in speculative, if not Gnostic, circles, to which the docetic appearance of Raphael,² and the appendage to R^v which appears in viii 15 of R^c,³ would especially appeal. At any rate the revision was made in a non-Jewish and probably in a Christian environment. This is shewn, for instance, by the use of τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον in vi 15.⁴ Again, the dog becomes distinctly prominent on the return journey—a striking illustration of the growing influence of Zoroastrian doctrines and practices.⁵

D. C. SIMPSON.

GREEK THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON.

IN reviewing Dr Abbott's book *Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet* in this JOURNAL (xiv pp. 313-316), I drew attention to a couple of passages in the Odes of Solomon which appeared to me to offer strong reasons for believing that the Syriac text was translated from Greek. In the first of these cases I argued that in Ode xli 16 the Syriac gives us a translation of *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*. In the second case I gave it as my opinion that the words in Ode xxx 6 'and until it [the spring of living water] was set [*lit.* given] in the midst, they did not know it' could not be a translation from Hebrew, since they contain an unsemitic idiom, viz. *εἰς τὸ μέσον τιθέναι*, *in medio ponere*.

In the last number of the JOURNAL, p. 442, Dr Abbott says of the first of these two arguments that it is 'strong', and, 'if it cannot be answered, and if two or three more such instances could be alleged, the conclusion might become irresistible'. It is in the hope of persuading Dr Abbott, and others also, that I adduce in the present Note some further passages in which there appear to me to be cogent reasons for

¹ Constantly, as is shewn in the critical synopsis, considerable divergences appear in codd. 104, 106, 107, and 5.

² Note the omission of the names of Raphael, human and divine, in iii 14, ἀγγέλων in xii 15, and the change to the plural *δράσεις* in xii 19.

³ 'May all the aeons praise Thee and let Thy angels bless Thee.'

⁴ For the use of this term in those parts of the New Testament writings which were intended primarily for non-Jewish Christians see Plummer *S. Luke* (*Int. Crit. Com.*) pp. 132 sq.

⁵ Thus there was a substratum of truth in Kohut's attempt to connect Tobit with the revival of interest in Zoroastrianism at this time.

