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# Medieval Tobit Use of Scripture and Influence of Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish Traditions

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# The Medieval Hebrew (H5) of Tobit: Use of Scripture and Influence of Rabbinic and Medieval Jewish Traditions

The North French Miscellany includes a medieval Hebrew version of Tobit, referred to as H5 in the synopsis by Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck.<sup>1</sup> This version of Tobit appears in a collection of biblical and rabbinic texts with many color illuminations, known as Add. MS 11639 in the British Library, copied by a scribe named Benjamin in northern France around 1277–1286. While the main body of the North French Miscellany has 55 texts, the margin has 29 compositions, of which Hebrew Tobit or H5 is the last one.<sup>2</sup> The analysis of H5 that follows reveals that it is *sui generis* as a form of the Tobit story. While H5 displays connections with the Greek and Latin versions of Tobit and very likely makes use of them *ad hoc* as inspiration for recasting the story in biblicalizing Hebrew,<sup>3</sup> it also is indebted to rabbinic traditions. Such traditions include the *Halachot Gedolot* in Tob 3:11, the Babylonian Talmud for the marriage blessing at 8:5 (b. *Ketubbot* 8a), a *piyyut*, the *Amidah*, and *Mishnah Taanit* in 8:6, and *Midrash Lamentations Rabbati* in 8:7. In addition, H5 embellishes Sarah's prayer in 8:7 by drawing on the Avodah and Qedushta type of *piyyutim* related to the Yom Kippur liturgy, especially Saadia Gaon's *piyyut*, *Gam Hayom Yada'ti* ("Also Today I Know"). The same verse has connections with medieval Jewish traditions: *Sefer Gematriot*, attributed to Judah ben Samuel (1140–1217 CE), and the Psalm commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi (1160–1235 CE). The resonances in Tob 8:6–7 are particularly complex due to the fact that *piyyutim* are rooted in

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1 Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, Book, 37–39. In this article, I follow their abbreviations and nomenclature. This article uses vocalization to distinguish between the biblical Hebrew text (vocalized) and the medieval Hebrew Tobit text (unvocalized).

2 For details of these manuscripts, see Schonfield, *Miscellany*. Gaster's original publication of the Hebrew text (*Versions*, i–xi), dates from 1897. Gaster had supplied an introduction with English translation in previous articles ("Versions").

3 H5 agrees with the Vulgate (Vg) in narrating 1:1–3:6 in the third person; cf. Cioată, "Tellings," 361. However, H5 begins with a genealogy in 1:1 similar to the other versions but absent in the Vg. H5 also, as noted by Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck (*Book*, 39), "avoids the confusion of names which bedevils the Vulgate account" by calling the father Tobi and the son Tobiah, as in the Qumran Hebrew MS (4Q200 4.6–7). In the absence of a critical edition of the *Vetus Latina* (VL), I will refer to the important MSS. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

the scriptural texts of synagogue liturgy, which also contain rabbinic and medieval intertextures.

H5 frequently borrows phrases directly from the Hebrew Bible as a way of filling out biblical allusions befitting the plot of the story. Such direct borrowing of biblical Hebrew phrases is so common in H5 that this study provides only selected examples. In addition to the biblicizing Hebrew as its *modus operandi*, it is not surprising that H5 was inspired by *piyyutim* related to Yom Kippur in 8:6–7, for the H5 text is located on the manuscript margins around commentaries on liturgical poems (*piyyutim*) for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Nor are the allusions to *Mishnah Taanit* 2 in 8:6 and *Midrash Lamentations Rabbati* in 8:7 a surprise as those rabbinic texts concerns the liturgy of the fast day. The allusions to well-known *piyyutim* and the *Sefer Gematriot* cohere well with the tendency of H5 to transpose words at times when drawing on biblical texts. H5's use of multiple versions of the Tobit story, the biblicizing, and the allusions to rabbinic and medieval Jewish texts result in a unique and compelling form of the Tobit story that is worth careful study.

This analysis employs a diachronic approach that analyzes examples in H5 of intertextual links—especially shared lexical features—to precursor texts in the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature.<sup>4</sup> With regard to rabbinic literature, the intertextures for the acrostic poem and *piyyutim* in H5 Tob 8:6–7 are a matter of shared structure, literary form, and some lexical features with *piyyutim* related to Yom Kippur (Avodah and Qedushta), whereas in 3:11 H5 borrows the exact wording from *Halachot Gedolot*.<sup>5</sup> Since *piyyutim* are liturgical poems that draw on the Tanak and rabbinic prayers, this study will acknowledge the multiple aspects of the intertextures in 8:6–7 by beginning with the connections to earlier *piyyutim* as well as the embedded allusions to the Tanak, rabbinic prayers and blessings, and medieval sources. When H5 has connections to medieval sources within *piyyutim*, it is possible that these connections are the result of shared dependence on the same well-known *piyyutim*. Although some of the examples that follow are somewhat subtle allusions to biblical texts, the similar subject matter of the intertext and the tendency within H5 to evoke those subjects suggest that these biblical allusions be considered deliberate mimesis. I shall also provide several examples of the tendency in H5 to draw on biblical Hebrew and rabbinic texts in a much more obvious or less subtle fashion—explicit recitation—in which H5 borrows word for word but without directly acknowledging the intertext. This study is thus interested in the intentions of the redactor-author

<sup>4</sup> Miller, “Intertextuality,” 295.

<sup>5</sup> Miller (*ibid.*, 297) also examines the criterion of similarity in form or structure.

of this medieval text and in differentiating the subtle allusions from the word-for-word borrowing. In both cases I attempt to elucidate the rationale for the intertextual borrowing.

## Discussion of Intertextual Allusions in H5

### Not Denying Assistance to the Needy: Allusions in H5 Tob 1:4

The first part of Tobit 1:4 parallels the Greek and Latin versions' references to the tribe of Naphtali. The opening biblicizing Hebrew, ויהי, "and it happened," parallels G1 and G2 καὶ ὅτε, "and when." But the second part of the verse differs. ולא נתן כתף אחד במלאכה, "and he did not deny anyone in his work," lit., "he did not give his shoulder," i.e., he did not turn his shoulder = deny. The idiom occurs in Zech 7:11, ויתנו כתף סררת, to refer to turning one's back, i.e., ignoring, the widow, orphan, and poor (cf. Zech 7:10), which leads one to surmise that there is a subtle allusion here to Zech 7:10–11 that emphasizes that Tobi acted in accordance with the prophetic injunction. The idiom also occurs in Neh 9:29 in a context similar to Zech 7:11—that the people are not doing as the Law requires regarding their responsibilities to those who need their assistance. A difference is that Zech 7:11 and Neh 9:29 refer to stubbornness, סררת, which indicates that the Nehemiah text doubtless has Zech 7:11 in mind, but H5 instead refers to Tobit's work, במלאכה. The motivation for the plus in H5 might at first seem unclear. However, Jerome's Vulgate (Vg) contains the plus *nihil tamen puerile gessit in opere*, "yet he never conducted himself childishly in deed." There is a striking correspondence with the Vg here: *in opere* // במלאכה. Thus, H5 has recast this clause in its own way by borrowing the idiom in part from Zech 7:11 and Neh 9:29 in the light of Tobit's conduct toward the poor, but was also inspired by the Vg's phrase *in opere*. The biblical idiom from Zech 7:11 and Neh 9:29 is stated negatively, ולא, through the influence of Vg *nihil*.

### Fleeing Barefoot and Naked: Allusions in H5 Tob 1:20

In 4Q196 and the Greek forms of the Tobit narrative, Tob 1:21 recounts the fleeing of Sennacherib's two sons after murdering him (cf. 2 Kgs 19:37; Isa 37:38). However, because of the Vg omission of material from the end of chapter 1, the motif of fleeing is transferred to Tobit and his family, and H5 follows the Vg on this point. H5 1:20 has a plus that refers to the family fleeing *barefoot and naked*, which evokes the language of exilic desolation in Isa 20:2–4. It is not a direct

quote, as the order in MT (and Tg. Ps.-J.) Isa 20:3,4 is *naked and barefoot*, whereas H5 has barefoot first, creating an inverted quotation.<sup>6</sup> Yet the parallels of context and language make it a deliberate allusion. The text of H5 reads as follows:

וילכו יחפים וערומים בלי כסות בקרח ובלא מחיה ובכל אשר הלך מצא אוהבים רבים

“and they went barefoot and naked without clothing in the frost, and without sustenance. But wherever he went he found many friends.”

Moreover, the reference in H5 to being “without clothing in the frost,” בלי כסות בקרח, seems a mixture of the vocabulary of Job 24:7 and 24:10, Job’s lament about what happens to the needy (Job 24:4–10): Job 24:7 בְּקָרָה אֵין לְסוּת “there is no covering against the cold”; cf. Job 24:10 אֶרְוֹם הֵלְכוּ בְּלִי לְבָשׁ “[the destitute] walk about naked without clothes.” Being without clothing is a leitmotif in the Book of Job (cf. also Job 31:19), and Tobit’s travails have often recalled Job’s.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere there is a quote of Job 5:18 at the plus in H5 13:2, and the plusses in H5 at 2:8 and 2:10 explicitly refer to Job. But here in 1:20 it is an allusion to the Job text, not a direct quote.

H5 uses language that recalls these texts, Isa 20:3–4 and Job 24:7,10, but without lifting the exact wording. In each case there is an exact word (כסות H5 1:20 and Job 24:7; בלי in H5 Tob 1:20 and Job 24:10), and synonyms occur (קרה “frost” instead of קרה “cold”;<sup>8</sup> בלי instead of אֵין), or an inversion of syntax (“barefoot and naked” instead of “naked and barefoot”). The allusions, however, are unmistakable for the reader who knows the biblical text. Notably, the Vg plus here, *Tobias vero cum filio suo et cum uxore fugiens nudus latuit quia multi diligebant eum*, lacks the reference to being barefoot. If the Vg plus was an impetus for H5, the author recast it in his own way in order to allude to Isa 20:2–4 and Job 24:7,10.

It seems highly likely that the Vg was an influence on H5 here. The language of friendship in the last sentence of this plus in H5, ובכל אשר הלך מצא אוהבים רבים, “and wherever he went he found many friends,” is derived from Vg’s *multi diligebant eum*. Hebrew אוהב is indeed connected to the verb אהב, “to love,” and carries the sense of both “one who loves” and “friend.” H5 may have recast Vg *diligebant* in terms of friendship solely on the basis of the double meaning of אוהב. In summary, this verse of H5 is a creative reworking of the Vg plus that is indebted to Isa 20:3,4 and Job 24:7,10.

<sup>6</sup> For other biblical examples of an inverted quotation, see Beentjes, “Quotations.”

<sup>7</sup> Portier-Young, “Eyes.”

<sup>8</sup> The two similar terms stand in poetic parallelism in Ps 147:17.

## Festivals Turned to Mourning: Sui Generis Quotation of Amos 8:10 in H5 Tob 2:6

The reference to the MT of Amos 8:10 in Tob 2:6, found in H5, is almost identical in another medieval Hebrew version of Tobit (H3) and in an Aramaic version (A5).<sup>9</sup> H5 reads:

וְיִזְכֹּר אֶת הַדְּבָר אֲשֶׁר בִּיד עֲמוֹס הַנְּבִיא וְהַפְכְּתִי אֶת חֲגִיכֶם לֵאבֹל וְשִׁירֵיכֶם לִקִּינָה

“And he remembered the word that was through Amos the prophet: ‘And I will turn your festivals to mourning and your songs to a dirge.’”

The MT of Amos 8:10 reads:

וְהַפְכְּתִי חֲגִיכֶם לֵאבֹל וְכָל־שִׁירֵיכֶם לִקִּינָה

LXX: καὶ μεταστρέψω τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑμῶν εἰς πένθος καὶ πάσας τὰς ψᾶδας ὑμῶν εἰς θρήνον

The Gk and Latin versions of Tob 2:6 are remarkably similar and read as follows:

Tob S: καὶ ἐμνήσθη τὸ ῥήματος τοῦ προφήτου ὅσα ἐλάλησεν Ἀμὼς ἐπὶ Βασιλῆα λέγων, στραφήσονται ὑμῶν αἱ ἑορταὶ εἰς πένθος καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ψᾶδαι [S: ὁδοί] ὑμῶν εἰς θρήνος // G1 στραφήσονται // VL QXW and Vg *convertentur* // S1 נִמְלִיכְוּ

The quotation of Amos 8:10 in H5 differs from all the other versions, as it is in the first person, in conformity to the MT and LXX of Amos 8:10. The Gk, Latin, and Syriac witnesses have the verb in the third person plural passive, with “your feasts” as the subject (except that in VL W the subject is *omnes viae vestrae*).<sup>10</sup> H5 agrees with the Gk witnesses and most VL MSS by including the second part of the Amos quote, וְכָל־שִׁירֵיכֶם לִקִּינָה, except it omits כל (“all”)—an equivalent of which is present in G1, G2, VL QX, and S1. That the second half of Amos 8:10 is not quoted in its entirety is consistent with the tendency in H5 to go its own way. Even though H5 here has an extensive quotation of Amos 8:10, the quote is neither dependent on the other ancient witnesses nor does it conform entirely to MT or LXX of Amos 8:10.

<sup>9</sup> For these other Tobit texts, see the synopsis in Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck. The medieval Aramaic text A5 quotes Amos here in Hebrew.

<sup>10</sup> The term *viae* (ways) matches the reading of G2 here, ὁδοί, which is usually viewed as an error for ψᾶδαι (songs); cf. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 135.

Persisting in Integrity: Word-for-word Borrowing in the Plus at H5 Tob 2:8

Scholars have observed many ways that the story of Tobit, a righteous man who is tested by affliction but eventually restored, is reminiscent of the Book of Job.<sup>11</sup> H5 Tob 2:8 contains a rather lengthy plus that twice refers intertextually to the Book of Job. The first part of the verse, Tob 2:8a, resembles Greek Sinaiticus (G2): καὶ οἱ πλησίον μου κατεγέλων λέγοντες, οὐ φοβεῖται οὐκέτι ἤδη γὰρ ἐπε-ζητήθη τοῦ φονευθῆναι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος τούτου καὶ ἀπέδρα καὶ πάλιν ἰδοὺ θάπτει τοὺς νεκρούς, “and my neighbors were mocking saying, ‘He still has no fear, for he has already been hunted to be executed for this deed, and he ran away, but behold he buries the dead again.’” To aid in seeing the intertexts, the texts are placed here side-by-side:

H5 2:8 plus	Job 2:9 and 33:6; Deut 10:17; Vg
ויריבו אותו קרוביו ולאמר הנה ידעת כי צוה חוק המלך להרגך על אשר קברת ותברח ותנצל נפשך ועודך מחזיק בתומתך ויאמר הנה הרבה יראתי את אדני האדנים מיראתי את המלך קרוץ מחומר כמוני: וטובי היה הולך ושוב אחרי ההרוגים ובסתר היה מביאם וקבורם בחצות הלילה	עֲדָךְ מְחִזִּיק בְּתַמְתְּךָ (Job 2:9) “Do you still persist in your integrity?” הִנְיָאֲנִי כְּפִידָךְ לְאֵל מִחֶמֶר קִרְצָתִי גִם־אֲנִי (Job 33:6) “Behold, I am like you before God, I too was formed from clay”  Cf. Neh 2:2 וְאִירָא הָרַבָּה מֵאֵד, “and I was very greatly afraid” (in the king’s presence)  Deut 10:17; Ps 136:3 אֲדֹנֵי הָאֱדֹנִים אֲדֹנֵי הָאֱדֹנִים, “Lord of Lords”  Vg: sed Thobias <i>plus timens deum quam regem</i> rapiebat corpora occisorum et occulta- bat in domum suam <i>et mediis noctibus sepe-</i> <i>liebat ea</i> , “but Tobit, fearing God more than the king, used to take the bodies of the slain and hide them in his home and bury them in the middle of the night”

First, as the chart above indicates, H5 contains a precise quotation of Job 2:9 עֲדָךְ מְחִזִּיק בְּתַמְתְּךָ, “are you still persisting in your integrity?”<sup>12</sup> It is a plus found in no other version, although Tobit’s wife is often regarded as being modeled on Job’s

11 Dimant, “Mikra,” 417–19; Nowell, “Book,” 74–75, 276–77; Portier-Young, “Eyes,” 15.  
12 While it is unclear if H5 intends this as a statement or a question, the sense differs little.

wife.<sup>13</sup> Second, קרוץ מחומר כמוני, “formed from clay like me,” is a clear allusion to Job 33:6, הִדְאַנִי כַפִּידָא לְאַל מִחֹמֶר קִרְצָתִי גַם־אֲנִי, “Look, I am like you before God, I too was pinched/formed from clay,” with no correspondence in the other versions. Third, the origin of the phrase אֲדֹנֵי הָאֲדֹנִים “Lord of lords” is obvious as it occurs only twice in the Tanak (Deut 10:17; Ps 136:3). H5 uses this divine title again in the plus at 8:6. Fourth, regarding הרבה יראתי, there is similar language in Neh 2:2 נֶאֱדָרָה הָרַבָּה מְאֹד, “and I was greatly afraid.”<sup>14</sup> The echo of Neh 2:2 conceals a skillful contrast, since Nehemiah was afraid before the Persian king, but Tobi declares that he is more afraid of God than of an earthly king.<sup>15</sup>

H5 shares with the Vg key aspects of the last part of the verse: that Tobi fears God more than the king, and that he buried the slain in the middle of the night (*mediis noctibus* // בחצות הלילה). Vg uniquely states that Tobi “used to hide them in his home” (*occultabat in domum suam*), which H5 omits. Although corpse impurity was apparently not a concern for Jerome, the Jew who composed H5 may have found that textual plus an unnecessary complication.

## The Divine Testing of Tobit: Biblical Quotations and Allusions in the Plus in H5 Tob 2:10

Within the plot of Tobit, this verse concerns Tobit in the courtyard when the bird droppings fall into his eyes, making him blind. To aid in understanding the intertexts, it will be useful to lay out the texts side-by-side, together with the unique Vg plus (absent from Gk and VL) that follows 2:10:

<sup>13</sup> Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit*, 73–76; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 141.

<sup>14</sup> Gaster (*Versions*, xiv) in his appendix on “Peculiar Forms and Constructions” observed this similarity as well, but he also pointed to Qoh 1:16 and Ezra 10:1. Those texts, however, share only the adv. הרבה.

<sup>15</sup> In the historical context of the *North French Miscellany* (13<sup>th</sup> century France), where some Jews faced hardships and even martyrdom, this statement may have had a contemporary resonance. See Schwartz, “Authority,” 93.



## H5 2:10 Plus

ולבעבור נסותו עשה לו האלהים כל זאת כאשר עשה לאיוב. וטובי היה ירא את יהוה מנעוריו ובכל זאת לא נתן טובי תפלה לאלהים וידבק באלהי ישראל ויבטח בחסדו: ויבאו לפניו ריעי איוב אליפו התימני ובלדד השוחי וצופר הנעמתי ויהיו כולם מלעיגים עליו לאמר<sup>16</sup> צדקתך אשר בטחת בה לאמר צדקתי ואקבר את המתים ואגמול להם חסד: ויגער בהם טובי ויאמר אמנם זך ורחף אנכי צדקתי תענה בי והנה גם הרע וגם הטוב נקבל מאהבה ובשמחת לקב כי כל משפטי יהוה ישרים: כי כל אשר אמונתו שלמה לא ימיר ולא יחליף ונתן לו אלהים חיי העולם הבא

And in order to test him, God did all this to him as he did to Job. And Tobi feared the Lord from his youth. And in all of this Tobi did not charge God with wrongdoing. **And he clung to the God of Israel** and he trusted in his mercy. And the friends of Job came before him—Eliphaz the Temanite and Bildad the Shuhite and Zophar the Naamathite—and they all mocked him, saying, ‘[Where is] your righteousness in which you trusted, saying ‘I am in the right; I will bury the dead and I will deal out mercy to them’? But Tobi rebuked them, saying ‘Truly **I am clean and innocent** and my righteousness will answer for me. And behold, both **the evil and the good we should accept** out of love and in gladness of heart. For all the **judgments of the Lord are upright**. For everyone whose faithfulness is complete will not alter and **will not change** and God will grant him the life of the world to come.’

Exod 20:20; 2 Kgs 18:6; Job 1:22; 2:10; 33:9; Ps 119:75; Tob 2:12 – 18 Vg

Exod 20:20 לְבַעְבוֹר נְסוֹת אֶתְכֶם “in order to test you”

Job 1:22 וְלֹא-נָתַן תְּפִלָּה לְאֱלֹהִים “and he did not charge God with wrongdoing.”

2 Kgs 18:6 (of Hezekiah) וַיִּדְבֶּק בַּיהוָה “and he clung to the Lord” Cf. Deut 10:20 וְבוֹ תִדְבֶּק “and to him you must cling”

Job 33:9 וְאֲנִי בְּלִי-פֶשַׁע-חַף אֲנֹכִי “I am clean, ~~without transgression~~, I am innocent”

Job 2:10 גַּם אֶת-הַטּוֹב נִקְבַּל מֵאֵת הָאֱלֹהִים וְאֶת-הָרָע “we accept the good from God, should we not accept the evil?”

Ps 119:75 יְהוָה כִּי-צִדֵּק מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ “Lord, your judgments are righteous;” cf. Ps 19:9; 119:137; Neh 9:13.

Cf. Hab 2:4 צִדִּיק בְּאַמּוֹנָתוֹ יֵחִיָּה “the righteous person lives [will live] by his faithfulness”

<sup>12</sup>*hanc autem temptationem ideo permisit Dominus evenire illi ut posteris daretur exemplum patientiae eius sicut et sancti **Iob** <sup>13</sup>nam cum ab infantia sua semper Deum timuerit et mandata eius custodierit. non est contristatus contra Deum quod plaga caecitatis eveniret ei, <sup>14</sup>*sed immobilis in Dei timore permansit agens gratias Deo omnibus diebus vitae suae* <sup>15</sup>*nam sicut beato Iob insultabant reges ita isti parentes et cognati eius et inridebant vitam eius dicentes* <sup>16</sup>*ubi est spes tua pro qua elemosynas et sepulturas faciebas.* <sup>17</sup>*Tobias vero increpabat eos dicens nolite ita loqui* <sup>18</sup>*quoniam filii sanctorum sumus et vitam illam expectamus quam Deus daturus est his qui fidem suam numquam mutant ab eo.**

The lengthy plus in H5 brings in allusions to Moses, Hezekiah, Job and Habakkuk, although only Job is explicitly referenced with לאיוב עשה. First, the language used as an introduction to God’s testing of Tobit derives from Exod

<sup>16</sup> To assist in making sense of the text, Gaster (*Versions*, 17) supplies איה, “where,” and Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, state (*Book*, 348) “it is likely that the scribe has omitted some such word.” It would thus read: “Where is your righteousness...?”

20:20 with a slight adjustment: instead of “in order to test you,” לְבַעֲבוֹר נִסּוֹת אֶתְכֶם, H5 reads “in order to test him,” but the preposition + infinitive is distinctive of Exod 20:20.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, in Exod 20:20 Moses tells the people that God has come “in order to test you” so that they fear God and do not sin. Thus it is not coincidental that H5 asserts that Tobi feared God from his youth, although the exact phrase differs from Exod 20:20: וּבְעֶבֶר תִּהְיֶה יִרְאַתּוֹ, “so that fear of him may be [upon you].” This finds a parallel in the Vg plus (Vg v 13): וטובי היה ירא ואת יהוה מנעוריו // *nam cum infantia sua deum timuerit*, which echoes 1 Kgs 18:13 and Deut 5:29.

Second, the statement that Tobi “clung to the God of Israel,” וידבק באלהי ישראל, conforms to Deut 10:20 ובו תדבק (cf. plural verb in Deut 13:5); and 2 Kgs 18:6, וידבק ביהוה, with the latter intertext implying that Tobi clung to God as had Hezekiah.<sup>18</sup> The use of the preposition ב with the verb דבק in a theological sense is distinctively Deuteronomistic (also Josh 23:8), which confirms the likelihood that the allusion was deliberate.

Third, as in the echoes of Job 2:9 and 33:6 in the H5 plus at 2:8, here at 2:10 H5 has enhanced the parallel with Job in several ways, including the explicit mention of Job’s friends. In addition, the phrase לא נתן טובי תפלה לאלהים echoes Job 1:22 with only Tobi’s name inserted: ולא נתן תפלה לאלהים, “and he did not charge God with wrong” (cf. Vg: *non est contristatus contra Deum*, “he was not rendered gloomy against God”). There is also a clear allusion to Job 33:9 וְאִנִּי בְלִי פֶשַׁע וְחַי אֲנִי “I am clean, without transgression, I am innocent,” with the middle two words omitted. And “the evil and the good we should accept” clearly derives from Job 2:10.

A final possible scriptural allusion exists. The reference to אמונתו, his faithfulness, in connection to living recalls Hab 2:4 וְיַחֲזִיק בְּאַמּוֹנָתוֹ יְהוָה, “the righteous person lives/will live by his faithfulness.” H5, however, connects the idea to life everlasting through the Vg: *quia filii sanctorum sumus et vitam illam expectamus quam deus daturus est his qui fidem suam numquam mutant ab eo*, “for we are children of holy people, and we await that life which God will give to those whose faith never wavers from him.” It is noteworthy that H5 does not follow Vg *reges* “kings” (cf. LXX Job 2:11) in reference to Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar.

In summary, H5’s creative recasting of this verse is to some extent indebted to the Vg plus that resonates with several of the same biblical texts (Deut 5:29; 1 Kgs 18:12) and Cyprian’s *De mortalitate* 10 (CCSL 3 A.21–22).<sup>19</sup> However, H5 has

<sup>17</sup> The intertextual allusion here is distinctive insofar as לְבַעֲבוֹר + infinitive occurs only two other times in the Hebrew Bible (2 Sam 14:20; 17:14). Cf. Miller, “Intertextuality,” 295.

<sup>18</sup> Note that an echo of 2 Kgs 18:9–11 appears in Tob 1:2–3; cf. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 96.

<sup>19</sup> Auwers, “Tobie,” 82.

substantially gone its own way in making more extensive biblical allusions to Exod 20:20; Job 1:22; 2:10; 33:9; and Ps 119:75. Nor did H5 follow Jerome's addition of the lexeme *exemplum* (the "example" of patience) based on Vg Jas 5:10.<sup>20</sup>

## Sarah's First Prayer in H5 Tob 3:11–16

Since H5 has a unique second prayer of Sarah at 8:7, an extensive plus, the one in 3:11–16 is here referred to as her first prayer. Sarah's first prayer diverges significantly from the other versions, including some independence from the Vg, and draws on a pastiche of biblical allusions unique to H5: Gen 35:3; Deut 7:9; 1 Sam 10:19; Neh 1:6; 9:22; Pss 7:11; 17:7; 123:1; Isa 43:11.

The last three words of 3:11 are a direct quotation from *Halachot Gedolot* (88a), a rabbinic text that dates to the gaonic period (ca. 7<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries): גומל לחייבים טובות, "bestowing benefits on the guilty."<sup>21</sup> This section of the *Halachot Gedolot* is a well-known Jewish prayer of thanks that is often referred to as *Birkat haGomel*. It is recited before going on a dangerous journey or after having survived a dangerous situation. That it came to the mind of the person composing H5 can be explained by the story's journey motif, the dangers Tobi faces for burying the dead, but most importantly for Sarah's prayer—her distress over being mocked because her husbands were murdered by the demon Asmodeus. The most likely initial impetus for inserting an allusion to *Halachot Gedolot* here was the Vg, which refers to both a time of tribulation and to God's mercy even when the mercy is not deserved: *cum iratus fueris misericordiam facies et in tempore tribulationis peccata demittis*, "when you are angered you show mercy and in time of tribulation you forgive sins." H5, however, has recast the Vg reference in the language of the *Halachot Gedolot*. Such recasting is part of the *modus operandi* of H5. A similar recasting of the Vg occurs at 8:9 where Vg reads *circa pullorum cantu*, "about when the cock crows," which H5 recasts using the rabbinic technical term קריאת הגבר (m. Yoma 1.8; b. Yoma 20b).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> For Jerome's insertion of *exempla* into his translations and revisions of biblical books, see Skemp, "Learning."

<sup>21</sup> Or "bestowing kindnesses on the undeserving," or "repaying good things to debtors." *Halachot Gedolot* is based on the Bavli but also makes use of Yerushalmi. This text refers to b. *Berakhot* 54b in reference to a Gemara of Rav Yehudah. The text of b. *Berakhot* 54b is slightly different: גומל חסדים טובים, ברוך גומל חסדים טובים, "blessed is the one who repays good mercies."

<sup>22</sup> The opening phrase of H5 8:9, ויהי בחצי הלילה, "and it came to pass at midnight," is a plus borrowed from Exod 12:29. This insertion, independent of the other versions, including the Vg, causes problems because it does not mesh with the next clause (בקריאת הגבר, lit., "when the

Even though in relation to all the other ancient versions of Tobit the last sentence in H5 3:11 bears the most resemblance to the Vg, H5 has recast the sentence considerably by adding characteristics of God common to the Bible: אתה העונה בעת צרה פודה ומציל ומושיע גומל לחייבים טובות, “You answer in the time of distress, ransom, and deliver, and save, bestowing benefits on the guilty.” The clause אתה העונה בעת צרה, “you answer in the time of distress,” is likely a combined allusion to Jacob’s description of God as אֱלֹהֵי בְּיָוֶם צָרָתִי, “the one answering me on the day of my distress” in Gen 35:3, along with the use of the phrase בעת צרה from Isa 33:2 וְשִׁוְעָתֵנוּ בְּעֵת צָרָה, “our salvation in the time of distress,” and Jer 14:8 מוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ בְּעֵת צָרָה, “its savior in the time of distress.” While other texts also refer to God answering when one is distressed (Ps 20:2; cf. Ps 86:7), the parallel qal participle in H5 establishes the Genesis text as a primary intertext along with בעת צרה from Isa 33:2 and Jer 14:8. In addition, a comparable qal participle פודה refers to God ransoming/ redeeming in Ps 34:23 (cf. Deut 7:8; 15:5; 24:18). Another comparable hiphil participle מציל refers to the Lord delivering/rescuing in Ps 35:10: יְהוָה מִי כִּמְצִיל עָנִי מִחֶזֶק, “O Lord, who is like you, who rescues the afflicted from the powerful?” And a further comparable hiphil participle מושיע refers to God saving in numerous texts (1 Sam 10:19; Pss 7:11; 17:7; Isa 43:11; 45:15; Zech 8:7).

As Sarah’s prayer continues in 3:12 there are several unique additions to H5 drawn from Scripture. The clause, אליך נשאתי את-עיני הישבי בשמים, “to you I lift up my eyes, the one who dwells in the heavens,” derives directly from Ps 123:1. Although the other versions also allude to the first clause in this Psalm, H5 is the only version to mention just the eyes, whereas the other versions refer to the face or to both face and eyes (G1 and Peshitta have the sequence: eyes, face; whereas 4QTob Aramaic, G2, VL, Vg, A5 have the same order: face, eyes). And H5 alone adds הישבי בשמים which continues the reference to Ps 123:1. Thus H5 both adheres more closely to the Psalm but also adds two words from the Psalm. Clearly these two words הישבי בשמים, came to mind because preceding them is the phrase נשאתי את-עיני.

H5 also adds the plus, כי ידעתי עפר אנכי ועפר אשוב, “for I know that I am dust, and to dust I will return,” which alludes to the punishment of death in Gen 3:19 (cf. Ps 103:14). As Sarah’s prayer continues in 3:13, H5 inserts a unique invocation that matches Neh 1:6: אֲנֹכִי מִתְפַּלֵּל לְפָנֶיךָ, “I am praying before you” (cf. Solomon’s prayer 1 Kgs 8:28 // 2 Chr 6:19).

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man calls,” i.e., “when the cock crows”) inspired by the Vg’s *circa pullorum cantu*, as “cock crow” and midnight are different times. It attests to H5’s insistence on including biblical phraseology.

In 3:15 Sarah's prayer alludes to the beatitude of Ps 1:1 *יֵשֵׁב לֹא יִשָּׁב*, "(blessed is the man who)...in the seat/assembly of scorners does not sit." H5: *בְּמוֹשֵׁב לְצִידִים לֹא יִשְׁבֵּתִי*, "in the seat/assembly of scorners I have not sat." This text is a favorite of H5; it is alluded to again at 4:11. The next clause in 3:15 alludes to Jer 15:17 *לֹא-יִשְׁבְּתִי בְּסוּד-מְשַׁחֲקִים*, "I have not sat in the council of mockers." The use of *יִשְׁבֵּתִי* in the previous clause—the verb is in both Ps 1:1 and Jer 15:17—occasioned the change of verb in this clause to *בִּאתִי*. The next clause of 3:15 draws directly on Prov 1:27 *בְּבֹא גְלִיכָם צָרָה וְצוּקָה*, "And when distress and anguish come upon you." The only change is the pronoun to the singular, *עָלָיו* ("upon him").

At 3:15 Sarah's statement, *וְלֹא הִפְצֵתִי אִישׁ כִּי אִם בִּירֵאתְךָ*, "I did not desire [to have] a husband except in fear of you," finds a close parallel with Vg's *virum autem cum timore tuo non libidine mea consensi suspicere*, "I consented to take a husband out of fear of you, not out of my lust." H5, like the Vg, delays the blessing of the Lord's name until the end of the verse, whereas in the other versions God's name is at the beginning of the prayer. The language closely echoes Job 1:21 *יְהִי שֵׁם יְהוָה מְבֹרָךְ*, "May the name of the Lord be blessed," with a pual participle in both: *יְהִי שִׁמְךָ מְבֹרָךְ מְעוֹלָם וְעַד עוֹלָם*, "May your name be blessed forever and ever" (Vg: *sit nomen tuum deus Israel benedictum in saecula*, "May your name, O God of Israel, be blessed forever"). Finally, at 3:16 the prayers of Tobi and Sarah conclude with a small plus that is a deliberate allusion to the cry of the Israelites in Exod 2:23 *וַתַּעַל שְׁוֹעֲתָם אֶל-יְהוָה*, "and their cry went up to God" // H5 *וַתַּעַל שְׁוֹעֲתָם לִפְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים*, "and their cry went up before God."

In summary, the version of Sarah's prayer in H5 contains a pastiche of unique allusions to biblical texts that came to mind from the context or were loosely related to the Vg. The beginning of Sarah's prayer in 3:11 draws to some extent on the Vg for inspiration in the choice of the *Halachot Gedolot*. This use of the *Halachot Gedolot* establishes firmly that H5 dates no earlier than the gaonic period (7<sup>th</sup> century) and thus any correspondences with the Vg must be the result of H5 making use of the Vg as one of the earlier texts that inspired it.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Thus Gaster's view (*Versions*, 8–9) that H5 may be related to the Aramaic text Jerome claims to have used in rendering Tobit into Latin cannot be substantiated.

## Tobit's Wisdom Admonition (Tob 4:3–19): Call to Help the Poor

Tobit 4:7 can serve as an example of another instance of a pastiche of biblical allusions in H5, especially to Deuteronomy and Isaiah. The following chart may assist in seeing the intertextual connections:

H5 4:7	Deut 15:8; Isa 58:7; Deut 14:29
<p>ופתוח תפתח לעני ירך וכי תראה ערום וכסיתו: הלא פרוש לרעב לחמך ועיניך אל תעלים מהם ויברכך האלהים בכל מעשה ירך</p> <p>You must open your hand to the needy; and when you see someone naked, cover him. Is it not sharing your bread with the hungry? Do not hide your eyes from them, so that God may bless you in all the work of your hands.</p>	<p>Deut 15:8 לְוֹ כִּי־תִפְתָּח תִּפְתָּח אֶת־יָדְךָ לְוֹ “you must indeed open your hand to him”</p> <p>Isa 58:7b עֲרֹם וְכִסִּיתוֹ כִּי־תִרְאֶה עֲרֹם “when you see someone naked, cover him”</p> <p>Isa 58:7a הֲלוֹא פָּרַס לָרֹעֵב לַחֲמֶךָ “Is it not sharing your bread with the hungry?”</p> <p>Deut 14:29 לְמַעַן יְבָרְכֶךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל־מַעֲשֶׂה לְךָ, “so that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work of your hands”</p>

The admonition to assist the poor in Tob 4:7, loosely based on Deuteronomy 15 (cf. Isaiah 58), is here made to conform more closely to the biblical models. The phrase ופתוח תפתח לעני ירך, “You must open your hand to the needy,” is a close allusion to Deut 15:8: לְוֹ כִּי־תִפְתָּח תִּפְתָּח אֶת־יָדְךָ לְוֹ. וכי תראה ערום וכסיתו, “When you see someone naked, cover him,” derives from Isa 58:7b: עֲרֹם וְכִסִּיתוֹ. And פרוש לרעב לחמך, “Is it not sharing your bread with the hungry?” derives from Isa 58:7a: הֲלוֹא פָּרַס לָרֹעֵב לַחֲמֶךָ (cf. Tob 1:17). The reversal in H5 of Isa 58:7a and 58:7b is another instance of an inverted quotation, as noted above at H5 Tob 1:20.

Instead of an allusion to the evil eye as in G1 4:7 (καὶ μὴ φθονεσάτω σου ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν σε ἐλεημοσύνην, “do not let your eye be envious when you give alms”),<sup>24</sup> H5 rephrases to ועיניך אל תעלים מהם, “do not hide your eyes from them.” This is independent of Vg, which follows VL QMJRG in referring to the face: *noli avertere faciem tuam ab ullo paupere*, “do not avert your face from any poor person”; VL X *nec avertas faciem tuam a paupere*; VL W *noli avertere faciem tuam ab omni paupere* // S1 **לֹא תִסְתֵּר פְּנֵי סֹפֵר עֲרֹם מִכָּל עֲרֹם**. Thus in this instance H5 draws on G1 by retaining the reference to the eye(s) ab-

<sup>24</sup> The evil eye concept occurs at times without a noun or adjective referring to evil. See Ulmer, *Eye*, 4, 43.





you will give his wage.”<sup>27</sup> The second part of the verse, ואל ילין עמך שכר שכיר, “Do not let spend the night with you the wages of a hired laborer,” is a paraphrase of Lev 19:13 לֹא־תִלֵּן פְּעֻלַּת שָׂכִיר אִתָּךְ עַד־בֹּקֶר, “you must not keep overnight the wages of a hired laborer with you until the morning.” Sometimes H5 chose to make the biblical connections more explicit, but at other times H5 paraphrases. In the next verse, 4:15, instead of the negative formulation of the Golden (or Silver) Rule, H5 simply quotes the rule itself (Lev 19:18): וְאַהֲבַת לְרֵעֶךָ כְּמֹדֶךָ “And you shall love your neighbor as yourself.”

Thereafter, H5 omits most of the material in 4:16–19 in comparison to the other versions. It retains only a segment in v 18, וועצת צדיקים תדרוש, “And the counsel of the righteous you must seek out,” which is much abridged in comparison to the other versions, except the Vg’s *consilium semper a sapiente perquire*, “Advice always seek from a wise person.” Although the advice in v 18 has similarities to Prov 19:20 and Sir 37:16,23,<sup>28</sup> these passages are not exact parallels with H5. It is likely that H5 may have omitted v 16 regarding feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and almsgiving since the matter was covered in 4:7. At 4:16 H5 omits entirely the reference to the evil eye (G1) that was re-worded in 4:7.

But the omission of most of 4:16–19 may have had to do with the author’s views on tithing, as tithes were also omitted in 4:8 and the reference to tithing in 1:7–8 of H5 is noticeably briefer than the other versions, especially in comparison to G2. Deut 14:28–29 and 26:12 require a wide distribution of tithes, including to “Levites, the aliens, the orphans, and the widows, so that they may eat their fill within your towns,” a text to which G2 refers (1:8). But the tithe laws are not entirely uniform in the MT and they become even more diffuse in the versions (e. g., Targum Neofiti of Deut 26:12 lacks “orphans”).<sup>29</sup> The other versions of Tobit at 1:7 refer to Torah tithe stipulations in Deut 14:23 (tithing of wine, grain and oil) and Lev 27:30 (tithing of pomegranates and other fruit). Some of the G2 scribes add “figs,” τῶν σούκων, as do all the major VL codices (QXWGRJM) even though figs are not specifically in the list of Lev 27:30. However, H5 mentions none of these stipulations.

<sup>27</sup> The use of בְּיוֹמוֹ is somewhat distinctive as it occurs only 15x in the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>28</sup> Di Lella, “Parallels,” 181.

<sup>29</sup> And further complications arise in the versions via translation. For instance, the term “proselytes,” referred to in G2 1:8 (also VL QXW, Vg), derived from the LXX rendering of γρ, “sojourner, alien,” became a *terminus technicus* for a convert to Judaism, a meaning not present in the MT. See Stuehnenberg, “Proselyte.”



Since the tithing requirements were not uniform and changed over time,<sup>30</sup> and since the tithe stipulations in the Tobit versions also vary,<sup>31</sup> H5 condensed the references to tithing into a rather general statement and omitted enumerating the precise tithes. Thus H5 made no effort to incorporate rabbinic halakic exegesis on tithing, which stands in some contrast to the British Library Tobit Codex H6.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, there is nothing in H5 about a third tithe, a tithe referred to in G1 and some VL MSS (QMW)<sup>33</sup> at 1:8 and also mentioned by Josephus as the tithe for the poor (*A.J.* 4.8.22 §240).<sup>34</sup> The medieval Bodleian Aramaic text, A5, at 1:7b refers to both a *second* tithe of Deut 14:24–26 and to the tithe for the poor. Thus A5 agrees with the tradition in Josephus and G1 that there was a third distinct tithe. By contrast, H5 at 1:7–8 refers to Tobi's faithfulness in bringing his tithes, בשנת השלישית שנת המעשר, “in the third year, the year of the tithe,” an exact quote of Deut 26:12, but with the omission of the more extensive list of tithes found in some of the other versions. H5 also does not refer to almsgiving at 12:8, instead redirecting the sentence to point specifically to Tobi's righteous burial of the dead. H5 thus redirects the emphasis on almsgiving found in other versions of the Tobit story.

H5 also omits the problematic statement in 4:17 about food and drink offerings (libations) for the dead, likely in accordance with Deut 26:14; Sir 30:18.<sup>35</sup> The other versions retain some form of the saying: A5 has both bread and wine; Syriac omits the wine. The commonness of this Gentile practice in the Greco-Roman world is well attested in the classical literature.<sup>36</sup> Although this omission may have been theologically motivated, H5 does not always adjust the story to

**30** For overview of Torah tithe stipulations vis-à-vis their interpretations and changes in later periods, see Milgrom, *Leviticus* 23–27, 2396–2400 and 2421–2433; Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 141–44. The latter notes (141) that in the Torah “only the tithes of Deuteronomy are explicitly said to be obligatory.”

**31** Moore, *Tobit*, 111–14.

**32** See Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, *Book*, 40–41.

**33** G2 refers to a third year but not a third tithe; Vg follows some VL MSS (JRX) in referring to a third year but not to a third tithe. Sangermanensis 15 (VL MS G) omits any reference to a third year.

**34** Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 110; Littman, *Tobit*, 94–95.

**35** Sir 30:18 ἀγαθὰ ἐκκεχυμένα ἐπὶ στόματι κεκλεισμένων θέματα βρωμάτων παρακείμενα ἐπὶ τάφῳ, “good things poured out upon a mouth that is closed are like food offerings placed upon a grave.” Where Greek has “upon a grave,” Genizah Hebrew MS B reads “before an idol” to make clear the writer's view about such offerings to the dead common in the Greco-Roman world.

**36** Key texts include Horace, *Odes* 1,28,34; Augustine, *Conf.* 6, 2 (2). See also Ep. Jer. 26 (= Bar 6:26) regarding the gentile gods: ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νεκροῖς τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῖς παρατίθεται, “but just as to the dead, gifts are placed before them.”

conform to the Bible. For instance, at 2:4–5 H5 does not have Tobit wash his hands after touching a corpse even though washing occurs at 2:5 in G1, G2, VL QXGJ, S1, and H4 (רחצתי ידי).<sup>37</sup> And at 2:9 H5 explicitly states of Tobit *טבל ולא טבל*, “and he did not dip his hands and did not rinse them in water after burying them.” The use of the distinctive lexeme *טבל* at 2:9 establishes this plus as a direct allusion to the purification ritual of Num 19:18. An Aramaic version A5 at 2:9 also calls attention to Tobit’s actions seemingly in tension with Num 19:18. These Tobit texts, H5 and A5, stand in contrast to H3, which has Tobit dip after burying the dead: *עשיתי טבילה*. Although in rabbinic literature a corpse is the most potent cause of ritual impurity (*m. Kelim* 1:4), ritual impurity was not sinful and burial of the dead was seen as an obligation that extended even to the high priest (*m. Naz.* 7:1).<sup>38</sup> The author-redactor of H5 seemingly held the view attested in Judaism that the corpse of a righteous person does not render a person ritually impure.<sup>39</sup> Thus Tobit *not* carrying out the purification of Num 19:18 does not mean that H5 presents Tobit as non-observant. To the contrary, it emphasizes his adherence to a medieval custom regarding burial of a righteous Jew, a perspective shared with A5 but in contrast to H3. Moreover, this custom that is the background for H5 2:9 can help us surmise that Tobit’s heroic efforts to bury the dead in a hostile diaspora was appealing to Jews in medieval Europe, who experienced seeing and dealing with the naked bodies of martyred Jews lying in the streets.<sup>40</sup>

In summary, H5 retains a direct quote of Deut 26:12 on tithes in 1:8 but it is quite general and H5 shows no interest in enumerating the precise tithes. As a result, the references to tithes in H5 are either curtailed (1:7–8) or omitted (4:16; 12:8); instead H5 emphasizes Tobit’s righteous actions in burying the dead. Offering libations for the dead, however, was a problem for H5 in the light of Deut 26:14 and so Tob 4:17 was omitted. The omission of Tobit washing

37 Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck (*Book*, 36–37) recognize that H4 (Constantinople 1519) is characterized by a “propensity to have the characters of the story adhere strictly to legal rulings whenever possible.”

38 Klawans, *Impurity*, 95–96.

39 Schur, “Care,” 124. Ta-Shma (“Righteous,” 51 [Heb.]) refers to Ramban’s (= Nachmanides’) commentary on *Bamidbar* 19b: *מִן־הַנִּפְטָרִים בְּנִשְׁקָה לֹא יִטְמָאוּ מִן־הַנִּפְטָרִים בְּנִשְׁקָה לֹא יִטְמָאוּ*, “The reason for an impurity conveyed by a corpse is [sin committed through] the instigation of the serpent, for those who die by the kiss [naturally or painlessly] do not convey impurity according to the law. And that [is why] they [the rabbis] say, ‘The righteous do not convey impurity [when dead].’”

40 For an overview of the attacks against Jews during the three crusades (1096; 1147–49; 1189–92), the large numbers of bodies in the streets, and the subsequent difficulty of respectful burial, see Schur, “Care,” 193–222.

after burying the dead (2:4–5), coupled with the reference to Tobī *not* carrying out the dipping purification ritual of Num 19:18 (H5 Tob 2:9), depicts Tobī as carrying out his halakic obligation to bury the righteous dead without becoming ritually impure. H5 is thus a northern French (Tsarfatic) witness to the view that the corpse of a righteous Jew does not convey ritual impurity.

## Pareneses of Encouragement Drawn Particularly from Proverbs in H5 Tobit chapter 4

Insertions of texts from Proverbs are common in H5, as already noted (at 3:15 with Prov 1:27, and at 4:9 with Prov 11:4), but the plusses are particularly prevalent in chapter 4, one of the parenetic sections of the story. Thus, for example, the plus at H5 4:3, שְׁמַע בְּנִי מוֹסֵר אָבִיךָ וְתוֹרַת אִמְךָ לֹא תִטֵּשׁ וְהִיא מוֹסֵרָם עֲנוּד עַל לִבְבְּךָ, “Listen, my son, to the instruction of your father, and the teaching of your mother do not forsake. And let their instruction be bound upon your heart,” combines two Proverb texts with minimal variation. From Prov 1:8 is שְׁמַע בְּנִי מוֹסֵר אָבִיךָ, with a slight inversion of syntax and use of the synonymous particle לֹא. Then, as the same phrase of Prov 1:8, וְאֵל־תִּטֵּשׁ תּוֹרַת אִמְךָ, recurs at Prov 6:20b, H5 4:3 also continued by drawing on the following verse, Prov 6:21a, קִשְׁרָם עַל־לִבְּךָ תִּמְיֵד, but omitting תִּמְיֵד, and employing the verb from Prov 6:21b.

Even when the other forms of Tobit also draw directly on Proverbs, as is the case at Tob 4:10 and 12:9 with Prov 10:2, H5 uses the precise syntax of Proverbs, וְצִדְקָה תְּצִיל מִמוֹת (as does VL X *elemosina eruet a morte*), rather than the inverted syntax of the Greek, most Latin witnesses, and the Syriac: G1 ἐλεημοσύνη ἐκ θανάτου ῥύεται // VL QWMJRG *elemosyna a morte liberat* // S1 גּוֹמְלֵי צִדְקָה מִלִּי וְצִדְקָה מִלִּי. At both 4:10 and 12:9 H5 omits the second part of the verse found in the other versions: viz., at 4:10 that almsgiving prevents entering into (the) darkness, and at 12:9 that it purges sin. H5 therefore has no correspondence to the plus at Vg 4:10, *ab omni peccato*.

In addition to Proverbs, H5 also draws on other parenetic texts. Thus 4:21 is taken from Josh 1:9: בִּי עִמָּךְ הָאֱלֹהִים בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר תֵּלֵךְ, “for God is with you wherever you go,” with the only difference being the omission of the Tetragram and the suffix on Elohī. Furthermore, the phrase in 4:21, וְאֵל יִבְהִלֶּךָ הַצָּרוֹת הַגְּדוֹלוֹת, “Do not let the great troubles alarm you,” is drawn partly from Dan 5:10 אֲלֵי־יִבְהִלֶּךָ, “do not let your thoughts alarm you,” with the subject changed. The

verb *bhl* is the same in Aramaic and Hebrew and its use here in this Hebrew text attests to the diglossia of the rabbinic and medieval eras.<sup>41</sup>

Later in the H5 narrative at 6:16, the angel issues a command not to fear, אל תחח תערץ ואל תחח, “do not be frightened or dismayed,” that has no corollary in G1, G2, VL QJR, and Vg. However, this command is similar to G3 μὴ φοβηθῆς, and VL MG *noli timere* (X *ne timeas*), which may be an indication of a connection to that strain of the Tobit textual tradition. However, the angel’s command in H5 clearly alludes to Josh 1:9 וְאַל-תִּתַּח וְאַל-תִּעֲרַץ. And the next clause, ואל ירד לבבך, draws inspiration from Deut 20:3 אַל-יִרְדּוּ לְבַבְכֶּם “do not lose heart.” These examples illustrate the *modus operandi* of H5 to make connections to and draw on Scripture as much as possible.

### Alignment to Lam 3:6 with Inversion of Syntax in H5 5:10

Tobit’s reply to the angel at G2 5:10, ἐν τῷ σκότει καίμαι ὥσπερ οἱ νεκροί, “in the dark I sit like the dead,” clearly alludes to Lam 3:6 בְּמַחְשָׁכִים הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי כַּמָּתִי עוֹלָם, “in dark places he causes me to sit like those long dead.” Although G1 lacks the allusion, the Latin versions all read the plural *tenebris* to more closely align with the Hebrew of Lam 3:6: VL QMR *sed in tenebris positus sum sicut mortuus*; VL X *et positus sum in tenebris tanquam mortuus*; VL G *sed in tenebris sum, sicut mortuus*; VL J *quia in tenebris sum positus sicut mortuus*. Less aligned with Lam 3:6 by omitting *sicut mortuus* is VL W, *sed iaceo in tenebris*, and Vg *in tenebris sedeo*. True to its *modus operandi*, H5 more closely echoes the Hebrew of Lam 3:6 than any of the other versions, as only H5 reads עוֹלָם: H5 יושב במחשכים ואנכי יושב במחשכים, “And I sit in dark places like those long dead.” The slight inversion of the syntax is also characteristic of H5.

### A Marriage Blessing from Bavli *Ketubbot* 8a at H5 Tob 8:5

H5 8:5 quotes the marriage blessing of b. *Ketubbot* 8a to introduce the prayer of Tobiah and Sarah on their wedding night: מלך (ל)הינו מלך: ברוך אתה יהוה א(ל)הינו מלך העולם, “And Tobiah

<sup>41</sup> Two examples (among many) of H5 as witness to diglossia: at 2:4 the lexeme סעודה, “meal,” is both Mishnaic Hebrew (Jastrow, *Dictionary*, 1009b) and Late Aramaic found in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, Targumic, and Late Jewish Literary Aramaic. Cf. CAL (Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project); Sokoloff, *Palestinian*, 385a. And at 8:7 the lexeme נסא from נסא “miracle” is Aramaic. Cf. CAL; Sokoloff, *Palestinian*, 352a; Sokoloff, *Babylonian*, 752a.

said, ‘Blessed are you Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, who has created gladness and joy, bridegroom and bride. Blessed are you Lord our God, Ruler of the universe.’” The expression in b. *Ketubbot* 8a is the only Bavli text that contains the entire blessing used here by H5: ברוך אתה יהוה א(ל)הינו מלך העולם אשר ברא ששון: <sup>42</sup> This text from the Bavli’s tractate on married life is prelude to extensive use of rabbinic and medieval Jewish liturgical sources in the next two verses.

## An Alphabetic Acrostic *Piyyut*: The Plus at H5 Tob 8:6

At Tob 8:6 H5 inserts an alphabetic acrostic, a liturgical poem or *piyyut*, as part of Tobiah and Sarah’s prayer on their wedding night. A lengthy plus in 8:6 after the *piyyut* includes a prayer connected to the *Amidah* and an evocation of the patriarchs from Mishnah *Taanit*. Moreover, in 8:7 H5 draws on well-known *piyyutim*, which is to say that vv 6–7 must ultimately be treated together. Here is the text of the acrostic *piyyut* in v 6 (which lacks the *lamed* line and includes some echoes of Psalm 145), followed by my translation:

א(ל)ה על כל: בורא הכל • גדול על כל • דורש הכל • הוא כל יכול • ומרום על כל • זמר יתנו לו כל •  
 חק ומצוה לכל • טוב לכל • ישר וצדיק לכל • כל יכול • מורה לכל • נותן לו שבח הכל • סומך הכל •  
 עונה לכל • פודה שבויי כל • צדיק וחסיד לכל • קרוב יהוה לכל • רחום יהוה ורחמיו על כל •  
 שירה יתנו לו כל • תומך שמו הכל •

God above all / Creator of all / Great above all / Searching all / He is all-powerful / And exalted above all / All give him music / Statute and commandment for all / He is good to all / Upright and just to all / All-powerful / Teacher to all / All give him praise / He supports all / He answers all / He ransoms all captives / Just and loving to all / The Lord is near to all / The Lord is compassionate and his compassion is upon all / All give him song / His name upholds all.

As Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck state, the manuscript of H5 contains 55 main documents in which an additional 29 texts were copied on the margin of other documents; the central text around which Tobit is inscribed in the margins consists of commentaries on *piyyutim*.<sup>43</sup> In general, the primary type of intertexture in the alphabetic acrostic is the shared literary form with Jewish liturgical

<sup>42</sup> Part of the blessing, ברוך אתה יהוה א(ל)הינו מלך העולם, recurs often in rabbinic and medieval Jewish literature, including four times in the Bavli (b. *Shabbat* 137b; b. *Megillah* 21b; b. *Menahot* 42a bis) and, for example, in *Midrash Tanhuma Shemini* 8.

<sup>43</sup> Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck (*Book*, 38) provide a scanned facsimile of a page.

poems (*piyyutim*), and also a shared structure with those *piyyutim* that contain three words in each line. There are in addition shared lexical features with other *piyyutim*. As *piyyutim* are linguistically and intertextually complicated, containing multiple biblical and rabbinic allusions, with more than one allusion sometimes in a short line,<sup>44</sup> it is not surprising to find multiple intertextual connections in this *piyyut*. In addition, we can attempt to place the *piyyutic* intertexts in H5 8:6–7 within the various types of *piyyutim*, and as there is a structure with specific parts within a particular type of *piyyut*, we can attempt to identify those as well.<sup>45</sup>

*Piyyutim* are known for structural devices with recurring words and repetitive patterns,<sup>46</sup> and such is the case with this poem in H5 8:6, which always ends with כל or a homophonically similar word (so יכול in the fifth and eleventh lines). The rhyming includes alteration of כל, על הכל, כל יכול, לכל and לו כל. This *piyyut* most resembles those in which each line has three words, as is the case with a poem from Westminster College, Cambridge, אתה הוא אדון כל בורא, “You, O Lord, Create Everything.”<sup>47</sup> Similar to H5, this poem often repeats כל, as the following segments demonstrate:

- Line 2: בורא נישמות כל, “Creator of the souls of all.”
- Line 9: טוב אתה לכל, “You are good to all.”
- Line 16: עונה שוועת כל, “He answers any who cry out”

Similarly, the acrostic poem כל תומך פועל כל, “Upholder, Creator of All,” in which the acrostic is backwards, also repeats כל (Oxford, Bodleian Library d. 41 [2714] 7–8). The last line of the acrostic at H5 (letter ת) תומך שמו הכל, “His name upholds all,” uses the same qal participle as the title (first line) of the Bodleian Library

<sup>44</sup> Hollender, *Commentary*, 200–21.

<sup>45</sup> For an overview of *piyyutim* and the principal *payyetanim*, see Ben-Eliyahu, Cohn, and Millar, *Handbook*, 129–37; Hollender, *Commentary*, 3–5; Heinemann, *Literature*, 212–13. Among the types of *piyyutim*: *Yotzer* (poem connected to morning *Qedushah* and the *Shema*), *Qerovah* (poetic embellishment of the *Amidah*), *Qedushta* (a *Qerovah*—embellishment of the *Amidah*—connected to *Qedushah* for Sabbath or festival morning), *Ma’aravot* (poems connected to evening *Shema*), and *Avodah* (epic poem connected to the Yom Kippur service).

<sup>46</sup> Münz-Manor, “Language,” 64–66.

<sup>47</sup> To search the *piyyutim*, I made use of the *Ma’agarim* online database, The Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project at The Academy of the Hebrew Language (Jerusalem), at the following URL: <http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/Pages/PMMain.aspx>. This poem by an unknown author is referred to in *Ma’agarim* as Cambridge, Westminster College, Liturgica, III, 36. For information on this database, see Ben-Eliyahu, Cohn, and Millar, *Handbook*, 131. I also made use of the Bar Ilan Responsa Database (BIR) CD-ROM, Bar Ilan University (Ramat Gan), Version 19.

poem. In addition, the ninth line (letter ט) of the acrostic at 8:6 is the same as line 9 of the Cambridge Westminster College *piyyut* without the pronoun.

There are several examples of *piyyutim* that employ the phrase אלוה כל, “God of all,” which is remarkably close to the first line in H5, א(ל)וה על כל, “God above all.” Such is the case in line 6 of poem נשמת כל חי (author unknown), which reads אלוה כל בריות.<sup>48</sup> And an acrostic poem על הבל יתגדל ויתקדש, dated to before 600, reads in line 7 אלוה כל הנפשות.<sup>49</sup> A poem entitled מצולם מפרק סונים by Moses ben Kalonymus (early 11<sup>th</sup> century), reads in line 92, בורא עומק ורום. אלוה' על כל אלהים.<sup>50</sup>

In summary, this *piyyut* at H5 8:6 was composed in imitation of short, alphabetic acrostic *piyyutim* with mostly three words per line and with the repetitive feature of the lexeme כל and its homophonic equivalent. Although it is unclear whether the anonymous author-redactor of H5 was himself a *payyetaṇ*, the similarities with other *piyyutim* indicate that he at least drew on pre-existing *piyyutim*, as was customary for *payyetaṇim*.<sup>51</sup> It is also clear that the liturgical context of Tobiah's prayer with Sarah on their wedding night was the primary impetus for inserting the liturgical poetry in the Tobit narrative. Regarding the *Sitz im Leben* outside the story, Elisabeth Hollender's work on medieval *piyyut* commentaries demonstrates that the *piyyut* was an important part of medieval Jewish Ashkenaz (German) and Tsarfat (northern France) liturgies.

After the alphabetic acrostic, the last line of Tobiah's prayer in H5 evokes the patriarchs,<sup>52</sup> אבותינו הקדושים, “our holy ancestors,” as the angel had commanded (H5 6:18), and it makes use of a phrase that is uttered typically after the recital of the *Amidah* (*Shemoneh 'Esreh*):<sup>53</sup> יהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך יהוה צורי וגואלי.

<sup>48</sup> St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Antonin B, 122. The *Ma'agarim* database dates this poem before the year 600. The same poem is repeated at Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, 33.

<sup>49</sup> Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, 133. The author is listed as unknown.

<sup>50</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library 1033.

<sup>51</sup> Hollender (*Commentary*, 3) writes that *piyyutim* “were used for many special occasions during the liturgical year and local *payyetaṇim* strove to emulate the classical models and to produce *piyyutim* for those occasions when no classical *piyyutim* were available.”

<sup>52</sup> Rist, “God,” 297. Rist argues here that Raguel's evocation of the patriarchs in the blessing at H5 7:12 protects the bride and groom from the evil power. H5 7:12, however, strongly parallels Vg, which reads: “May the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob be with you and may he join you together and fulfill his blessing in you.” Both H5 and Vg of 7:12 evoke the patriarchs, instead of referring to the Book of Moses as is done in other texts (G1, G2, VL QX).

<sup>53</sup> The *Amidah* (standing) is the central prayer of Judaism. Ben-Eliyahu, Cohn, and Millar, (*Handbook*, 128) describe the *Amidah*, noting that it “follows the *Shema* liturgy during morning and evening liturgy, and is also recited as the central element of all other services.”



“May the words of my mouth and the meditation of my heart be acceptable to you, Lord, my rock and my redeemer.” This text, quoting Ps 19:15, derives from the Babylonian Talmud Berakhot 17a.<sup>54</sup>

The liturgy of the fast day in Mishnah *Taanit* 2 also contains a parallel appeal to God to listen to the prayers as God did to the patriarchs.<sup>55</sup> Mishnah *Taanit* 2 reads: *מי שענה את אברהם בהר המריה הוא יענה אתכם וישמע בקול צעקתכם היום הזה*: “May He who answered Abraham on Mount Moriah answer you, and listen to the sound of your cry this day.” H5 Tob 8:6 reads: *ואתה השמים תשמע תפילתי*: “And may you, O Heavens, hear my prayer just as you heard the prayer of our holy ancestors, the prayer of Abraham in Ur of the Chaldeans, and the prayer of Isaac on Mount Moriah, and the prayer of Jacob in Bethel.” H5 clearly borrows an element of Mishnah *Taanit* 2 by echoing the first part of that text’s reference to Abraham and also Mount Moriah, but it is not a direct quote and H5 has expanded the Mishnaic text. As Mishnah *Taanit* concerns the liturgy of the fast day, the text likely came to mind because the text of H5 was placed among commentaries in the main body on *piyyutim* for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.<sup>56</sup> This plus in H5 connects the *piyyut* with the *Amidah*, which reflects medieval Ashkenaz and Tsarfat liturgical practice to use *piyyutim* to embellish the *Amidah* during the evening service at the beginning of Sabbath and festivals.<sup>57</sup>

In summary, H5 of Tob 8:6 is greatly influenced by several rabbinic texts: alphabetic acrostic *piyyutim*, the *Amidah* from b. *Berakhot* 17a, and Mishnah *Taanit* 2. Of these rabbinic texts, the *Amidah* is an exact quote, whereas the alphabetic acrostic was inspired by the literary form and structure of *piyyutim* with three words per stanza, and the reference to God hearing Abraham's prayer in Mishnah *Taanit* 2 was the starting point for a unique elaboration. The location of the acrostic *piyyut* next to the *Amidah* conclusion indicates that the former serves as an embellishment of the *Amidah*.

54 The Bavli was closed (or completed) probably in the sixth to seventh centuries, or possibly early in the eighth century CE; cf. Ben-Eliyahu, Cohn, and Millar, *Handbook*, 34.

55 Gaster, *Versions*, 9.

56 Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, *Book*, 37.

57 Hollender, *Commentary*, 3.



## Sarah's second prayer: the plus in H5 8:7

The second prayer of Sarah at H5 8:7 is unique among the versions of the Book of Tobit. It exemplifies the *modus operandi* of this rewriting of the Tobit story insofar as there are numerous biblical intertextures, but this verse is particularly flush with piyyutic material. There are extensive parallels with a *piyyut* attributed to Saadia Gaon entitled *Gam Hayom Yada'ti* ("Also Today I Know"). Sarah's prayer contains extensive parallels with *piyyutim* of the type called *Avodah* and *Qedushta*. The former are long poetic embellishments of prayers on Yom Kippur. *Qedushtaot* are multipart *piyyutim* for Sabbath and festival morning services; on Yom Kippur they embellished the *Amidah*. Thus, H5 8:6–7 are deeply connected: the alphabetic acrostic in 8:6 and the *piyyutim* in 8:7 are embellishments of the *Amidah* prayer in connection to the Yom Kippur liturgy. Below the prayer is laid out in a chart so that the biblical, rabbinic, piyyutic, and medieval intertextures can be more easily seen.

H5 8:7	Biblical, Rabbinic, & Medieval Parallels
ותתפלל שרה ותאמר יהיה יהוה א(ל) רחום וחנן ארך אפים ורב חסד ואמת נוצר חסד לאלפים לשמרי עדותיו ומצותיו • יהוה אחד לבדך ואין שיני עמך מי כמך ומי ידמה לך ומי ישווה לך אין זולתך ואין בלתיך ואין ערך אליך • אתה בראת הכל ואין לפניך שכחה לכן יאמינו הלבבות כי אתה אחד ונפלא בכל דרכיך ונעלם מעין כל ועין לא תשורר • ואתה היית עד לא היות העולם ואחרי אובדו תהיה ושנותיך לא יתמו • הן כל צבא השמים בדברך נעשו וידך לא הויה בם לבראותם אך קראת ויעמדו יחדו ובידך הכח והגבורה להחליפם ולאבידם ולהשיבם לקדמתם: ובידך החיים והטוב ובראת העולם הזה לבחון בו בני האדם בחקים ובמשפטים אשר צויתם: והעולם הבא בראת לחסידיך לאוהביך ולשומרי בריתך ומאתמול ערכת תפתח לזרים הבוגדים בך: ואתה הוא הא(ל)הים אשר בחרת בזרע ישורון(?) מכל העמים אשר על פני האדמה ותעש להם אותות ומופתים בכל הקמים עליהם: ועתה יהוה מלך מלא רחמים האזינה תפילתי ואל דמעתני אל תחרש כאשר שמעת אל תפילת אמינו שרה בהתפללה על אודות הר שפחתה ותפילת רבקה בהתרועץ הבנים בקרבה • וכתפילת רחל אם הבנים עקרת הבית בעת כעסתה אחותה ותפתח את רחמה ותלד בנים עומדים במצרותיך לשרתך: וכתפלת מרים הנביאה וכתפלת אשת אלקנה כעסתה צרתה גם כעס לבעבור הרעימה ותעמיד ממנה בן נביא עומד ומשרת לפניך) כן תעלה תפילתי לרצון לפניך ואהיה ראוי לאישי הלו	יהוה יהוה אל רחום וחנן ארך אפים ורב־חסד ואמת Exod 34:7 נוצר חסד לאלפים 2 Kgs 23:3 // 2 Chr 34:31 לשמר מצותיו ואת־עדותיו Qoh 4:8 & <i>Sefer Gematriot</i> (אין שיני <i>piyyu-</i> <i>tim</i> ) Exod 15:11; Pss 35:10; 89:9 מי כמך ( <i>piyyu-</i> <i>tim</i> ) Ps 89:7 (אין...דְמָה ליהוה) ( <i>piyyutim</i> ). Cf. Isa 40:25; וְאֶל־מִי תְדַמּוּנִי וְאֶשְׁוֶה, אין וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים זולתך 1 Chr 17:20 וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים זולתך 1 Sam 2:2 וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים זולתך ( <i>piyyutim</i> ) Ps 40:6 אֵין עֶרֶךְ אֱלֹהֶיךָ ( <i>piyyutim</i> ) <i>Lamentations Rabbati</i> & <i>Pesiqta DeRav Kahana</i> ואין שכחה לפניך. Job 7:8; 24:15 לא־תִשְׁוֶרְנִי עֵין ( <i>Saadia</i> <i>piyyut</i> , cf. Yose ben Yose <i>piyyut</i> ) Ps 102:28 וְשָׁנוּתֶיךָ לֹא יָתֵמוּ ( <i>Saadia</i> <i>piyyut</i> ) cf. <i>Saadia</i> <i>piyyut</i> ) <i>Sefer Gematriot</i> : בידך הכח והגבורה ( <i>piyyut</i> ) R. David Kimhi (Radak) com- mentary at Ps 93:2 (cf. <i>Saadia</i> <i>piyyut</i> ) אשר צויתם לְכַל־הַתּוֹרָה וְהַחֲקִים 2 Chr 33:8 וְהַמְשָׁפְטִים

ומברכותיך תשלח לנו: ויגער יהוה בשטן אשר לא יגע באדני ולא יעמד על ימינו לשטנו: על כן נודד יהוה א(ל) הינו על כל ניסיד ונפלאותיך כי רבות המה כי השמים ושמי השמים לא יכלכלוך אף כי בני האדם לחקור אחת מהם • ומי ימלל את גבורותיך וישמיע כל תהילותיך ואתה הוא המתנשא לכל לראש ומרומם על כל ברכה: And Sarah prayed and she said, "The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious, slow to anger and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness, keeping steadfast love for a thousand generations to those who keep his statutes and commandments. O Lord, you alone are one. There is no second with you. Who is like you, and who is similar to you, and who is equal to you; there is none but you, none besides you, and none compares with you. You created everything and there is no forgetfulness before you; therefore the hearts believe that you are one, wondrous in all your ways, concealed from every eye, and no eye can see you. And you existed when the world did not exist, and after it perishes you will exist, and your years have no end. Behold! All the host of heaven were made by your word, and your hand was not in their creation. You merely called out and they stood together, and in your hand are the power and the strength to replace them and to destroy them and to return them to their previous condition. And in your hand is life and good. You created this world to test in it the children of Adam by the statutes and ordinances that you commanded them. And the world to come you created for your pious ones who love you and keep your covenant. For the burning place has long been prepared for the abhorrent ones who act treacherously against you. And you are the God who chose the descendants of Jeshurun from all the peoples that are upon the face of the earth, and you accomplished signs and wonders for them against all those who rose up against them. And now O Lord, King, full of mercies, hear my prayer; and toward my weeping do not be silent. Just as you heard the prayer of our mother Sarah when

Isa 30:33 וייערוד מאתמול תפתח (& Yose ben Yose *piyyut*)

Deut 7:6 מכל העמים אשר עלי פני האדמה (& Saadiah *piyyut*)

Ps 17:1 האזינה תפילתי Cf. Ps 55:2 (+ Elohim); 86:6 (+ Lord).

והשם recurs in Ps 28:1; 35:22; 39:13; 83:2; 109:1.

Gen 25:22 ויתרצו הבנים בקרבה.

Gen 30:22 ויפתח את־רחמה.

1 Sam 1:6 וכעסתי צרתה גס־כעס בעבור הרעמה ויאמר יהוה אליהשטן יגער יהוה בך השטן

Zech 3:2 ויגער יהוה בך

והשטן עמד עלימינו לשטנו.1:1 Zech

// הנה השמים ושמי השמים לא יכלכלוך 1 Kgs 8:27

2 Chr 6:18 (cf. Saadiah *piyyut*)

Ps 106:2 מי ימלל גבורות יהוה ישמיע כל־תהלתו (& Saadiah *piyyut*)

1 Chr 29:11 ומהתנשא לכל לראש (& Saadiah *piyyut*)

Neh 9:5 ומרומם עלי־כל־ברכה (& Saadiah *piyyut*)

Saadiah Gaon's *piyyut*, *Gam Hayom Yada'ti*:

כי אתה יי אחד ואין עמך שני

לכן יאמינו הלבבות ~~והדעות הנפשות~~. כי אתה יי אחד ונפלא בכל מעשיך ונעלם מעיני כל ~~יד~~ ועין לא תשורד ושנותיך לא יחמו

קראת להם בקיראיה ועמדו יחדו

להחליפם ובידך כח וגבורה ~~לחדשם~~ ולהשיבם לקדמותן

בראת את העולם הזה

לבחון בו את־כל בני האדם במשפטים וחקים אשר צויתם

את העולם הבא

חסידיך ולהנקם בו־נקם ברי־מן הבוגדים בך

בחירתה את זרע ישורון מכל העמים אשר על פני

האדמה ותעש

האותות והמופתים

על אלה נודה לך יי אלהינו

ונפלאות

לא יכלכלום השמים והארץ ואף כי בני האדם

ולחקור קצותם ואף כי אדם אחד

ומי זה ימלל גבורותיך או ישמיע תהלותיך ואתה

המתנשא לכל לראש. והמרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה

she prayed on account of Hagar her servant, and the prayer of Rebecca when the children struggled together within her, and like the prayer of Rachel the mother of children who was the barren woman in the house at the time her sister made her angry; but you opened her womb, and she bore sons [who are] standing in your courts to serve you; and like the prayer of Miriam the prophetess and like the prayer of the wife of Elkanah, her rival used to anger her greatly, to cause her shame, but you appointed from her a son to be a prophet standing and serving before you; so may my prayer rise up acceptable before you and may I be worthy of this husband of mine, and may you send us some of your blessings. And may the Lord rebuke Satan that he should not touch my lord, and may he not stand at his right hand to accuse him. Therefore, we praise you, O Lord our God, for all your miracles and your wondrous deeds, for they are many. Indeed, the heavens and the heavens of the heavens cannot contain you, how much less can mortals search one of them. And who can recount your mighty deeds and declare all your praises. You are raised over all as head, and exalted above all blessing.

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The prayer opens with two texts taken directly from Exod 34:6 and 34:7. This opening coheres precisely with the literary structure of the Avodah, which begins with a declaration of praise for God. Michael Swartz and Joseph Yahalom describe the pattern of an Avodah as follows:<sup>58</sup>

The most prominent feature of the Avodah genre is its overall literary structure, particularly the progression from a mythical-historical preamble to the narration of the Yom Kippur sacrifice. The composition usually begins with a word of praise for God. These verses are usually expressed in the first person, a feature that is usually facilitated by the acrostic, which begins with the letter aleph, which also begins the verbs in the first-person imperfect or hortative.

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<sup>58</sup> Swartz and Yahalom, *Avodah*, 20–21.

The plus then contains a series of rhetorical questions that embody the monotheistic conviction that God is incomparable, by drawing on biblical and rabbinic texts in imitation of well-known *piyyutim*. In this regard, there are strong parallels with Avodot attributed to Yose ben Yose, starting here with parallels to his most famous Avodah, *Azkir Gevurot Elohah*, “Let me Recount the Wonders of God.” Avodot were lengthy, multipart (epic) embellishments for Yom Kippur liturgy. Some of the phrases in H5 8:7, ואין שני עמך, ואין זולתך ואין בלתיך, have strong connections with the first two stanzas of *Azkir Gevurot Elohah*.<sup>59</sup>

אזכיר גבורות  
אלוה נאדרי  
יחיד ואין עוד  
אפס ואין שני

אחריו אין בחלד  
לפניו אין בשחק  
אין בלתי קדם  
זולתו בעקב

Let me recount the wonders / of the magnificent God, / unique; there is no other. / Self-sufficient and there is no second. /

Beyond him there is none in the universe. / Before him there is none in heaven. / None precede him. / None supplant him.

Swartz and Yahalom note that Avodah *piyyutim* often contain a great deal of synonymous parallelism and antithetical parallelism: “In most cases the parallelism serves synonymously (unique/self-sufficient, conceived/ invented), but in the middle stanza, the parallelism is antithetical (beyond/prior, precede/supplant). The effect is to emphasize God’s absolute sovereignty and eternal presence, before and after creation.”<sup>60</sup> H5 Tob 8:7 displays parallelism that includes verbs שוה, ערך, דמה (like/similar/equal/no comparison), and prepositions זולת, בלתי (except/apart from); as well as antithetical parallelism with אחרי/עד (before/after). Moreover, the reference to תופת / Tophet (“Burning place”) in line 11 of H5, drawn initially from Isa 30:33, מִאֲתָמוֹל תִּפְתָּה, (“for his burning place has long been prepared”), is also alluded to in line 34 of Yose ben Yose’s *Azkir Gevurot Elohah*. H5 has inverted the syntax of the biblical text: ומאתמול ערכת תפתה.

<sup>59</sup> Swartz and Yahalom (*Avodah*, 221) describe this *piyyut* as Yose ben Yose’s masterpiece because it is “perhaps the most influential Avodah *piyyut* and was probably the best known of the ancient Avodah *piyyutim*.”

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

H5's connections with the Avodah do not extend deeply into the historical preamble of this type of *piyyut*. H5 does not include the selection of Aaron, praise of the priesthood, or the reworking of Mishnah *Yoma* regarding the high priest's actions on Yom Kippur, all of which became characteristic of the Avodah, as those elements would not readily fit the Tobit narrative.<sup>61</sup> If the initial impetus for connecting H5 to Yom Kippur *piyyutim* had to do with the Yom Kippur purgation ritual performed by the high priest to purge the inner sanctuary or adytum<sup>62</sup> vis-à-vis the purgation performed by Tobiah to chase away the demon Asmodeus, H5 never draws that connection explicitly. The phrase *על גחלי אש*, "on the burning coals" (or "on the coals of fire") at H5 8:2 certainly echoes the phrase used of the high priest's actions on Yom Kippur in the adytum at Lev 16:12, *על גחלי אש*, and the precise phrase in H5 with the preposition, *על גחלי אש*, occurs at line 157 of Yose ben Yose's Avodah *piyyut*, *Atah Konanta Olam be-Rov Hesed*, "You Established the World in Great Mercy." However, H5 does not press the connection any further lexically. H5 never mentions incense (קטרת), in contrast to H7 8:3, and the phrase at H5 8:3, *ויעל עשנו*, "and its smoke rose up," mimics Exod 19:18, not Leviticus 16.

The Yose ben Yose *piyyut*, *Atah Konanta Olam be-Rov Hesed*, is a fully formed Avodah and like *Azkir Gevurot*, it "helped set the structure and themes of subsequent Avodah *piyyutim*."<sup>63</sup> There are some connections between it and H5. The clause *ועין לא תשורך*, "and no eye can see you," in line 5 of H5 8:7 is synonymous to a phrase in the sixth stanza of *Atah Konanta*: *בלי תשורך עין*, "and no eye can see you." The *piyyutim* both echo Job 7:8 and 24:15: *לֹא־תִשְׁרֹךְ־נִי עֵין*, "no eye can see me." The *payyetanim* have inverted the syntax and changed the verbal suffix to the second person instead of the first person. It stands as a good example of inversion as a stylistic feature of biblical allusion in *piyyutim*. An exact parallel to this clause in H5, however, occurs in Saadiah Gaon's *piyyut* (discussed further below). H5 8:7 line 10 shares with Yose ben Yose's *Atah Konanta* line 21 the same qal participle *לאוהביך*. The larger phrase in H5, *לאוהביך ברייתך*, "those who love you and keep your covenant," in part echoes Ps 103:18 (*לְשֹׁמְרֵי בְרִיתוֹ*) "those who keep his covenant") as well as Exod 20:6 // Deut 5:10, but the qal participle is characteristic of post-biblical texts, including the *piyyutim*. These parallels with the *Atah Konanta* are particularly interesting as that *piyyut* was part of the medieval French and Provençal liturgies.<sup>64</sup> Another

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>62</sup> See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 1009–1084.

<sup>63</sup> Swartz and Yahalom, *Avodah*, 291.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

significant intertexture with a well-known Avodah occurs in the third sentence from the start of Sarah's prayer, where the phrase אתה בראת הכל, "You created everything," evokes the well-known poem *Atah Barata*, "You Created." אתה בראת also occurs in Saadia's *piyyut* outlined below.

There are several compelling connections with Yannai's *Qedushta* for the Shema.<sup>65</sup> This type of *piyyut* embellished the *Amidah* of Sabbath and festivals, including Yom Kippur. The following excerpts indicate how close the language of H5 8:7 is to a *Qedushta*. The fifth *piyyut* or stanza of the *Qedushta* at 7–8 reads:

דעו כי יש אחד ואין שני לו  
יחיד ומיוחד ובן ואח אין לו

You know that there is one, and there is no second to him, / the one and only, there is neither son nor brother to him.<sup>66</sup>

And in the seventh *piyyut* at 1 we read:

אין שני יש  
בבן יש שני ואין  
גם אין אל שני יש אל

There is no second; there is [one], / Yet there is a second [pair] and not just one [single].<sup>67</sup> / Also, there is no second god. There is [only] God.

The most extensive parallels occur in the *silluq* or eighth portion of Yannai's *Qedushta*:<sup>68</sup>

אחד אתה ואין אחר / יחד ואין זולתך / מיוחד ואין בלתיך / לבדך ואין עוד / אין כערכך / אין דומה לך /  
ואין בלעדיך / למעלה למטה / לפניך לאחור לצד לצדדים / בים בתהום וגם בחלד / אין עוד מלבדך אלהים  
ואפס כמוד / מי כמוד / מי ידמה לך / מי ישווה לך / מי יערוך לך

You are one and there is none other. / Singular **and there is no one beside you**. / Unique, **and there is none except you**. / **Alone** and there is no one else, / **nothing compares with you**.<sup>69</sup> / No one is similar to you. / Without you there is nothing / above and beneath,

<sup>65</sup> See van Bakkum and Katsumata, "Piyyut." In the *Ma'agarim* database, the *silluq* portion of this *Qedushta* is designated as: Oxford, Bodleian Library, f.36 (2738), 110–13.

<sup>66</sup> Heinemann (*Literature*, 221) notes that this *piyyut* draws on Deuteronomy Rabbah 2:33, which also refers to Qoh 4:8.

<sup>67</sup> For this difficult clause, I follow the translation of van Bakkum and Katsumata ("Piyyut," 95).

<sup>68</sup> I have adjusted my own translation here with the rendering by van Bakkum and Katsumata ("Piyyut," 95–96).

<sup>69</sup> Or "you have no equivalent." H5 reads a qal infinitive construct, ואין עריך אליך, derived from Ps 40:6, instead of the noun ערך, which evokes Job 41:4. The phrases are largely synonymous.

/ before, after, and aside,<sup>70</sup> / In sea, in the abyss, and in the world, / Nothing exists but you,<sup>71</sup> O God. / And there is nothing like you. / **Who is like you? / Who is similar to you? / Who can be likened to you? / Who compares to you?**

Particularly important for H5 8:7 is a *piyyut* called *Gam Hayom Yada'ti* ("Also Today I Know") attributed to Saadiah Gaon (882–942 CE),<sup>72</sup> which seems to be a *Qedushta* for the Shema given its emphasis on the oneness of God. That this *piyyut* was influential to the author-redactor of H5 is clear from following connections, put in bold:

יִי שְׁפָתַי תִּפְתָּח וְפִי יִגִּיד תְּהִלָּתְךָ. גַּם הַיּוֹם יִדְעֵנִי וְהַשִּׁיבוֹתִי אֶל לִבִּי. כִּי אַתָּה יִי אֶחָד וְאֵין עִמָּךְ שְׁנֵי בְּמַלְכוּתְךָ וּמִמְשַׁלְתְּךָ. וְאֵין אֶחָד לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּמַעֲשֶׁיךָ וּכְגִבּוּרֹתֶיךָ וְכָל אֶחָד שֶׁהוּא זֹולָתְךָ נֹצֵר הוּא וְחֹדֶשׁ. וְאֵין יִדְמָה לָךְ וְאַתָּה יִצְרָתוֹ אוֹ יַעְרֹךְ לָךְ וְאַתָּה בְּרָאתוֹ. לָכֵן יֵאֱמִינוּ הַלְּבָבוֹת וְתִדְעֶנָּה הַנִּפְשׁוֹת. כִּי אַתָּה יִי אֶחָד מִיּוֹחַד בְּכָל שְׁמוֹתֶיךָ. וְנִשְׁגָּב בְּכָל דְּרָכֶיךָ. וְנִפְלָא בְּכָל מַעֲשֶׂיךָ וְנַעֲלָם מֵעֵינֵי כָל חַי וְעַיִן לֹא תִשׁוּרֶךְ. אִמֵּת יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה הֵייתָ עַד לֹא עוֹלָם מֵאָז. וְאַתָּה הוּא בְּהִיּוֹת עוֹלָם וּבְהִתְיַצְבוֹ. וְאַתָּה אַחֲרֵי אֲבָדוֹ וְחִלְפוֹ. וְשִׁנּוּתֶיךָ לֹא יִתְמוּ. וְאַמּוֹנָה יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה בְּרָאת אֶת כָּל הַבְּרוּאִים. בְּמֵאֵמָר וְלֹא בִּיגִיעָה קִרְאת לָהֶם בְּקִרְיָאָה וְיַעֲמָדוּ יַחְדוֹ וְלֹךְ הִיכוֹלָתָ לְהַעֲבִירָם לְהַחֲלִיפָם וּבִידֶךָ כַּח וְגִבּוּרָה לְחַדְשֵׁן וּלְהַשִּׁיבֵן לְקִדְמוֹתָ וְאַמְנָם יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה בְּרָאת אֶת הָעוֹלָם הַזֶּה עוֹלָם עוֹבֵר. לְבַחֲךָ בּוֹ אֶת כָּל בְּנֵי הָאָדָם בְּמִשְׁפָּטִים וְחֻקִּים אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָם. וּבִדְרֶךְ הַחַיִּים וְהַטּוֹב. וְהַמּוֹת וְהָרַע אֲשֶׁר נִתְּנָה לַפְּנִיָּה. וְאַתָּה הָעוֹלָם הַבָּא עוֹלָם עוֹמֵד. לְשֵׁלֶם בּוֹ שֶׁכֶּר טוֹב לְכָל חַסִּידֶיךָ וְלַהֲנַקֵּם בּוֹ נֶקֶם בְּרִית מִן הַבּוֹגְדִים בְּךָ. וְאַמֵּת יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה בְּחִרְתָּהּ אֶת זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל מִכָּל הָעַמִּים אֲשֶׁר עַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה וְתַעֲשֶׂה לָנוּ מִיָּמֵי קֶדֶם הַמַּסּוֹת הַגְּדוֹלוֹת אֲשֶׁר רָאוּ עֵינֵינוּ. הָאוֹתוֹת וְהַמּוֹפְתִים וְהַיָּד הַחֲזָקָה וְהַזֹּרֵעַ וְהַנְּטִיָּה אֲשֶׁר לֹא נִבְרָא כִּהְנָה בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ וּבְכָל הַגּוֹיִם. וְאַמּוֹנָה יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה יִסְרַתְנוּ בַּעַת הַכַּעֲסִינוּ אוֹתְךָ בְּשָׁבִי וּבִגְלוֹתִי. וְלָמוֹת [לֹא] נִתְּנָנוּ. וְאַמְנָם יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה הוּא גּוֹאֲלָנוּ וְ(ה) [מ]וֹשִׁיעֵנוּ הַמְּשִׁיב שְׁבוּתָנוּ הַבּוֹנֵה בֵּית ...מִקְדָּשֵׁנוּ הַמְּטִיבֵנוּ כְּאִשֶּׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ בְּפִיךָ וּבִידֶךָ תִּמְלֹא. עַל אֱלֹהֵי נֹדָה לָךְ יִי אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְעַל עֲצוּמוֹת וְגִדּוּלוֹת וְנִפְלְאוֹת מֵאֵלָה כְּמַעֲשֶׂיךָ הָאִמִּים וּמִפְעֻלֶיךָ הַנּוֹרָאִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִכְלָלוּם הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְאֵף כִּי בְּנֵי הָאָדָם וְלֹא יִכְלוּ כָּל הַחַיִּים לְתוֹר וּלְחַקּוֹר קְצוֹתָם וְאֵף כִּי אָדָם אֶחָד. וְמִי זֶה יִמְלֹל גְּבוּרֹתֶיךָ אוֹ יִשְׁמַע תְּהִלּוֹתֶיךָ וְאַתָּה הַמִּתְנַשֵּׂא לְכָל לְרָשָׁא. וְהַמְרוֹמֵם עַל כָּל בְּרָכָה וְתִהְיֶה.

O Lord, open my lips and my mouth will declare your praise.<sup>73</sup>

Also today I know that you have returned me to my heart: **That you, O Lord, are one, and there is with you no second** in your kingdom and your dominion. And no one else can do your actions in accordance with your mighty deeds. And everyone except you is formed and new. And there is no one like you. And you either formed it or it was set in order by you, and you created it. **Therefore the hearts believe** and the souls know **that you, O Lord, are one**, unique in all your titles, and exalted in all your ways, and **wondrous in all your deeds and concealed from every living eye and no eye can see you**. Truly, O Lord our God, you existed when there was no world from of old. And on account of you the

<sup>70</sup> For לצד לצד I follow the gloss of van Bakkum and Katsumata ("Piyyut," 96).

<sup>71</sup> H5 reads לְבָדֶךָ.

<sup>72</sup> The *Ma'agarim* database refers to this Saadiah Gaon *piyyut* as Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1096.

<sup>73</sup> From Ps 51:17 אֲדַנִּי שְׁפָתַי תִּפְתָּח וְפִי יִגִּיד תְּהִלָּתְךָ.

world exists and stands firm. And you exist after they perish and cease, **and your years have no end.**<sup>74</sup>

Truly, O Lord our God, you created all of the creatures. And by speaking, and not with exertion, **you called out** to them with a shout **and they stood together.** And you have the ability to remove them and **to replace them.** **And in your hand are power and strength**<sup>75</sup> to renew them, **and to return them to their previous condition.**<sup>76</sup>

Truly, O Lord our God, **you created this world,** a passing world, **to test in it all the children of Adam by the ordinances and statutes**<sup>77</sup> **that you commanded them,** and on the path<sup>78</sup> is **life and good,** and death and evil that you placed before them—and **the world to come,** a lasting world, to reward in it a good recompense for all **your pious ones,** and to execute in it vengeance for the covenant<sup>79</sup> **from those who act treacherously against you.**

Truly, O Lord our God, **you chose the descendants**<sup>80</sup> **of Jeshurun from all the peoples that are upon the face of the earth.** You have done with us great trials<sup>81</sup> from the days of old that our eyes have seen, and the signs and the wonders, and the strong hand and outstretched arm,<sup>82</sup> the like of which have not been done in any land or in any nations.<sup>83</sup> Truly, O Lord our God, at the time we provoked you to anger, you chastised us by means of captivity and exile, but you did [not] put us to death.

Truly, O Lord our God, you are the one who redeems us, saves us, the restorer of our captives, the builder of the temple...our sanctuary, the one who treats us benevolently; whatever you said through your mouth, with your hand you accomplished. **For these things we praise you, O Lord our God,** and for mightier and greater and more wondrous deeds than these, in accordance with your terrible deeds and your fearsome works that **the heavens and the earth cannot contain—and how much less can the mortals.** For all the living are unable to reconnoiter and **to search out** their extremities, much less **one**<sup>84</sup> man. **And who** is this (who) **can recount your mighty deeds and declare your praises. You are raised over all as head,**<sup>85</sup> **and exalted above all blessing**<sup>86</sup> and praise.

74 From Ps 102:28. So also H5 8:7.

75 H5 8:7 has inverted this clause by putting the verb beforehand and also has included the definite article like *Sefer Gematriot*.

76 H5 uses the third person suffixes לקדמחם, “and to return them to their previous condition.”

77 H5 has inverted this phrase to “statutes and ordinances.”

78 H5 changed this phrase to “in your hand is life and good.”

79 This phrase echoes Lev 26:25 נקמה נקם-בְּרִית, “executing vengeance for the covenant” (NRSV).

80 H5 adds a preposition ב in place of את: בזרע. Cf. Deut 7:7; Isa 44:2.

81 An allusion to Deut 29:2 המסות הגדולות, “the great trials.”

82 Deut 7:19 והַיָּד הַחֲזָקָה וְהַזְרֹעַ הַנְּטוּיָה, “and the strong hand and the outstretched arm.”

83 Exod 34:10 וְכָל-הָאֲרָץ בְּכָל-הָאֲרָץ וּבְכָל-הַגּוֹיִם, “that have not been done in all the earth or in any nations.”

84 H5 has אחד מהם, “one of them,” retaining the Hebrew lexeme for “one” from Saadia’s אחד אחד.

85 1 Chr 29:11 וְהַמִּתְנַשֵּׂא לְכָל לְרֹאשׁ.

86 Neh 9:5 וּמְרוֹמָם עַל-כָּל-בְּרָכָה וְתִהְיֶה.



As the bold print indicates, there are altogether numerous points of agreement between H5 and Saadiah Gaon's *Gam Hayom Yada'ti*. Although some are phrases common to *piyyutim* (ואין שיני), some are distinctive, notably לבן יאמינו הלבבות (and using the poetic name Jeshurun for Israel (cf. Deut 32:15,26; Isa 44:2) in the phrase בחרתה את זרע ישורון מכל העמים אשר על פני האדמה. Indeed, some are exact parallels to Saadiah's *piyyut*, such as ועין לא תשורך. In that vein, the closest parallel for ואין שיני עמך is Saadiah's ואין עמך שני, the syntax of which H5 has inverted. Although ואין שיני also occurs in non-*piyyutic* medieval works such as *Sefer Gematriot*, attributed to Rabbi Judah ben Samuel, heHasid/the Pious (1140–1217), where it recurs three times,<sup>87</sup> the preposition עמך indicates that the primary intertexture was Saadiah's *piyyut*. As *Sefer Gematriot* attests, ואין שיני first derives from Qoh 4:8. H5 shares with Saadiah's *piyyut* and *Sefer Gematriot* a recontextualization of Qoh 4:8 in the service of polemical responses to Christian theological claims of Trinitarian doctrine within the medieval European context of forced conversions and martyrdom.

Notably, H5 does not follow Saadiah's bold reference to במלכותיך וממשלתך, which evokes the Christian prayer, the Our Father, and likely would not have gotten past the Christian censors in medieval France. Furthermore, the phrase in the eighth line of H5 8:7 ובידך הכח והגבורה, “and in your hand there are the power and the strength,” is similar to Saadiah's *piyyut* and one from the Cairo Genizah dated to the early 11<sup>th</sup> century attributed to Shemuel ben Hosha'na' (BMMS line 8): ובידך כח וגבורה, “and in your hand there is strength and might.”<sup>88</sup> The definite articles comprise the only difference. Although the precise phrase with the definite articles occurs in *Sefer Gematriot*,<sup>89</sup> it is difficult to be certain whether it is the primary intertexture or coincidence.

<sup>87</sup> The text of *Sefer Gematriot* reads: ואין שיני—להנחל אוהבי: אחד ואין אחד : זהן ישראל גוי אחד : ואין שיני—לא יהיה לישראל גיהנם שנברא ביום שיני יש עולמות וכתוב : אהבתי אתכם אמר ה' "ואין שיני—לא יהיה לישראל גיהנם שנברא ביום שיני" (Qoh 4:8); this means Israel, one nation (2 Sam 7:23), one and there is not a second—to cause to inherit those who love the one existing forever; and it is written (Mal 1:2), 'I have loved you, says the Lord' and there is no second—for Israel there will not be Gehenna, which was created on the second day." The citation for the three occurrences in *Sefer Gematriot* in BIR: ספר גימטריאות עניינים שונים סימן רפב. *Sefer Gematriot* is now available in a facsimile edition: Abrams and Ta-Shema, *Sefer*. In the Facsimile edition this citation occurs at 33 (p. 89). In all, the phrase is attested six times (in plene orthography) in post-biblical Jewish literature but three of the occurrences are not pertinent: y. *Yoma* 3 (40.4) refers to Pelusium linen; Rabbi Isaac ben Melchizedek's (1090–1160) commentary on m. *Hallah* 2 refers to not hewing bread; and a response from Rabbi Eliezer ben Joel HaLevi (1140–1217) concerns ritual immersion.

<sup>88</sup> Wallenstein, *Piyyutim*, 74, 78–81.

<sup>89</sup> The citation in BIR is ספר גימטריאות עניינים שונים סימן שג.

As liturgical compositions that embellish Sabbath and festival prayers, *piyyutim* are flush with biblical allusions and also draw on rabbinic and medieval sources. Thus, as part of the mimesis of well-known *piyyutim* and their structure, one expects to find biblical, rabbinic and medieval intertextures. In addition to the phrase ואין שיני (Qoh 4:8), the question מי כמוך “who is like you?” occurs in Exod 15:11 and Pss 35:10; 89:9. The clause ומי ידמה לך echoes Ps 89:7 ומהוה ליהוה, “Who...is like the Lord?” This clause and the next, ומי ישווה לך, “and who is equal to you,” echo Isa 40:25, אֵל־מִי תִדְמִינִי וְאֶשְׁוֶה, “To whom will you compare me and (to whom) am I equal?” as the same two verbs occur in the identical sequence. Since the verb ידמה most closely resembles Ps 89:7, H5 here employs a mixture of the two texts, with the verb from Isa 40:25 changed to conform to third person of Ps 89:7. The closest parallel in this case is the *silluq* portion of Yannai’s *Qedushta*, where one finds in the identical sequence / מי כמוך / מי ידמה לך / מי ישווה לך. One can see from these examples that *payyetananim* both borrowed from other *piyyutim* and had the creative freedom to vary the allusions. In the case of H5, the closest intertextures are Saadiah Gaon’s *piyyut Gam Hayom Yada’ti* and the *silluq* portion of Yannai’s *Qedushta* for the Shema.

When H5 borrows directly from the Psalter, there is often a parallel in a precursor *piyyut*. Thus H5 draws on Ps 102:28 וְשָׁנוּתֶיךָ לֹא יִתְמוּ “and your years have no end,” which is also in Saadiah’s *piyyut*. And near the end of the plus there is an unmistakable borrowing from Ps 106:2. H5 follows Saadiah Gaon’s slight change of Ps 106:2 by omitting “Lord” and changing to direct address using second person (“Your mighty deeds...your praises”). H5 omits זה since it disrupts the Psalm allusion, and includes “all” from the Psalm, neither of which is in Saadiah’s poem. Also not occurring in Saadiah’s *piyyut* but present in H5 are Ps 17:1 הָאֵינִי הַתְּפִלָּה (cf. Ps 55:2 [+ Elohim]; 86:6 [+ Lord]), while the phrase אֶל־תִּתְחַרֵּשׁ recurs in Ps 28:1; 35:22; 39:13; 83:2; 109:1.

When H5 draws on 1 Kgs 8:27 // 2 Chr 6:18, the initial impetus was clearly Saadiah’s *piyyut*: לֹא יִכְלֹלוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ וְאֵף כִּי בְּנֵי הָאָדָם. Saadiah, however, inverts the syntax of 1 Kgs 8:27 and adds וְהָאָרֶץ to allude also to Gen 2:1,4. H5 changes this to “the heavens cannot contain you,” to draw directly on 1 Kgs 8:27 // 2 Chr 6:18. In fact, there are several further instances of H5’s independence from Saadiah and other *piyyutim* in Sarah’s prayer. One instance occurs in the echo of 2 Chr 33:8 that contains an omission and inversion: אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתִים // לְכָל־הַתּוֹרָה וְהַחֻקִּים וְהַמִּשְׁפָּטִים. Most important, however, is the extended invocation of the lives of the matriarchs Sarah, Hagar, Rebecca, Rachel, the prophet Miriam and the wife of Elkanah (i.e., Hannah). H5’s independence is shown by echoing Genesis: the phrase בהתרוצץ הבנים echoes Gen 25:22 וַיִּתְרַצְצוּ הַבָּנִים בְּקֶרֶבָה (“and the children struggled together within her”), and the expression וַיַּפְתָּ אֶת־רַחֲמֶה echoes Gen 30:22 וַיַּפֶּתְךָ אֶת־רַחֲמֶיךָ.

(“and he opened her womb”). The allusions are unmistakable, but in this case, H5 does not draw on these texts word-for-word.

Further biblical borrowings exist. H5 draws on two texts from Zechariah to link the harassing demon Asmodeus (אשמדאי) to Satan: Zech 3:2 ויאמר יהוה אֶל־הַשָּׁטָן יִגְעַר יְהוָה בְּדָ הַשָּׁטָן וַיִּגְעַר יְהוָה בְּדָ וְהַשָּׁטָן עָמַד עַל־יְמִינוֹ לְשָׁטְנוֹ Zech 3:1, and Zech 3:1. <sup>90</sup> The lengthy plus concludes with borrowings from 1 Chr 29:11 לְכָל לְרֹאשׁ וְהַמְתַּנְשֵׂא לְכָל לְרֹאשׁ וּמְרוֹמָם עַל כָּל בְּרָכָה וְהַמְתַּנְשֵׂא לְכָל לְרֹאשׁ וּמְרוֹמָם עַל כָּל בְּרָכָה, which were clearly inspired by Saadiah Gaon’s *piyyut*. Saadiah has included the final word from Neh 9:5, whereas H5 omits it.

Several additional rabbinic and medieval Jewish sources of intertexture are evident in this plus that are part of the complexity of piyyutic intertextures noted above. The phrase ואין לפניך שכחה is drawn from *Midrash Lamentations Rabbati* ואין שכחה לפניך. <sup>91</sup> The similar phrase שאין שכחה לפניך occurs in *Pesiqta DeRav Kahana*, <sup>92</sup> which H5 has inverted by transposing the noun and the preposition. Both שאין שכחה לפניך and אין שכחה לפניך recur often in rabbinic and medieval Jewish literature (almost 50x in BIR database) with the noun always in the second place. As with the usage of *Mishnah Taanit* 2 in the previous verse, so here the use of *Lamentations Rabbati* coheres with the placement of H5 among commentaries related to Yom Kippur and more generally with the tendency of *piyyutim* to draw on midrashim. And בראת העולם occurs in the Psalm commentary of French Rabbi David Kimhi (1160–1235), known by the acronym Radak. <sup>93</sup> Rabbi Kimhi wrote a manual for biblical scribes and is well known for his biblical commen-

<sup>90</sup> Earlier at 6:16,18 and 8:3, and later at 12:3, H5 refers to the demon as הרשף, which is a demonic name related to flame and plague, found in b. *Berakhot* 5a.

<sup>91</sup> *Lamentations Rabbati*, also known as *Ekha Rabbah* and *Ekha Rabbati*, is an exegetical midrash that dates to the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. For an overview of this text, see Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 86–88. The BIR entry is “ה’ א זכור ה’ פרשה ד”ה (וילנא) *Ekha Rabbah* (Vilna/Vilnius edition) 5.1.” The Buber edition includes a preceding pronoun: אתה אין שכחה לפניך.

<sup>92</sup> *Pesiqta DeRav Kahana*, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century CE, is an Aggadic Midrash on portions of the Torah and Haftarah readings for festivals and special Sabbaths. For an overview of this text, see Ben-Eliyahu et al., *Handbook*, 85–86. The BIR entry is “זכור ד”ה ג—כנהא פסקא ג—זכור ד”ה *Pesiqta DeRav Kahana* 3. The phrase שאין שכחה לפניך also occurs in the medieval anthology *Midrash Tanhuma* (Buber recension) Parsha Ki Teitzei, paragraph 11. The BIR entry is: תנחומא: מדרש כי תצא סימן יא ד”ה זכור את פרשת כי תצא סימן יא ד”ה זכור את.

<sup>93</sup> The citation in BIR is רד”ק תהלים פרק צג פסוק ב ד”ה (ב) נכון *Radak Tehillim* 93:2.

taries and his skill at countering Christian attacks on Judaism.<sup>94</sup> To be sure, the synonymous phrase appears in Saadiah Gaon's poem, *אתה בראת את העולם הזה*.

In summary, H5 8:7 has borrowed from precursor *piyyutim* of the Avodah and *Qedushta* types, as well as Saadiah Gaon's *piyyut*, *Gam Hayom Yada'ti*, likely also a *Qedushta* embellishment of the Shema. The above examples of multiple intertextures in H5 8:7 are characteristic of the complexity of *piyyutim*, which draw on the Tanak, midrash and other rabbinic texts, and also share connections with contemporaneous medieval works. When there is overlap between *piyyutim* and medieval texts, as is the case here with *Sefer Gematriot* and Rabbi Kimhi's Psalm commentary, it is difficult to determine with certainty whether the shared connections between H5 and these medieval works stem from independently drawing on similar *piyyutim* or are deliberate mimesis with the medieval work.

## Gabael's blessing at H5 9:6

Just before Gabael blesses Tobiah in 9:6 in Raguel's home, some versions have him greet Tobiah and weep (G2, VL QMJG), while some specify that the greeting consists in a kiss (VL QMR, Vg). H5 instead borrows language indebted to Gen 33:4 *וַיִּפֹּל עַל-צְוִאוֹ וַיִּשָּׁקֵהוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ*, “and he fell upon his neck and he kissed him and they wept” // H5 *וַיִּפֹּל עַל צוֹאָרוֹ וַיִּשָּׁקֵהוּ וַיִּבְכּוּ*, “and he fell upon his neck and kissed him and he wept.” Moreover, H5 begins Gabael's blessing by drawing directly on the Priestly blessing of Num 6:24 *יְבָרְכֶךָ יְיָהוָה וַיִּשְׁמְרֶךָ* (“may the Lord bless you and keep you”). Thus H5 shows agreement with some VL MSS and G2 in having Gabael weep.

Most versions at 9:6 have Gabael refer to Tobiah's father as a good man who gives alms (G2, G3, VL QXMRG, Vg), but three things about H5 stand out in relation to the other versions. (1) H5 uniquely shares with Vg the reference to Tobi as God-fearing, *timentis deum* // *יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים*; (2) H5 omits mentioning that Tobi gives alms, as found in G2, G3, VL QXMRG (VL J *misericordis*), Vg; (3) and instead draws directly on Job 1:1 to describe Tobi as *וַיֵּשֶׁר וַיִּירָא אֱלֹהִים וְסָר מִכָּרַע*, “upright and God-fearing and turning away from evil.” This subtle agreement with Vg, independence from Vg, and overt biblical quotation are hallmarks of the *modus operandi* of H5, as is the further echo of Job.

<sup>94</sup> According to Wigoder (*Encyclopedia*, 458), the polemical passages of his commentaries were omitted by order of the censor and were eventually published separately under the title *Teshuvot la-Notserim*, “Answers to the Christians.”

And rather than bless his wife and parents, H5 draws on Ruth 4:18 stating, יהי ביתך כבית פרץ אשר הוליד את חצרן, “May your house be like the house of Perez who begot Hezron.” This is one of three times in which H5 invokes the house of Perez, and it is the most extensive reference.<sup>95</sup> H5 concludes the blessing with a quote from Neh 8:6 ויענו כל־העם אמן, “and all the people answered, ‘Amen,’”<sup>96</sup> and then uniquely concludes the verse with a common biblical idiom, ויאכלו וישתו, “and they ate and they drank” (e.g., Gen 24:54; 26:30; Exod 24:11; Judg 9:27; 19:4,21; 2 Kgs 6:22,23; 7:8; 1 Chr 19:22), as well as the idiom וישמחו, “and they rejoiced.”<sup>97</sup>

## The Blessings from Maimonides’ *Mishneh Torah* in H5 13:3, 18:

Two Tobit verses in H5, 13:3 and 13:18, are linked by the blessing, ברוך אלהינו, “Blessed be our God whose gifts we have eaten and by whose goodness we live,” which derives from Maimonides’ (Rambam’s) *Mishneh Torah*, *Ahavah*, *Berakhot* 5.4. Tobi first says this blessing to Tobiah in 13:3 and then the people repeat it in 13:18. Since H5 omits vv 4–17, by jumping to v 18 H5 has the repetition of the *Birkat HaZimun* as Maimonides instructs. Moreover, this twofold blessing ostensibly ends H5, as 14:1 is omitted and 14:2–3 conclude the book in cursory, abrupt fashion. Precisely why H5 ends the narrative here is unclear, but one reason may have been that some of the material omitted in vv 4–17 about future hope concern gathering Jews from among the Gentiles (v 5), and there is material in chapter 14 regarding gentiles that is also omitted. One wonders if these references might have been difficult to get past the Christian censors.

<sup>95</sup> H5 also evokes the house of Perez at 7:11 with בבית פרץ, and at 13:18 יהי ביתך כבית פרץ.

<sup>96</sup> Although here at 9:6 there is a parallel with Vg *omnes dixissent amen*, this same phrase from Neh 8:6 recurs without parallel at H5 13:3. At H5 13:2, the phrase ואמר כל־העם אמן derives from Deut 27:16–26 (11 times) and Ps 106:48. H5 13:18 uses the truncated ויענו אמן. These amen pluses add a liturgical emphasis unique to the H5 story.

<sup>97</sup> Although this verb at H5 9:6 has no parallel in the other versions, H5 added it here as part of an emphasis on gladness and celebration of the wedding (9:2 לבא בשמחה לשמוח עמנו “to come in joy to rejoice with us”) that borrows distinctive language from Cant 3:11 in the previous verse at 9:5: ביום חתנתו וביום שמחת לבו, “on the day of his wedding and on the day of the joy of his heart.” Sometimes the language of joy is indebted to the Vg, as is the case at 7:1 where Vg reads *cum gaudio*; but even there H5 recasts it according to 1 Kgs 5:21 וישמח מאד.

## Assessment of the Intertextual Technique of H5

The H5 form of the Book of Tobit is in many ways *sui generis* insofar as it uniquely draws on biblical texts, often verbatim, beyond what appears in the other versions of the Tobit story. In the examples provided here we have seen that H5 is indebted to multiple precursor forms of the Tobit story, including at varying instances G1, G2, specific VL MSS, and the Vg. However, its core *modus operandi* is to biblicalize, that is, to draw directly on the Hebrew Bible from texts that are suggested by the characters and plot of the Tobit story. Sometimes the biblical texts are drawn on verbatim, while other times words are transposed and the person is changed to fit the new context. The biblical texts highlighted in this study (listed in Hebrew canonical order) are Genesis, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Zechariah, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ruth, and Nehemiah. Although the patriarchs of Genesis, Job's righteous suffering, the parental wisdom instruction of Proverbs, and the preservation of piety in exile within texts such as Isaiah are among the varieties of intertexture in the earlier forms of Tobit,<sup>98</sup> H5 builds on these textual affinities to an even greater degree. This concluding section summarizes the preceding discussion and sometimes supplies further textual examples.

First, more than any other version of the Book of Tobit, H5 extends the parallels between Tobi and Job. It strengthens allusion to Job in 1:20 with a mixture of Job 24:7 and 24:10. H5 especially echoes Elihu's speeches: the plus at 2:8 borrows from Job 33:6, while the expansion at 2:10 borrows from Job 33:9 (among other texts). Sarah's second prayer in the plus at 8:7 draws on Job 7:8 and 24:15 as part of a shared intertexture with well-known *piyyutim* that also evoke these texts from Job. At 9:6 H5 omits any statement that Tobi gives alms and instead draws directly on Job 1:1 to describe Tobi, which creates a subtle agreement with Vg—the only other version to refer to Tobi as God-fearing in this verse. The last major plus of H5 at 13:2 contains an unmistakable allusion to Job 5:18 יִמְחֹךְ יְיָ, “he strikes but his hands heal” // מוֹחֵךְ יוֹדֵי תִרְפִּינָה.<sup>99</sup> Whereas in 13:2 the other versions refer to the inability (G1, G2, G3, VL QXMJRG, Vg) to flee from God's hand, H5 alludes to Job 5:18, which shares a reference to hands, and changes the imperfect to a participle, מוֹחֵךְ, to create symmetry with מוֹרִיד in the quote of 1 Sam 2:6 just prior to the Job allusion: מוֹרִיד שְׂאוֹל וְיַעַל.

<sup>98</sup> An emphasis on the broad varieties of influences on the Tobit story in addition to Deuteronomy appears, for instance, in Hofmann, “Rezeption”; Weeks, “Heritage.”

<sup>99</sup> The translation is the same (on the participle in later Hebrew, see Segal, *Grammar*, §306). Other versions also allude to 1 Sam 2:6 (G1, G2, G3, VL QR, Vg).

Second, the harassing demon Asmodeus (אַשְׁמֹדַי) was the impetus in the narrative for H5 to introduce Satan by inserting biblical allusions to Satan from Zechariah and Job into Sarah's second prayer at 8:7, where one finds the inverted sequence Zech 3:2; Job 5:19; Zech 3:1.

Third, H5 enjoys drawing on the Book of Proverbs beyond what appears in the other versions, particularly, though not exclusively, in the parenetic sections of the story: 3:15 (Prov 1:27); 4:3 (Prov 1:8 and 6:21a); 4:9 (Prov 11:4); and twice, 4:10 and 12:9, H5 uses the precise syntax of Prov 10:2 in contrast to the other versions (except VL X). The allusion to Prov 1:8 at 4:3 is an instance of inverted quotation.

Fourth, H5 builds on the Deuteronomic background of Tobit,<sup>100</sup> drawing on Deut 26:12 at 1:8, adding allusions to Deuteronomy such as the divine title "Lord of lords" (Deut 10:17) in 2:8 and 8:6, making more explicit the references to Deuteronomy in 4:7 (Deut 14:29 and 15:8), 4:9 (Deut 28:12), 4:14 (Deut 24:15), and 8:7 (Deut 7:6). H5 invokes distinctively Deuteronomistic theology in the plusses at 2:10 and 14:2 (to cling to God/Lord: Deut 10:20; 11:22; 13:5; 30:20; Josh 23:8; 2 Kgs 18:6). The former passage compares Tobit to Job, while the latter verse is a summary of his life's good work. In the final large plus of H5 at 13:2, the phrase *וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצֵּיל* and *וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצֵּיל* is taken directly from Deut 27:16–26 where it recurs 11 times (also Ps 106:48). Earlier in the same plus we find Deut 32:39 *וְאִין מִיָּדִי מִצֵּיל*, "and there is no one to deliver from my hand," with the change of the first person to third person *מִיָּדִי*.

Fifth, the influence of Genesis includes the curious reference to the river Pishon at 1:2 derived from Gen 2:11;<sup>101</sup> the subtle additions such as the plus *וְהָרָה*, "and she conceived" at 1:9 (G2 *καὶ ἐγέννησα* // VL Q *genui*; VL WMJRG *generavi*; Vg *genuitque*), inspired by and echoing the common phrase *וְהָרָה וְתִלְד* (e.g., Gen 4:1,17; 29:32,33,34,35; 30:5; also found outside of Genesis in Exod 2:2; 1 Sam 1:20, etc.); and the use of a *qal* participle at 3:11 inspired by Gen 35:3. More substantially at Tob 3:12, H5 draws on two clauses from Gen 3:19. The plus at 8:7 echoes two texts of Genesis, 25:22 and 30:22, but with slight variation from the text rather than word-for-word borrowing. In the same plus Sarah evokes Hagar, Rebecca, and Rachel. At 9:6 H5 draws on language that is very close to Gen 33:4. The statement in 10:1 borrows language from Gen 6:6 *וַיִּתְעַצֵּב אֱלֹהִים*, "and his heart was grieved," while 11:3 imitates the unique formulation found in Gen 33:14 *וְאִנִּי אֶתְּנֶה לָהּ*, "and I will continue on gently."

<sup>100</sup> Nowell, "Book," 259–71.

<sup>101</sup> The Greek versions at Tob 1:2 refer to Ἀσὴρ (G1) // Ἀσσήρ (G2), whereas the Latin versions refer to *Naason* (so VL QXG and Vg; VL W *Naasor*; VL J *Nasor*; VL R *Ramessom*).



Sixth, there are multiple quotations and echoes of the Psalter. In addition to the divine title “Lord of lords” (Ps 136:3 // Deut 10:17) in 2:8 and 8:6, one finds an echo of Ps 119:75 in the plus at 2:10, and a direct quotation of Ps 123:1 at 3:12. At 5:2 H5 draws on Ps 32:8, *אֲשַׁכִּילְךָ וְאֹרְךָ בְּדַרְךְ־זוֹ תֵלֵךְ*, “I will instruct you and teach you the way you should walk,” and although it differs from the intertext in the change of person, *הוֹרִינִי וְהַדְרִיכֵנִי בְּדַרְךְ זוֹ אֵלֶךְ*, “teach me and lead me in the way I should walk,” the use of the verbs *yrh* and *hlk* and the precise phrase *בְּדַרְךְ זוֹ* confirm that the intertext must be Ps 32:8. Moreover, the inspiration for the added verb, *הַדְרִיכֵנִי*, is its recurrence in Pss 25:5 and 119:35. At 7:11 H5 contains the plus *וַיִּשְׁמַר לִפְיוֹ מִחֹסֶם*, “and he kept his mouth muzzled,” which evokes Ps 39:2 *אֲשַׁמְרָה לִפִּי מִחֹסֶם*, “I will keep my mouth muzzled”; although this reading was probably influenced by Vg’s *et cum nutaret nec daret petenti ullum responsum*, “when he hesitated and did not give any response to the one asking,” H5 has recast it through a comparable text in the distinctive language of the Psalter. At 10:6 H5 reads *בְּחַסְדֵי אֱלֹהִים בִּטְחֵתִי*, “In the mercies of my God I trust,” which is an inversion of Ps 52:10 *בְּחַסְדֵי־אֱלֹהִים*, “I trust in the steadfast love of God.” And the final large plus of H5 at 13:2 cites directly several Psalms:

- Ps 106:1 *כִּי טוֹב כִּי לַיהוָה הוֹדוּ* recurs in multiple Psalms (107:1; 118:1,29; 136:1; also 1 Chr 16:34).
- Ps 106:2 *יִמְלֹךְ גְּבוּרֹת יְהוָה יִשְׁמִיעַ כְּלִיתֵהֶלֶתוֹ*.
- Ps 104:1 *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי גְדֻלַּת מְאֹד הוֹדוּ וְהִדְרֵה לְבַשֶּׁתָּ*.
- Ps 41:14 *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִהֶעוֹלָם וְעַד הֶעוֹלָם*.

Also at the plus in 13:2 H5 draws on Ps 65:2 *לְךָ דְּמִיָּה תְהִלָּה*, “to you silence is praise,” but changes the second person direct address to the third person *לוֹ*. Given the extensive use of the Psalter in H5, it is hardly surprising that one finds an allusion to the Psalm commentary by French Rabbi David Kimhi (1160–1235) at 8:7, drawn from his comments on Ps 93:2: *בראת העולם*.

Seventh, H5 draws on the Book of Nehemiah, since the idiom about the shoulder in 1:4 is loosely reminiscent of Neh 9:29, the plus at 2:8 echoes a phrase from Neh 2:2, and at 3:13 H5 takes up a phrase from Neh 1:6. Sarah’s second prayer at 8:7 concludes with a direct borrowing of Neh 9:5. And at 9:6 H5 concludes Gabael’s blessing by drawing directly on Neh 8:6 *וַיֵּצְנוּ כָּל־הָעָם אָמֵן*. Although this allusion to Neh 8:6 in Tob 9:6 finds a parallel with Vg (*cumque omnes dixissent amen*), the same amen passage from Neh 8:6 recurs at 13:3 (and in truncated



form at 13:18). These amen passages contribute to a liturgical emphasis beyond what is present in the other forms of the Tobit story.<sup>102</sup>

Eighth, H5 several times draws on the Book of Ruth. At 9:2 H5 uniquely has Tobiah say to the angel: והטבת חסדך האחרון מן הראשון, “and may the last instance of your kindness be better than the first!” which is taken from Ruth 3:10. And three times H5 refers to the house of Perez, which derives from Ruth 4:18. The most extensive reference to this text occurs at Gabael’s blessing at 9:6. There is also a brief allusion at 7:11, and it is part of the blessing of Tobi, his wife, and Tobiah and his bride at 13:18. Moreover, Hannah alludes to Ruth 4:15 וְהָיָה לְךָ לְמַשִּׁיב נַפְשִׁי וּלְכֹלֶל אֶת־שִׁבְתְּךָ, “and he shall be for you a restorer of life and to support your old age,” in her blessing at H5 5:18 הִיא לָנוּ לְמַשִּׁיב נַפְשֵׁינוּ וּלְכֹלֶל אֶת־שִׁבְתֵּינוּ, “and he shall be for us a restorer of our life and to support our old age,” where the second person singular has been changed to the first person plural. This unique material from Ruth is part of a notable increase in the roles of women within the narrative of H5, as H5 uniquely has a second prayer for Sarah at 8:7 and Hannah gives two blessings (5:18 and 11:14).

Ninth, the scribe of H5 demonstrates a fondness for the portions of Isaiah that bolster the trials the characters in the story undergo. In terms of literary proclivities, noted here are some instances in H5 of inverted quotation related to Isaiah: Tob 1:20 contains an inversion of Isa 20:3,4; and Tob 4:7 has an inversion of Isa 58:7a and 58:7b. At 5:10 the angel’s greeting to Tobit wishing him joy (G2 χαίρειν σοι πολλὰ γένοιτο // VL QG *gaudium tibi semper sit* [Q + *frater*]; VL XM and Vg *gaudium tibi sit semper*; VL R *gaudium sit tibi semper*)<sup>103</sup> is recast as שְׂשׂוֹן וְשִׂמְחָה יִשְׂגוּךָ, “May you obtain gladness and joy,” in the language of Isa 35:10 שְׂשׂוֹן וְשִׂמְחָה יִשְׂגוּ, “they will obtain gladness and joy.” And as noted above in the analysis of Sarah’s prayer at 8:7, there H5 draws on Isa 40:25 and 30:33 with the words of latter text transposed or inverted.

Finally, H5 draws on a number of rabbinic and medieval texts. For instance, 3:11 draws on the *Halachot Gedolot*, a prayer text associated with dangerous situations; the marriage blessing at 8:5 derives from b. *Ketubbot* 8a; and Tobiah and Sarah’s prayers at 8:6–7 draw on *piyyutim*, the *Amidah*, and *Mishnah Taanit*. The *piyyutim* references in 8:6–7 evoke the embellishments of the *Amidah* for Yom Kippur in the style of the Avodah and Qedushta, with particularly strong connections with the *silluq* portion of Yannai’s *Qedushta* for Shema and Saadia Gaon’s *Gam Hayom Yada’ti*. These connections to *piyyutim*, as well as the use of *Mishnah*

<sup>102</sup> This emphasis sometimes extends beyond Nehemiah; as noted above, at H5 13:2 the phrase וְאָמַר כִּלְיָהֵם אִמֵּן derives from Deut 27:16–26 (11x) and Ps 106:48.

<sup>103</sup> VL W *pax super te*; VL J *pax sit tibi frater*. G1 καὶ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους // S1 וְשָׂלְמוּ אֶחָד אֶת־הָאֲחֵר, “and they greeted one another.”

*Taanit* in 8:6 and *Midrash Lamentations Rabbati* in 8:7, cohere with the placement of H5 among commentaries on *piyyutim* for Yom Kippur. And yet just as H5 favors drawing on certain biblical texts befitting the plot of the Tobit story, so also H5 demonstrates a selectivity in borrowing from post-biblical Jewish texts. The allusions to *Avodot piyyutim* do not extend beyond the patriarchs and matriarchs, as there is nothing on Aaron and his high priestly duties on Yom Kippur. And there is no effort to incorporate rabbinic halakic exegesis on tithing that would integrate disparate tithing stipulations. In fact, H5 tends to redirect almsgiving toward an emphasis on Tobit's burial of the dead (12:8). The depiction of Tobit not washing after touching a corpse (2:4–5) and not undertaking the dipping purification of Num 19:18 at 2:9 presupposes rabbinic emphasis on the obligation to bury the dead (m. *Naz.* 7:1) and the view held by some Jews that the dead bodies of the righteous do not convey impurity.

A key element of the plot of the Tobit narrative is Tobiah and Sarah's joyful wedding. Although this theme of rejoicing, gladness and celebration sometimes finds correspondence in another version of Tobit,<sup>104</sup> H5 notably increases the theme by adding references to joy, as the following examples illustrate:

- 7:14 וישמחו בשמחה גדולה, “they rejoiced with great joy” evokes 1 Chr 29:22 and 2 Chr 30:21.
- 8:5 אשר ברא ששון ושמחה, “who has created gladness and joy” draws on b. *Ketubbot* 8a.
- 8:14 וישמח לבבם, “and their heart rejoiced.”
- 9:2 לבא בשמחה ולשמוח עמנו, “to come in joy and rejoice with us.”
- 9:5 ביום חתונתו וביום שמחת לבו, “on the day of his wedding and on the day of the joy of his heart” derives from Cant 3:11. The first phrase is unique to Cant 3:11.
- 9:6 וישמחו, “and they rejoiced”
- 10:5 בננו שמחת לבבינו, “our son, the joy of our hearts.” The phrase שמחת לבבינו is in place of Vg's *lumen oculorum nostrorum*, “light of our eyes” (so also S1 (לְנוֹרָא וְנוֹרָא גַּלְגַּל), and “light of my eyes” in most other versions (G1, G2, G3, S2, VL QMRG; VL X adds *unicum*; absent in VL M).
- 10:8 ואשלחך בשמחה ובשירים, “and I will send you off with joy and songs.”
- 10:10 ובשמחה גדולה, “and with great joy.”
- 11:13 וישמח מאד, “and he rejoiced greatly.”

<sup>104</sup> At 7:1 שמח מאד derives inspiration from Vg *cum gaudio*, although H5 has recast it according to 1 Kgs 5:21. At 11:8 ושמח בלבו, “and in his heart he will rejoice,” was inspired by Vg *et in aspectu tuo gaudebit* but then recast in the language of 1 Chr 29:22 and 2 Chr 30:21 (cf. the plus at H5 7:14). And 14:2 לב בשמחה has some parallel with Vg *in gaudio*.

- 13:2 “and they brought them to the house in joy and with songs.”
- 13:3 “our mourning has been turned to rejoicing and our grief to dance and celebration” echoes Esth 9:22 *נִהְפָּךְ לָהֶם מִיָּגוֹן לְשִׂמְחָה וּמֵאֲבֵל לְיוֹם טוֹב*, “it was turned for them from grief to rejoicing and from mourning to celebration.” H5 has inverted *אבל* and *גון*, given two nouns first person plural suffixes, and has added *מחול*.<sup>105</sup>
- 13:18 “and each person went to his tent rejoicing and glad of heart” derives from 1 Kgs 8:66.

The references to singing in 10:8 and 13:2, both plusses, are interesting in the light of the setting of H5 within the North French Miscellany manuscript among *piyyutim* commentaries, the added references to amen responses, and the borrowing of phrases and themes from famous *piyyutim* in 8:6–7, as *piyyutim* were an important part of the liturgy in northern France (Tsarfat). Although sometimes *piyyutim* were read or chanted, there is evidence that they were partly sung and were conducive to singing on account of a basic rhythm.<sup>106</sup> There is clearly an increased liturgical dimension to the H5 form of the Tobit narrative.

## Conclusion

The rabbinic and medieval intertextures reveal that H5 was composed in a period later than the Vg. In addition to the extensive borrowing from Saadiah Gaon’s *piyyut* at 8:7, the use of a blessing from Maimonides’s *Mishneh Torah* in 13:3,18 provide a terminus a quo of 1204 CE (the year Rambam died). There are also subtle parallels with the Psalm commentary of French Rabbi David Kimhi (1160–1235) and with *Sefer Gematriot* attributed to Judah ben Samuel (1140–1217 CE), both at 8:7. Even if the latter two instances derive from shared allusions to *piyyutim*, the several other connections with rabbinic sources reveal that the sporadic

<sup>105</sup> The similarities are sufficient to warrant an echo. In addition to those listed above, H5 uses the niphal of the same verb. Additional differences exist: Esther does not credit God as implied subject, although a medieval Jew could have read the text that way, and in Esth 9:22 the various nouns are introduced by a preposition.

<sup>106</sup> Swartz, “Translation,” 43. Hollender (*Commentary*, 148) observes that medieval *piyyut* Ashkenaz commentaries several times apply the word *שירה* (song) to *piyyutim*. Cf. the Ashkenaz *piyyut*, *שיר הכבוד*, “Hymn of the Glory,” attributed to R. Judah ben Samuel HeHasid of Regensburg, included in Petuchowski, *Theology*, 38–47.

agreements between H5 and the Vg should be understood as the result of H5's occasional use of the Vg.<sup>107</sup>

The thirteenth-century North French Miscellany manuscript in which H5 Tobit is embedded dates to a time in which Latin translations of Jewish works were produced in a climate of censorship and burning.<sup>108</sup> As H5 is a Hebrew story of Jews who undergo trials and tribulations while trying to be good Jews in a hostile diaspora setting, it is fair to claim that H5 spoke to the interests of Jewish readers in thirteenth-century France. Tobit's heroic burial of the dead would have been particularly resonant for Jews in medieval Europe, and the plus in H5 2:9 is explicable in the light of medieval custom. The author-redactor of H5 seems to have lived in the period of the Tosafists (the Rishonim), and he was deeply familiar with the panoply of Jewish traditions of the written and oral Torah, liturgical texts and poetry, commentaries, and late midrashic retellings of the Bible.<sup>109</sup> He seamlessly joined these traditions, sometimes also inspired by Greek and Latin forms of the Book of Tobit, to create a unique rendering of the story that was then placed among *piyyutim* commentaries for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Although one cannot rule out that H5 underwent some revision and adaptation from an earlier form,<sup>110</sup> the preponderance of evidence from rabbinic and medieval intertextures indicates that H5 is a post-Vg revision of the Tobit story. Given the varieties of the Tobit story in medieval Hebrew (and one in medieval Aramaic), and given the compilation of sources that make up H5,

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**107** Zimmermann (*Book*, 136–38) lists several affinities between the Vg and H5 and concludes that H5 drew upon the Vg. Although his conclusion is correct, the complicated textual situation of the Tobit versions and H5's use of multiple versions prohibits a simple solution. For example, although at Tob 2:13 H5 גניבה פן finds a parallel in Vg *ne forte furtivus sit* (so also VL QW), the fact that H5 has no exact equivalent for *forte*, which several VL MSS also lack (so VL XJRG), may suggest VL influence in that case. Similarly, H5 אחד נאמן ("someone faithful") parallels both Vg *aliquem fidelem virum* and also VL QXMJRG. However, there are some unique and unmistakable instances of Vg influence on H5, such as: 1:2 בשמאל והעיר שפה // *in sinistro habens civitatem Sephec*; and 2:5 ורעד // *Vg et tremore*.

**108** Schwartz, "Authority," 94–95.

**109** According to Weiss ("Concessions," 74), one of the characteristics of late midrashic texts such as *Midrash Tanhuma* was to retell or re-narrate the Bible. Although the Book of Tobit was not authoritative sacred Scripture for medieval Jews, the author-redactor likely thought of the story as Scripture-based religious literature among the Hagiographa. Thus, in the case of H5 the rewriting is a piece of Hagiographa that has been retold in the light of the Tanak, rabbinic and medieval texts, and *piyyutim*. I derive the phrase "Scripture-based religious literature" from Ulrich, "Crossing," 83.

**110** There is, occasionally, evidence of insertions into the text of H5. For example, one finds the insertion of the phrase *האבות* by another hand at H5 6:18 (cf. Weeks, Gathercole, and Stuckenbruck, *Book*, 375), which brings the text into conformity with the same phrase in the plus at 8:6.

the author-redactor of H5 seems to have considered the story of Tobi to be an “open text” that he took part in retelling.<sup>111</sup>

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**111** Hollender (*Commentary*, 11–13, 231) discusses the concept of “open work” and “open text” in medieval Jewish scribal compilations within the context of her study on *piyyut* commentaries. Cf. Ta-Shma, “Book.” We cannot know whether the scribal copyist named Benjamin faithfully copied the manuscript of H5 or also added material. On that point, see Beit-Arié, “Transmission,” 39.

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