

THE ANGLO-NORMAN BIBLE'S BOOK OF TOBIT:
A CRITICAL EDITION
(LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY ROYAL 1 C III,
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THE book of Tobit, edited here from the Anglo-Norman Bible manuscript London, British Library Royal 1 C III (*L*), a close vernacular rendering of Jerome's Latin translation in the Vulgate (*V*),¹ interweaves a love story, a road trip, and a hopeful tale of the triumph of piety over adversity. The cast of characters features two related families—Tobit, Anna, and their son Tobias, exiled in Nineveh, and Raguel, Anna, and their daughter Sarah in far-off Ecbatana—finally united through the children's marriage. Other main actors are the demon Asmodeus, the thwarter of Sarah's seven previous attempts to marry, and, more prominently, an angel, Raphael, sent by the Lord to alleviate the families' suffering and

* I am grateful to Meredith College for a sabbatical leave in spring 2020, during which time I refined a draft of this work, and to the C. Allen Burris sabbatical fund for support of my consultation of MS Royal 1 C III (*L*) at the British Library in January 2020. Erin Campbell, Kristen Purvis, and Jeff Waller of the interlibrary loan service of the Carlyle Campbell Library at Meredith College cheerfully provided any title I could think of, however rare. The photographic service of the British Library delivered a digital copy of *L* in mere days, and the staff of the BL manuscripts reading room could not have been more welcoming. I am grateful for their kindness and help. I am equally thankful to this journal's readers for their suggestions for improvement. I dedicate this work to my wife, Willa.

¹ The text of reference for the Vulgate is *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, 5th ed. (Stuttgart, 2007), available at www.bibelwissenschaft.de. All references here are to the Stuttgart Vulgate text unless stated otherwise. The standard source in modern English translation is the New Revised Standard Version at biblegateway.com, although the NRSV's verse numbering and especially its substance may differ from those in *V*.

eventually to prosper their line for generations to come.² M. R. James calls the book of Tobit “one of the best stories of the old world,”³ and Carey A. Moore, calling it “a short Jewish romance,” notes the story’s high dramatic value and points out that the modern reader can identify with the characters’ problems and reactions even across vast distances in space and time.⁴ Despite the book’s abundant contextualization in Old Testament subjects and its uplifting message of cheer and reward for the oppressed Jews of the Diaspora, Tobit was never brought into the Jewish canon.⁵ For Christians, the *Decretum Damasii* issued in Rome in 382 recognized Tobit’s canonicity, and this was confirmed by the sixteenth-century council of Trent.⁶

Assisted by a stenographer and an experienced speaker of Aramaic and Hebrew, Jerome translated Tobit from Aramaic through Hebrew and into Latin. Moore calls Jerome’s translation—known today as the Vulgate version (*V*) or the Latin Short recension—“more of a paraphrase, aiming at the general sense, rather than a literal, word-for-word rendering of the Aramaic” *Vorlage*, which has not survived.⁷ Vincent T. M. Skemp, in his line-by-line comparison of *V* with Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew fragments from Qumran, and other Latin versions, particularly emphasizes

² J. C. Dancy with W. J. Fuerst and R. J. Hammer, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha* (Cambridge, 1972), 7, provides a useful thumbnail outline of Tobit: a prologue and epilogue; then, “moving inwards towards the centre, one next finds two sections (chapters 3 and 10–11) where the fortunes of the two families are interwoven; finally there is the core (chapters 4–9) . . . where the interest follows Tobias as he moves from one family to the other and back again.” For a synopsis of the Anglo-Norman Bible’s book of Tobit, see pp. 63–64 below.

³ M. R. James, *The Book of Tobit and the History of Susanna* (London, 1929), ix.

⁴ Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, The Anchor Bible 40A (New York, 1996), 8, 21.

⁵ For discussion of the canonicity of Tobit, see *ibid.*, 48–53. Regarding the early readers of Tobit, R. H. Charles states, “it remained on the one hand a favourite Jewish work, and on the other hand, translated into various languages, it followed the spread of the Christian religion to Edessa in the East, to Rome and Africa in the West, and Ethiopia in the South” (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1913; rpt. 1976; archive.org], 1:174).

⁶ Gilbert Dahan, *L’Exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XII^e–XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1999), 57.

⁷ Moore, *Tobit*, 62.

Jerome's use of the *Vetus Latina* (VL), stating repeatedly that, in translating, Jerome "had his eye on VL"; and concluding, the *V* of Tobit "is often more a revision of VL than a translation of a different source."⁸ While *V* often has special affinities with VL, Skemp alerts us also to broad categories of discrepancies among *V* and other ancient witnesses.⁹ As compared to the Septuagint (LXX), e.g., Jerome imposed suppressions, additions, and other modifications in *V*'s Tobit.¹⁰

MEDIEVAL FRENCH VERSIONS OF TOBIT

The Anglo-Norman Bible's Tobit is one of several known versions of the book in medieval French.¹¹ As shown below, the chief manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman Bible (ANB)—our base manuscript *L* and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) fr. 1 (*P*)—date from the middle third of the fourteenth century. Both were produced in England, and the culture of the translator and scribes was also English. The date of the ANB translation, when determined, will likely fall in the first third of the fourteenth century or, conceivably, in the late thirteenth.

We know more about the manuscripts' immediate or eventual audiences. Both were the Bibles of kings. At some point in the 1400s, *L* resided at the royal Benedictine abbey at Reading, and in 1530 it was carried with nine other manuscripts to Henry VIII at Richmond. With regard to materials and presentation, the contrast of *L* and *P* is striking. *L* gives all the appearances of a cheaply produced manuscript.¹² *P*, on the

⁸ Vincent T. M. Skemp, *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses* (Atlanta, 2000), 455; for "Jerome kept his eye on VL," see 25, 197, 269, 278, etc.

⁹ For full discussion and references, see *ibid.*, 455–70.

¹⁰ According to Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (Berlin and New York, 2003), 6, Jerome "apparently exercised great freedom in adding details to the text, which are not found in any other ancient version." The *V* version of Tobit is considerably shorter than that of the *Vetus Latina* (*ibid.*, 20).

¹¹ For a bibliography of *L*, see n. 31 below. For *P*, see n. 32.

¹² Tatiana Romashkina, "La Bible anglo-normande: traduction et adaptation à la croisée de facteurs socioculturels," *Questes* 38 (2018; doi.org/10.4000/questes.4846): 43–62, at 48, who states, "La simplicité de la copie laisse . . . supposer que le manuscrit constitue une Bible de clerc." In her comments on the scribe's careful

other hand, is an illustrated and decorated production, a grand and luxurious book. As discussed below, *P* was created as early as c. 1350 for the wealthy, aristocratic de Welles family of Lincolnshire. *P* entered the French royal library during the reign of King Louis XII (1498–1515).

A thirteenth-century Old French prose *Histoire de Tobie* is extant in two manuscripts, Arras, Bibliothèque municipale 897 (587), fols. 167r–171v (1370),¹³ and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique 11210–11214, fols. 76r–88r (after 1388).¹⁴ The Arras manuscript provides a

corrections in *L*'s 1 Samuel 1–5, she adds, “les traces laissées par le copiste font . . . bien penser à une Bible de travail pour un clerc” (50). Pointing out *L*'s large size and the absence of a conventional gloss or cross-referencing, however, Catherine Léglu disagrees that the manuscript was intended for schoolroom use; “Reading Abbey’s Anglo-Norman French Translation of the Bible (London, British Library, Royal MS 1 C III),” *Reading Medieval Studies* 42 (2016; centaur.reading.ac.uk): 131–55, at 137. For further discussion of scribal corrections in *L*, see Thierry Revol, “Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande,” unpublished doctoral thesis (Université Marc Bloch-Strasbourg), 40–43.

¹³ The Arras manuscript is available at dlmm.library.jhu.edu (accessed 7 Nov 2020): *inc.* “Thobie fu nez de le lignie Neptalin qui est es plus hautez parties de Galilee” (fol. 167r); *expl.* “devant Dieu et devant tous chiaux ki habitoient devant Dieu en terre. Explicit Thobie” (fol. 171v). In addition to the *Histoire de Tobie*, the Arras manuscript contains *Le Roman de la Rose*, *Le Testament de Jean de Meung*, and Guillaume de Machaut’s *Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne*, among other works. See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. 4: *Arras-Avranches-Boulogne* (Paris, 1872; hathitrust.org), 236; Samuel Berger, *La Bible française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1884; hathitrust.org), 378; Ernest Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose, description et classement*, Travaux et mémoires de l’Université de Lille, n.s., 7 (Paris, 1910; rpt. Geneva, 1974; gallica.bnf.fr), 110–16; James I. Wimsatt and William W. Kibler, eds., with Rebecca A. Baltzer, *Guillaume de Machaut, “Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne” and “Remede de Fortune”* (Athens, GA, 1988), 19–20; and Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1995), 107.

¹⁴ A digital reproduction is available at belgica.kbr.be (accessed 7 Nov 2020). For descriptions, see Joseph van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vols. (Brussels, 1901–9), vol. 3: Théologie (1903; books.google.com), 420 n° 2326; and Céline Van Hoorebeeck, Bernard Bousmanne, Frédérique Johan, and Tania Van Hemelryck, *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne, Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* (Turnhout, 2000–15), Commentaires, 1:308–10: *inc.* “Chi conmenche li livres de Thobie et de sen fil” (fol. 76r); *expl.* “en boine et sainte vie et en sainte conversacion par coy il furent toudis acceptable a Dieu et as hommes” (fol. 88r).

condensed version of the Tobit story similar to *L* in general outline but with significant differences,¹⁵ and in three instances the substance of the final lines of a chapter in *L* appears at the beginning of the following chapter in the Arras manuscript.¹⁶ The Tobit incipit (fol. 167r) as well as chapter beginnings throughout the book provide space for an illustration and prominent colored initials, respectively, but the decorations were never added. The northern French cast of the text's language is seen in spellings *chou* (for *ceo*), *che* (*qe*), *chiaux* (*ceus*), *jou* (*jeo*), *chest* (*cest*), and *se maison* (*sa maison*).¹⁷ The Brussels manuscript offers an artful storyteller's paraphrase of Tobit that follows the same lines as *L* but also makes abundant use of *abbreviatio* and *amplificatio*, omitting sentences or phrases and occasionally adding a new detail.¹⁸ Chapter divisions also differ from those in *L*, especially near the beginning of the book, and the scribe marks off the divisions with descriptive chapter titles, not with numbers.¹⁹ Again we find spellings with a northern French flavor, e.g.,

¹⁵ For instance, the dog appears not at the departure of Tobias and Raphael on their journey but only on their return, and Raguel's daughter Sarah is first identified as his wife (see fol. 169r in the Arras manuscript and ll. 224 and 247 in the edition of *L* below for the departure of Tobias and Raphael and the identification of Sarah).

¹⁶ The equivalent of *L*'s *Et puis q'il avoient soupee il mesnerent le jovencel a luy* (ll. 305–6) begins the following chapter in the Arras manuscript (fol. 169v), as do the lines *Et cil levauntz counterent totes ses merveilles* (l. 483 and fol. 171r) and *Et totes les paroles de Thobie sount finyz* (l. 517 and fol. 171v).

¹⁷ Mildred K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French* (Manchester, 1934; rev. 2nd ed., 1966), 327 §849, 488 §xii, 490 §xxiii.

¹⁸ For instance, Tobit's wife Anna is said to weave golden and silk cloth, *dras d'or et de soie* (fol. 78r; cf. ll. 77–78 in the edition below), and the fish in the Tigris grabs Tobias's foot, *uns grans pissons le prist par le piet* (fol. 80v; cf. l. 226 below).

¹⁹ Instead of the fourteen numbered chapters in *L*, the Brussels manuscript into twelve unnumbered ones. The Brussels manuscript has chapter divisions with the titles *Des mors qe Thobie ensevelisoit* (fol. 77r) at l. 31, *Comment Thobie perdit le veue* (77v) at l. 62, and *Chi parolle des orisons Sare le fille Raguel* (78v) at l. 98 in the edition below. The remaining descriptive chapter titles in the Brussel manuscript's Tobit are *De le doctrine que Thobie faisoit a sen fil* (fol. 79r, at l. 133), *Dou pisson qui prist Thobie le jovene par le piet* (80v, at 224), *Dou mariage le jovene Thobie* (81v, at 269), *Comment li angles Raphael ala en le chitet de Rages pour Thobie* (83r, at 352), *Comment Thobie regretoit sen fil a Anne se femme* (83v–84r, at 375), *Comment li juvenes Thobie revient a son pere* (84v, at 407), *Comment li angles s'envanuit d'iaux* (85v, at 446), *Les cantiques Thobie* (86v, at 481), and *De le mort de Thobie le viele* (87v, at 524).

chiteit (*citee*), *jou* (*jeo*), *se maison* (*sa maisoun*), and *chiaux* (*yceux*). After *en*, pret. forms of *aler* appear as 3 *dala* (78v, 80r, 83v, etc.) and 6 *dalerent* (84v, 87v).

Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie's *La Vie de Tobie* is an early thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman poem in 1539 lines of octosyllabic couplets.²⁰ The poem leads off with a lengthy allegory called *The Four Daughters of God*,²¹ and Ruth Dean has noted slight differences between the poem and the Vulgate Tobit.²² Among other peculiarities, a messenger (not Tobias) informs Tobit of the corpse requiring burial, Raphael's pseudonym is Zacharias (not Azariah), and guests dance at the wedding celebration.²³

Dating from c. 1300, Macé de la Charité's *Bible* includes Tobit in its 43,000 lines of rhymed text and commentary;²⁴ Macé's *Thobie*, in octo-

²⁰ See Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B. M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London, 1999), §468; see also §685. Guillaume's *Vie de Tobie* is extant in three manuscripts from the second half of the thirteenth century: Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson Poetry 234; Oxford, Jesus College 29; and Paris, BnF fr. 19525. Robert Reinsch, "La vie de Tobie de Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 62 (1879; hathitrust.org): 375–96, edits some 1426 lines from the Paris manuscript; Ruth J. Dean completes Reinsch's edition in "A Missing Chapter of the *Vie de Tobie*," *Modern Philology* 33 (1935–36; gallica.bnf.fr): 13–19, following Rawlinson Poetry 234 (R) and adding 112 lines equivalent to chapter 1 in the Vulgate. For a recent study of *La Vie de Tobie*, see Jocelyn Wogan-Brown, "How to Marry Your Wife with Chastity, Honour, and Fin' Amor in Thirteenth-Century England," in *Thirteenth-Century England IX, Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001*, ed. Michael R. H. Britnell Prestwich and Robin Frame (Woodbridge, 2003; books.google.com), 131–49.

²¹ The story of Tobit starts only at l. 339 (p. 385) of Reinsch's edition.

²² Dean, "Missing Chapter," 13–14.

²³ For the messenger, see Reinsch, ed., l. 356; for Zacharias, l. 679; for the *grant bal*, l. 1009.

²⁴ See Paul E. Beichner, "The Old French Verse *Bible* of Macé de la Charité, a Translation of the *Aurora*," *Speculum* 22 (1947; JSTOR): 226–39; Paul E. Beichner, ed., *Aurora: Petri Rigae Biblia versificata. A Verse Commentary on the Bible*, 2 vols. (Notre Dame, IN, 1965); and Henri-C.-M. Van der Krabben, ed., *La Bible de Macé de la Charité: Ruth, Judith, Tobie, Esther, Daniel, Job*, vol IV (1964) of *La Bible de Macé de la Charité*, dir. J. R. Smeets, 7 vols. (Leiden, 1964–86). For Macé's biographical details and archival records, see IV, vii–xxxix; for his Tobit, IV, 16–27. Beichner, "Old French Verse *Bible*," 227, dates Macé's *Bible* "some-

syllabic couplets, runs to nearly 700 lines. As compared with the other versions, Macé's consecutive commentary is the single most distinctive feature of his reworking of Tobit, but the poet also routinely condenses the narrative, omitting or sharply abridging numerous speeches and prayers recorded in the *V* and *L*. In Macé's version, e.g., Tobit's despairing prayer becomes *Et met tot son entendement / En prier dieu devotement* (ll. 16993–94; see our text at ll. 86–97 of the edition below) with no mention of Tobit's death-wish. Macé then encapsulates Sarah's eloquent prayer in two lines (17023–24; see our ll. 111–28), also curtailing or eliminating Tobit's long moral instruction of Tobias (134–61), Raphael's job interviews with Tobias and Tobit (178–210), Raphael's detailed directives to Tobias as the travelers approach Raguel's house (246–67), and the canticle of Tobit (485–516), to name only these retrenchments. Similarly, Macé skips the passage in which Anna scans the horizon daily as she awaits Tobias's return (our ll. 415–19). Asmodeus is called *l'anemi* (17251) but, like Shalmaneser, remains unnamed.

Among relatives of the ANB Old Testament translation, several scholars draw attention to a manuscript of the Acre Bible, Paris, BnF nouv. acq. fr. 1404 (*N*), containing Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kings, Maccabees, Tobit, and Judith, as well as fifteen miniature panels by the Hospitaller Master.²⁵ Jaroslav Folda dates the manuscript c. 1280 or early 1281, attributing it to a scriptorium in Acre.²⁶ *N* is the base manuscript

time near the end of the thirteenth century or the beginning of the fourteenth." Macé's *Bible* follows the first redaction of Peter Riga's *Aurora* by Aegidius of Paris; see Beichner, ed., *Aurora* 1:xx, xliii. A digital reproduction of the unique manuscript of Macé's *Bible*, Paris, BnF fr. 401, is available at gallica.bnf.fr (consulted 30 Nov 2020).

²⁵ Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 67. Folda states further, "Whoever commissioned the Bible by our painter was literate but not learned, and he wanted historiation he could understand as simply and directly as he could read the Old French. The needs of a military man in a battle zone . . . seem to correspond exactly to the nature of this book" (71).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 74–75. Likewise, Pierre Nobel considers *N*, also dating it 1280–81, citing Folda; see Nobel, "La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d'Acre: question de source," in *L'Histoire littéraire, ses méthodes et ses résultats, Mélanges offerts à Madeleine Bertaud*, dir. Luc Fraisse (Geneva, 2001), 429–48 (430). A digital reproduction of *N* is available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10525033z.r>

of Pierre Nobel's edition of the Acre Bible's Genesis and Exodus.²⁷ Nobel is convinced that, of *L* and *N*, "L'interdépendence des deux Bibles ne laisse aucun doute. Dès à présent, remarquons que la *Bible d'Acre* offre des passages en tout point similaires à ceux de la *Bible anglo-normande* et qui sont bien dans le style de cette dernière. La réciproque n'est pas vraie."²⁸ He is suggesting not that the earlier *N* was a model for *L*, but that the Acre Bible and the ANB both derive from a lost common source that is necessarily earlier than 1280–81.

In *N*, Tobit begins at fol. 230v and ends at fol. 239r. Beneath the *incipit*, a large miniature shows Tobit reclining in a bed. His eyes are closed, but with his right hand he gestures at a swallow flying overhead. The writing is arranged in two columns, thirty-four lines per column. *N*'s abbreviated text does not mark off chapters but rather presents seven episodes whose divisions differ significantly from those in *L*, and each section begins with a large, decorated initial in red or blue. Unlike *L*, which has fourteen chapters marked with lowercase Roman numerals (beginning with chap. ii), *N* presents long multi-chapter episodes.²⁹ Scrutiny of the Tobit-texts confirms that—obvious parallels aside—*L* and *N* are more different than alike. *L* and *N*'s Tobit-texts are clearly also of different genres. *L* is a close translation—"une traduction textuelle," as Nobel says—of the Vulgate's Tobit, while *N* is an abbreviated *estoire*.³⁰ In *L* and *V*, old Tobit's family buries him in Nineveh; in *N*, in Jerusalem (fol. 238v). The texts frequently use identical, isolated words or short groups of words, but there are few examples of sustained, shared language. One is hard-pressed to find more than a superficial resemblance between the two texts of Tobit.

(consulted 20 February 2020). For a description of *N* and further bibliography, see Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 179–80.

²⁷ Pierre Nobel, ed., *La Bible d'Acre, Genèse et Exode, Edition critique d'après les manuscrits BNF nouv. acq. fr. 1404 et Arsenal 5211* (Besançon, 2006).

²⁸ Nobel, "La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d'Acre," 439. Nobel's investigation here also focuses on Genesis and Exodus.

²⁹ *N*'s episode II begins at Tob 1:5 (fol. 230v), III at Tob 2:19 (231v), IV at Tob 9:9 (236r), V at Tob 11:2 (236v), VI at Tob 13:1 (238r), and VII at Tob 14:2 (238v). Ep. VII ends *covenables a Dieu et as homes et a tous les habitans de la terre* (239r) and is followed immediately by the book of Judith.

³⁰ Nobel, "La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d'Acre," 431. *N*'s fol. 1r bears the title *Histoires de la Bible*.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ANB'S BOOK OF TOBIT

As noted, two copies of the ANB's book of Tobit survive: London, British Library Royal 1 C III (*L*),³¹ containing Genesis through Tobit; and Paris, BnF fr. 1 (*P*),³² providing Genesis through Hebrews 13:17.³³

³¹ For descriptions of *L*, see Berger, *La Bible française*, 231–37, 386; George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921; hathitrust.org), 1:14; N. R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), 156, 361; Dean and Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, §469; Thierry Revol, “Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande,” unpublished doctoral thesis (Université Marc Bloch-Strasbourg II, 2006), 20–21, 22–23, 25–27; Alan Coates, *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* (Oxford, 1999), 164; and British Library, *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, available at www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts (accessed 28 February 2020). Léglu, “Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation,” 146, 148, 149, provides reproductions of *L* from books other than Tobit. See also Brent A. Pitts, ed., “The Anglo-Norman Bible's Book of Ruth, a Critical Edition (London, British Library, ms. Royal 1 C III),” *Reading Medieval Studies* 44 (2018; centaur.reading.ac.uk): 173–97, at 174; and idem, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Bible's Book of Joshua, a Critical Edition (London, British Library, ms. Royal 1 C III)*, *Textes vernaculaires du moyen âge* 26 (Turnhout, 2020), 28–29. I have in hand critical editions of the ANB's books of Judges (Introduction by Huw Grange), 1 and 2 Samuel (Introduction by Peter Damian-Grint), and 1 and 2 Esdras (Introduction by Thomas Hinton).

³² Digital color and black-and-white reproductions of *P* are available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525072746.r> (see images 299–306 for Tobit) and <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9007290k.r> (see images 298–305 for Tobit) (accessed 19 February 2020). For descriptions of *P*, see Joseph Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse* (Paris, 1831; gallica.bnf.fr), 91–92; Berger, *La Bible française*, 230–31, 237, 324–25; Nora Elizabeth Ratcliff, “Edition and Study (Mostly Linguistic) of a Section of an Anglo-Norman Translation of the Bible (14th century): The Acts of the Apostles in MSS B.N. fr. 1 & 9562,” unpublished doctoral thesis (University of St. Andrews, 1955), vi–xiii, xix–xxii; Dean and Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, §469; Revol, “Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande,” 20, 21–22, 23–25, 26–28; and Kathryn A. Smith, “Found in Translation: Images Visionary and Visceral in the Welles-Ros Bible,” *Gesta* 59.2 (2020): 91–130.

³³ With the canonical epistles having been inserted between Acts and Romans, the only biblical material missing is the end of the final chapter of Hebrews and the Apocalypse, and the fact that the index of *P* lists the Apocalypse among the book's

L (39 × 27 cm; 315 parchment leaves) is an English codex from *c.* 1350 or slightly earlier,³⁴ which in the fifteenth century belonged to Reading's Benedictine abbey of St. Mary.³⁵ Tobit appears at the very end of the codex (fols. 312r–315v), after 1 and 2 Paralipomenon (274v–301v) and 1 and 2 Esdras (301v–312r), and does not contain the glosses in English or Latin that appear in some of the other books.³⁶ Since *L*

contents supports Ratcliff's conclusion that the Apocalypse "formed at one time part of the manuscript" (Ratcliff, "Edition and Study," xii). Three additional manuscripts of the ANB contain books unrelated to Tobit: London, British Library Additional 54325; Paris, BnF fr. 9562; and Paris, BnF fr. 6260. Of Additional 54325, the BL web site states, "written, and probably compiled, in England; mid 14th cent." Ratcliff identifies BnF fr. 9562 as an English production of "the latter half of the fourteenth century" (xxii–xxiii). Of BnF fr. 6260, Berger writes, "Écriture du XV^e siècle" (*La Bible française*, 350).

³⁴ In noting the resemblance of *L*'s cursive book hand and decorative initials to those in BL Additional 54325 (*c.* 1350), Léglu suggests further that "a common workshop produced both, but for different recipients" ("Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation," 133). Pierre Nobel, "Les traducteurs bibliques et leur public: l'exemple de la *Bible d'Acre* et de la *Bible anglo-normande*," *Revue de linguistique romane* 66 (2002): 451–72 (453), dates *L* "de la première moitié ou du milieu du XIV^e siècle." A. C. Puaes, ed., *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (Cambridge, 1902; books.google.com), xix, also sets *L* in "the earlier half of the fourteenth century."

³⁵ A fifteenth-century inscription on fol. 1 reads *Hic est liber monachorum claustralium Radyngie*. We cannot yet affirm, however, that *L* was produced at Reading. As Pierre Nobel states, "on ne saurait dire s'il s'agit là d'un don ou s'il a figuré dans la bibliothèque du lieu dès l'origine" ("La traduction biblique," in *Translations médiévales. Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XI^e–XV^e siècles)*, ed. Claudio Galderisi, with Vladimir Agrigoroaei, 2 vols. [Turnhout, 2011], 1:207–23, at 222). James P. Carley notes that the manuscript bears "a characteristic Henrician label" (*The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, *Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues* 7 [London, 2000], xxxvi n. 48), and the British Library's description adds that it "probably entered the collection during the reign of Henry VIII as one of ten manuscripts from Reading Abbey brought to Hampton Court in 1530"; see www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts (accessed 28 February 2020) for the description and a digital reproduction of several folios, including fol. 185 and its puzzle initial.

³⁶ *L*'s Middle English and Latin glosses, each typically one or two words in length, clarify or correct the Anglo-Norman text, at least in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Joshua, Judges, and 2 Kings; see Léglu, "Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation," 139–41. Léglu proposes that the occasional blanks after words

contains only the first seventeen books of the Old Testament and concludes with Tobit's final words and an *explicit* at the end of a quire, the codex may well represent, as Catherine Léglu suggests, the first installment of a planned multi-volume work.³⁷

The codex is decorated with twelve puzzle initials in red and blue, although none appears in the Tobit section. At least two scribes contributed to *L*.³⁸ The script is an Anglicana cursive book hand, which features a two-compartment **a** and **g, d** with looped ascender, long-tailed **r, f** and long-**s** with stem descending below the line of writing, and also **h** with its limb continuing below the line.³⁹ As M. B. Parkes notes, "The script settled down into the kind of handwriting which could be used not only for writing documents but also as a cheap book hand," and Parkes tentatively connects this script with the growing demand for cheap books, particularly romances and other vernacular texts, by all classes of patrons in fourteenth-century England.⁴⁰ The scribe of *L* uses both upper-case S (e.g., in *Sepeth* 4, *Salmanasar* 23, *Senacherib* 37) and, on several occa-

in *L* were perhaps intended for glosses that were never inserted; she also provides photographic reproductions of glosses in *L* (148–49). See further Anne Wanono, "Une Bible anglo-normande à la source d'une Bible française au XIV^e siècle?," in *Un espace colonial et ses avatars: Naissance d'identités nationales Angleterre, France, Irlande (V^e-XV^e siècles)*, dir. Florence Bourgne, Leo Carruthers, and Arlette Sancery (Paris, 2008), 203–19 and the eight plates following; Pierre Nobel, "Gloses anglaises et latines dans une traduction biblique anglo-normande (ms. Londres B.L. Royal I C III)," in «*Si a parlé par moult ruiste vertu*», *Mélanges de littérature médiévale offerts à Jean Subrenat*, dir. Jean Dufournet (Paris, 2000), 419–35, which considers the first forty-eight folios of *L*; also, Nobel, "La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d'Acre," 436; Nobel, "Les translateurs bibliques," 467–68; and Paues, xx. Revol, "Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande," 69–77, at 73, calls attention to seventy-four glosses in *L*'s Genesis.

³⁷ Léglu, "Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation," 132, 137.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 137. The first and principal scribe of Tobit has written the text from the beginning through *il furent acceptés* (ll. 545–46).

³⁹ See M. B. Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500* (Oxford, 1969), xiv–xvi and Plate 1 (ii), showing London, British Library Harley 2253, fol. 134v (c. 1340–50), especially in comparison with three digital reproductions of sample folios from *L* (Exodus 26, fol. 62r; Exodus 40, fol. 65r; and Leviticus 1, fol. 65v), available at www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts (accessed 13 Mar 2021). I am grateful to the journal's reader for the reference to Parkes and for detailed pointers related to the script of *L*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, xvi.

sions, a double long-s for S initial. Double long-s occurs in proper nouns, e.g., *Ssalmanasar* 4, *Ssenacharib* 31, *Ssarra* 98, and in verb forms *Ssoies* 88, 144, 195, in *Ssaver* 104, 197, and in adv. *Ssi* 144. In our text, however, the double long-s appears as -ss- only when it occurs within a word, e.g., in *Assiriens* 5, *issint* 13, *deguerpissaunt* 50–51, and *successours* 66. We find “double F” for F sentence-initial only in *Ffai* 95, 142 and *Ffait* 110.⁴¹ The word-initial double long-s graphy is resolved as S in our text, however, and word-initial “double F” as F.

P (53 × 36 cm;⁴² 416 leaves) is a large illuminated manuscript prepared by an English workshop for the family of the fourth baron de Welles, John, and his wife, Maud, daughter of William, Lord Ros.⁴³ Nora

⁴¹ Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2013), §29.4*, associates *Ff* with fourteenth-century insular manuscripts. Charles Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson, *English Court Hand A.D. 1066–1500* (Oxford, 1915; archive.org), 19, state that after the end of the thirteenth century F “is usually represented by ff.” The double long-s for S initial may have developed by analogy with *Ff*. I thank the journal’s reader for this reference and for detailed commentary on *L*’s script.

⁴² Of the impressive dimensions of the manuscript, Kathryn A. Smith states, “With respect to some aspects of its design and contents, [*P*] was clearly intended to mimic the physical and intellectual heft of a grand institutional Bible” (Smith, “Found in Translation,” 96). See also the descriptions of *P* in Pitts, ed., “The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Ruth,” 174–75; and idem., *The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Joshua*, 29–30.

⁴³ John, born in Lincolnshire in 1333, married Maud “at least before February 1345,” when John was eleven or twelve years old (Ratcliff, “Edition,” xix). His son and heir, also named John, was born in 1352; see G[eorge] E[dward] C[okayne], *The Complete Peerage*, rev. ed., 13 vols. (London, 1910–59; familysearch.org), 12.2:441. The fourth baron joined Edward III’s expedition to Gascony in 1359 and was summoned to Parliament on 15 Dec 1357 and 20 Nov 1360; see John Burke and Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland, & Scotland*, 3rd ed. (London, 1846; books.google.com), 561. The “expedition to Gascony” in 1359–60 focused ultimately on France north and east of the Loire; see Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*, 4 vols. (Philadelphia, 1999), 2:424–54, including the map, 433. At his premature death in 1361, a plague year, John held some fourteen manors in Lincolnshire, Northhamptonshire, Northumberland, and Essex; see William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols. [London, 1675–76; quod.lib.umich.edu], 1:11; and Albert Welles, *History of the Welles Family in England and Normandy* [New York, 1876; books.google.com], 39–40. For discussion of the prestige of Anglo-Norman in the fourth baron’s circles—court, administration, law, Parliament, culture—during his lifetime, see Serge Lusignan, *La langue des rois au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2004), esp. 155–217.

Ratcliff writes, “it is assumed on evidence unrelated to the actual text, that MS 1 was copied between 1340 and 1361, and more probably at the beginning of this period than at the end”;⁴⁴ Tatiana Romashkina places it “entre le milieu et le troisième quart du xiv^e siècle.”⁴⁵ Of its place of origin, Ratcliff suggests, it “may have been supplied by one of the religious houses with which the Welles or Ros families had connexions, in Lincolnshire, in Yorkshire, or elsewhere, or it may have been copied and illuminated by secular scribes employed for the purpose.”⁴⁶ Kathryn Smith argues that it was likely commissioned by Maud de Ros between 1361 and 1366—after the fourth baron’s death—for the edification of her young son, the fifth baron, and asserts, “a Carmelite chaplain . . . was the project’s director and the composer of the vernacular translation.”⁴⁷ It is the Bible of a wealthy and well-connected English clan.⁴⁸ After leaving the Welles family, the manuscript belonged to Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse (†1492), then to King Louis XII of France (r. 1498–1515).⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Ratcliff, “Edition and Study,” cxxix; see also xxii, where Ratcliff states, sometime between the fourth baron’s marriage to Maud and his death.

⁴⁵ Romashkina, “La Bible anglo-normande,” 44.

⁴⁶ Ratcliff, “Edition and Study,” xxii.

⁴⁷ Smith, “Found in Translation,” 95. Smith’s claims for the family’s Carmelite leanings are intriguing. By 1373 this fifth baron John associated with John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and a champion of Whitefriars, and at least towards the end of her long widowhood Maud “seems to have lived in the close of the Carmelite Friars of London” (C[okayne], *Complete Peerage* 12.2:441). Maud acknowledged her debts in 1386, after twenty-five years as a widow, and died in December 1388. Her son, the fifth baron John, may have married Cicely in or before 1366, although this report is unsubstantiated. Young John was “retained to stay with the Duke of Lancaster for life” in February 1371/72 (*ibid.*, 12.2:442). Taking Smith’s remarks into account, I favor 1366 as the date of *P*’s creation, and “reviser”—not “translator” or “composer”—for the role of *P*’s scribe. Revol, “Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande,” 43–45, discusses the possibility that *P*’s scribe consulted a second model in addition to that shared with *L*. Perhaps future researchers will find records of the de Welles family’s personal and financial dealings with Carmelites.

⁴⁸ Nobel, “Les translateurs bibliques,” 454. Statues of John and Maud adorn the elaborate tomb of Maud’s great-uncle Robert Burghersh (†1306) in Lincoln Cathedral (Léglu, “Reading Abbey’s Anglo-Norman French Translation,” 131–32).

⁴⁹ In wedding Mary Tudor in 1514, Louis became Henry VIII’s brother-in-law; see François Avril and Patricia Danz Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d’origine insulaire VII^e–XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1987), 159.

The decoration of *P* offers further indications of its origin.⁵⁰ It is decorated with the coats-of-arms of John and Maud and those of their parents,⁵¹ and given the two families' heraldic prominence in the manuscript and plausibly also Maud's leadership in the book's creation, Smith calls *P* "the Welles-Ros manuscript."⁵² The image of a secular woman at prayer in the upper margin of fol. 3r suggests that the book was created for or perhaps, as Smith claims, commissioned by Maud herself.⁵³ *P* has eighty-two historiated initials or framed miniatures which Berger describes as "assez grandes mais fort laides."⁵⁴

The script of *P* is a competent and clear Textura Quadrata in which **f**, **r**, and long-s do not descend below the line of writing. The feet of these letters are finished with short oblique strokes.⁵⁵ Relatively few letters touch adjacent ones, and the scribe abbreviates sparingly. According to Parkes, "The ornamental nature of the script is further emphasized by the addition of otiose hairlines to final letters"⁵⁶ as also seen in *P*.

P's fol. 145r displays a large historiated initial T at the beginning of Tobit.⁵⁷ The initial is "sur deux registres: Tobit sacrificiant agneau; la dîme de Tobit (trois veaux dorés sortant du bois, blé)."⁵⁸ In the upper scene, "Tobit sacrificiant agneau," a bearded Tobit carries a lamb towards the Temple where a fire has been prepared. This scene takes its inspiration

⁵⁰ Ratcliff, "Edition and Study," xxi. She attributes the manuscript's decoration to the East-Anglian school of illumination.

⁵¹ Berger, *La Bible française*, 230, 324. See Léglu, "Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation," 132, and Smith, "Found in Translation," 121 n. 123, for the Welles family's books in Anglo-Norman.

⁵² Smith, "Found in Translation," 93.

⁵³ Léglu, "Reading Abbey's Anglo-Norman French Translation," 131. Smith calls attention to the representation of a woman holding an open book in the historiated initial E on *P*'s fol. 152v ("Found in Translation," 98–101 and Figs 2 and 3).

⁵⁴ Berger, *La Bible française*, 230. Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 157, say, "78 grandes initiales historiées à bordures et 4 miniatures de la même taille." See also Smith, "Found in Translation," 97.

⁵⁵ See Parkes, *English Cursive Book Hands 1250–1500*, 22 and Plate 22 (ii). I thank the journal's reader for this reference and for detailed comments on the script of *P*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁷ Digital reproductions of *P*'s fol. 145r are available at gallica.bnf.fr (see n. 32 above).

⁵⁸ Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 157–58.

from Tob 1:6–7, *et pergebat ad Hierusalem ad templum Domini et ibi adorabat Dominum Deum suum Israhel omnia primitiva sua et decimas suas fideliter offerens*. . . . The lower scene, “la dîme de Tobit,” is, I believe, mischaracterized by Avril and Stirnemann. Tob 1:5 mentions the golden calves but states that Tobit fled the company of those who worshipped them, *cum irent omnes ad vitulos aureos quos Hieroboam fecerat rex Israhel hic solus fugiebat consortia omnium*. It therefore seems unlikely that Tobit is present in this scene. Rather, the lower scene contrasts with the upper scene by showing the offerings of Jews who, unlike Tobit, worshipped the golden calves and sacrificed to them in violation of God’s law.

Of the text in *L* and *P*, Nobel writes, “C’est assurément *L* qui fournit la version la plus authentique,”⁵⁹ and Wanono concurs that *L* “présente un texte plus soigné et moins fautif que le manuscrit *P*.”⁶⁰ Scholars agree unanimously that *L* provides the better text. Berger had already noted that *L* “est certainement plus correct et d’un meilleur langage que la grande Bible de Paris.”⁶¹ He is perhaps too harsh, however, in calling the ANB “un texte déplorable au point de vue de la pureté du langage.”⁶² He acknowledges that our text is “bien intéressant comme témoin de l’idiome parlé à cette époque chez nos voisins,” adding, “ce style n’est pas dénué de force ni la langue de caractère.” Nobel judges the ANB to be “une traduction textuelle, que nous qualifierons même de servile, de la Vulgate,”⁶³ an appraisal that certainly holds for Tobit: *L*’s Tobit follows the Vulgate text word for word, frequently also incorporating its turns of phrase.⁶⁴ Regarding the quality of the ANB translation, Nobel

⁵⁹ Pierre Nobel, “*La Bible de Jean de Sy et la Bible anglo-normande*,” *Florilegium* 24 (2007): 81–107 (85). Paues, xix, notes *L*’s “somewhat better and more correct text.” For reasons given here for Tobit, and despite Nobel’s suggestion (“*La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d’Acre*,” 441 n. 50), it is highly unlikely that *P* was copied from *L*.

⁶⁰ Wanono, “*Une Bible anglo-normande*,” 208.

⁶¹ Berger, *La Bible française*, 231.

⁶² I follow Berger, *La Bible française*, 237, for this sentence and the next.

⁶³ Nobel, “*La Bible anglo-normande et la Bible d’Acre*,” 431.

⁶⁴ Wanono suggests without further comment that the particular version used by the ANB’s translator was likely from “la tradition textuelle irlandaise de la Vulgate” (“*Une Bible anglo-normande*,” 208). For the Irish Vulgate, see Raphael Loewe, “The Medieval History of the Latin Vulgate,” in *The Cambridge History*

states in reference to Jerome's prologue to the Pentateuch as recorded in *L* (fol. 1r),

La servilité de la *Bible a.n.* est parfois telle que le texte devient incompréhensible en l'absence de la source qui donne le sens. La phrase n'a de français que l'apparence des termes, tant les mots individuels, le style et la structure collent à l'expression latine.⁶⁵

This is, however, invalid for Tobit, whose meaning is routinely clear.

It is highly unlikely that, for the book of Tobit, either *L* or *P* was copied from the other. We may first consider gaffes in *P*. In *L*'s version of Sarah's prayer, Sarah says, *Et chescun qe toi ahoure ceo ad pur certeigne qe si sa vie avera estee en proeve il ert coronee S'il adecertes eit estee en tribulacioun il ert deliverés* (ll. 122–25). Conflation of parallel structures after *sa vie* results in a shorter reading in *P*: *Ceo ad chescun por certain qe toi honure qi si sa vie eit estee il ert delivrés* (fol. 146r). *P* later botches Tobit's instructions to Tobias: *L*'s *Ha tu filz gardes toi de tote manere de fornicacioun et ja ne soeffres nullui fors ta femme savoir ton blame* (150–51) is muddled by duplication in *P*, giving *Tu fiz attend a toy de tut manere de for[n]icacioun et fors ta femme ja ne suffres tuz les qe ferount tu filz atend a toy de tote manere de fornicacioun et fors ta femme ja ne suffres crime savoir* (fol. 146r). Later, when Raguel formalizes his bequest, *L* notes, *de totes les riens qe Raguel avoit dona il a Thobie la moitee Et il fist en escript* (349–50), which *P* truncates to *de totes les riens qe Raguel avoit en escript* (fol. 147r). Another significant difference emerges in the scene of Azariah's revelation of his angelic nature. In enumerating Tobit's past charitable works, *L* has Raphael state *et ensevelies les mortz et refusas ton manger et musceas les mortz* (467–68), which *P* expands as *et ensevelis les mortz par un jour en ta maisoun et les enseveliz par nuit* (fol. 148r). Further examples could be offered. It therefore seems certain that, for Tobit, *L* could not have been copied from *P*.

The scribe of *L* also slips occasionally, omitting short phrases sanctioned by *V* and also present in *P*. In the aftermath of Tobit's despairing

of the Bible, II: *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*, ed G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge, 1969), 102–54, at 130–33. For detailed comments on Irish readings in the ANB's book of Acts, see Ratcliff, "Edition and Study," xxxvi–xxxix.

⁶⁵ Nobel, "Les translateurs bibliques," 459.

prayer, e.g., we read *com Thobie quideit estre oi de sa oreisoun il apellai a soi Thobie son filz* (133–34), for which *P* has *com Thobie quideroit estre oy de sa oreisoun **qe il poeit morir** et apella a sai Thobie son filz* (fol. 146r), a reading corroborated by *V*, *cum Tobias putaret orationem suam exaudiri **ut mori potuisset** vocavit ad se Tobiam filium suum* (Tob 4:1). In the context of the other arguments presented here, this lacuna in *L* bolsters the claim that *L* could not have been a model for *P*.

Discrepancies in chapter division also rule out that either *L* or *P* directly influenced the other. *P* begins chapter viii at l. 305 (*Et puis qe il avoient soupee*, fol. 147r), while *L* delays the new chapter to l. 307. Likewise, *P* opens chap. xiii at ll. 482–83 (*Lors cheus a la terre par treis hourres en lour faces*, fol. 148r), while in *L* chap. xiii begins at l. 484. There is a third incongruity at the beginning of chap. xiv, which *P* opens at l. 517 (*Et totes les paroles de Thobie sont finies*, fol. 148r), *L* at l. 518. According to Nobel, *L*'s capitulation follows that of the Bible adopted in 1226 by the University of Paris.⁶⁶

L's repeated use of the interjection *ha* or *halas*, indicating emphasis according to the AND but also promoting and underscoring characters' heightened engagement with each other, is an affective dynamic that is lacking in *P*. The interjection appears almost exclusively in prayers or in speeches addressed to loved ones. In his despairing prayer, e.g., Tobit cries, *Ha tu Sire tu es dreiturer et justes* (87), while in Ecbatana Sarah prays, *Ha Sire jeo demaunde qe tu moi lais du lien de yceste blame* (114–15). We find sixteen uses of *ha* or *halas* in *L* but only two in *P*.⁶⁷ Although this practice in *L* seems to have little basis in *V*, one may view

⁶⁶ Nobel, "Les translateurs bibliques," 452–53, seconded by Wanono, "Une Bible anglo-normande," 211. See further Nobel, "La traduction biblique," 213.

⁶⁷ In *L*, we find *ha* or *halas* in the speeches of Tobit to Tobias (ll. 150, 162, 166), Tobias to Tobit (169, 448), Tobias to Azariah-Raphael (180, 227, 237, 353), Azariah-Raphael to Tobias (409), and Anna to her absent son Tobit (381). The interjection also occurs in the prayers of Tobias (317), Raguel and Anna (338), and Tobit (485, 498, 509), in addition to the despairing prayers of Tobit and Sarah mentioned above. As noted, *P*'s Tobit introduces the interjection twice. In chap. v, when Tobias responds to Tobit's commission to recover money from Gabael, he begins, *Ha, my pere* (169), for which *P* has identical language (fol. 146r) but *V* simply has *pater* (Tob 5:1). Later, in Anna's speech to her absent son, *L* has *Halas halas my filz!* (381) while *P* reads *Halas, my filz!* (147v) and *V* has *heu heu me fili mi* (10:4).

it as a stylistic stratagem by the translator or scribe, just as rearrangement of syntax may result in a faithful but more effective sentence.

In comparing *L* and *P*, the reader also becomes aware that—at least for the ANB’s book of Tobit—the manuscripts present related but routinely divergent versions. *L*’s translation is spare and generally reliable and clear. As Revol puts it,

Le scribe du manuscrit L fait, non pas oeuvre littéraire, mais oeuvre de philologue et de clerc: ce qui l’intéresse, ce n’est pas la belle langue, mais le contenu même de la Bible qu’il veut transmettre le plus rapidement, le plus efficacement et le plus fidèlement possible. C’est une sorte d’archéologue, qui cherche le sens biblique originel.⁶⁸

While the scribe of *P* is prone to eyeskips, *P* frequently converges with *L*, matching it nearly word-for-word in several episodes of pivotal narrative interest.⁶⁹ Elsewhere in Tobit, however, *P* favors lexical renovation, changes of verb tense, and syntactical modification.

The scribe of *P* transmits a reviser’s text of the ANB’s Tobit, although this penchant is generally less noteworthy here than for the ANB’s books of Joshua or Ruth, for example.⁷⁰ Yet *P* records over fifty lexical substitutions in Tobit, inserting *reproece* and *crime* (fol. 146r) in place of *blame* 109, 151, *concupisce* (146r) for *coveitise* 117, pret.3 *coisa* (146v) for *teisa* 223, *visné* (147r) for *voisin* 347, *digne* (148r) for *avantable* 453, and *ydoles* (148r) for *malmetz* 529–30, among many others. *P* dismisses

⁶⁸ Revol, “Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande,” 68.

⁶⁹ E.g., Tobias attacked by a fish (Tob 6:1–6; ll. 224–36 and fol. 146v), Sarah and Tobias unharmed (Tob 8:11–16; ll. 325–34 and fol. 147r), Raphael recovers the ten talents (Tob 9:6–7; ll. 361–65 and fols. 147r–v), Anna watches for Tobias’s return (Tob 11:5–6; ll. 415–19 and fol. 147v), Tobit’s sight restored (Tob 11:13–16, ll. 432–36 and fol. 147v), and Azariah’s angelic nature revealed (Tob 12:17–22; ll. 475–83 and fol. 148r).

⁷⁰ As Revol, “Genèse de la Bible anglo-normande,” 78, also notes, “le texte est récrit dans le manuscrit P.” For examples of rewriting, see Revol, “Traduire un texte sacré,” 8–10. Similarly, Romashkina: “le copiste du manuscrit de Londres fait preuve d’une traduction très littérale et servile de la Vulgate, alors que celui de Paris tente d’améliorer et d’éclaircir son texte avec des paraphrases” (55). For particulars of *P*’s rewriting of Joshua, see Pitts, ed., *The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Joshua*, 33, 146–51 (“Comparison of *L* and *P*”), and 152–57 (“Divergent word-choice in *L* and *P*”). For *P*’s revision of Ruth, see Pitts, “The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Ruth,” 176 and 195–97 (“Comparison of *L*, *P* and *V*”).

Latinate *primicies* 12 in favor of *choses primitives* (145v) only to bedizen *ravine* 91 as *direpcioun* (145v). The substitutions of s.pl. *sotifs* (145v) for *occis* 36 and of pret.3 *acoucha* (145v) for *muscea* 61 have no basis in V.

In conclusion, a few sample texts will illustrate the categories of *P*'s revisions for the book of Tobit. The excerpts shown below are selective. They exclude such unintended scribal modifications as eyeskips, ditto-graphies, and omissions, focusing instead on ostensibly intentional revisions. Each excerpt shows first the text in *L* as edited here, followed by corresponding extracts from *P* and the Latin *V* with brief comments.

A. Modification of verbal form

Com ils touz mangerent des mangeres (l. 20); *com tuz mangereient en mangers* (*P*, fol. 145v); *et omnes ederent ex cibis* (Tob 1:12)—substitution of cond.6 *mangereient* for pret.6 *mangerent*

et out eu dis besauntz d'argent (27–28); *et eust dis besauntz d'argent* (*P*, 145v); *habuisset decem talenta argenti* (Tob 1:16)—substitution of sbj. impf.3 *eust* for compound past *out eu*

et dormi (63); *et eust dormi* (*P*, 145v); *et obdormisset* (Tob 2:10)—substitution of compound sbj. impf.3 *eust dormi* for pret.3 *dormi*

com Thobie quideit estre oi de sa oreisoun (133); *com Thobie quideroit estre oy de sa oreisoun* (*P*, 146r); *cum Tobias putaret orationem suam exaudiri* (Tob 4:1)—substitution of cond.3 *quideroit* for ind. impf.3 *quideit*

tu averas Deu en ta pensee touz les jours (140); *eiez tu en ta pensee Deu touz les jurs* (*P*, 146r); *omnibus autem diebus . . . Deum in mente habe* (Tob 4:6)—substitution of imper.2 *eiez* for fut.2 *averas* and transposition of *Deu*

Si tu averas eu petite chose (145); *Si petite chose y avera estee* (*P*, 146r); *si exiguum fuerit* (Tob 4:9)—following V, substitution of impersonal fut. perf.3 *avera estee* for fut. perf.2 *averas eu*

B. Modification of word order

Fai ore Sire merci a moy solom ta volentee (ll. 95–96); *Fai ore Seignor a moy solom ta volentee merci* (*P*, fol. 146r); *nunc Domine secundum voluntatem tuam fac mecum* (Tob 3:6)—transposition of *merci*

Et chescun qe toi ahoure ceo ad pur certeigne (122–23); *Ceo ad chescun por certein qe toi honure* (*P*, 146r); *hoc autem certum habet omnis qui colit te* (Tob 3:21)—inversion of order of clauses and substitution of *honure* for *ahoure*

desqueus les prieres furent rehercez en un temps el regard de Nostre Sire (131–32); desqueus en un temps les oreisouns el regard de Nostre Seigneur sont rehercez (P, 146r); quorum uno tempore fuerat oratio in conspectu Domini recitata (Tob 3:25)—insertion of adv. phrase en un temps at beginning of clause, placement of sont rehercez at end, and substitution of oreisouns for prieres

od toi A qui cil respouidi Ha pier quel lower (447–48); od toy Responant Thobie dist a son pere Pere cel lower (P, 147v); tecum respondens Tobias dixit pater quam mercedem (Tob 12:1–2)—P adheres to V in its use of p.pr. Responant

C. Insertions, additions and replacements

el tiertz an as proselitz et as estranges tote sa disme (l. 13); el tiertz an as estranges et as adventys dona il tote sa disme (P, fol. 145v); in tertio anno proselytis et advenis ministraret omnem decimationem (Tob 1:7)—insertion of extraneous dona and substitution of adventys for proselitz

en la voie Thobie prist congee a son pere et a sa mere et les salua (211–12); en la voie fist Thobie a son pere et a sa mere Deu vous salue (P, 146v); in via . . . fecit Tobias vale patri et matri suae (Tob 5:22)—sanctioned substitution of direct discourse Deu vous salue for L's looser prist congee . . . et les salua

qe la commune des gentz conussent qe tu es Dieu soul en tote la terre (340–41); qe la tote comune des gentz conussent qe tu es Dieu tut soel en tote la terre (P, 146r); ut cognoscat universitas gentium quia tu es Deus solus in universa terra (Tob 8:19)—insertion of extraneous tote and tut

il fist deux crasses vaches et quatre motouns d'estre occis (346); il fist deux crasses vaches et deux owailles d'estre occis (P, 147r); duas . . . vaccas pingues et quattuor arietes occidi fecit (Tob 8:22)—against V, introduction of deux owailles

et fait graces il sount entrez et assistrent (430–31); et fait graces il soy enmie assistrent (P, 147v); et gratias egissent consederunt (Tob 11:12)—with V, P collapses il sount entrez et assistrent to il soy . . . assistrent

countez totes ses merveilles et chauntez a luy Et com (479–81); countez totes ses merveilles si le benesquies et chauntez a ly Et com (P, 148r); narrate omnia mirabilia eius et cum (Tob 12:20–1)—P inserts extraneous chauntez a ly and repeats si le benesquies, also without basis in V

servez Nostre Sire en veritee et querez (532); servez Nostre Seigneur en paour et en veritee et enquerez (P, 148r); servite Domino in veritate et inquirite (Tob 14:10)—insertion of extraneous en paour

D. Multiple modifications

luy dona poer d'aler en quel lieu q'il voleit eiaunt fraunchise (ll. 23–24); *ly dona poer **qe en quel lieu** qe il voleit **aler out** il fraunchis* (P, fol. 145v); *dedit ei potestatem quocumque vellet ire habens libertatem* (Tob 1:14)—substitution of pret.3 **out** for p.pr. *eiaunt*, introduction of relative clause *qe en quel lieu*, and transposition of inf. *aler*

*q'il lui ensevelereit **queintement com** le solail se couchast Et com* (52–53); *qe il **dementres qe** le solail se couchast le **ensevelirent** Et com* (P, 145v); *ut dum sol occubisset caute sepeliret eum cumque* (Tob 2:4–5)—substitution of *dementres qe* for *com*, omission of *queintement* sanctioned by V, and erroneous substitution of pret.6 *ensevelirent* for cond.3 *ensevelereit*

*Lors **benesquirent il Dieu** par treis heures **chaeuz** sur lour face* (482–83); *Lors **cheus a la terre** par treis hourres en lour faces **benesquirent Dieu*** (P, 148r); *tunc prostrati per horas tres in faciem benedixerunt Deum* (Tob 12:22)—insertion of extraneous *a la terre* and transposition of *benesquirent Dieu* to end of clause

LANGUAGE

Orthography

Use of *aun* (written *aū*) for *an* indicating the velarization of /a/ before nasals, a thirteenth-century phenomenon, is commonplace, e.g., in *enfaunce* 17, *besauntz* 27, *substaunce* 41, *quaraunte* 42, and nearly all p.pr. forms, e.g., *eiaunt* 3, *offraunt* 12, and *busoignaunt* 29, for a total of over 170 occurrences in our text.⁷¹ We also find the digraph *an*, e.g., in *nepurquant* 5, 8, *grant(z)* 93, 205, 206 etc., *entrant* 260, and *disant* 418.

The graphy *oun*, introduced in the later thirteenth century and current by the middle of the fourteenth, is as common as *aun*.⁷² It occurs about 170 times in our text, e.g., in *dount* 28, 79, 180 etc., *sount* 87, 88, 93 etc. and *serrount* 243–44, 423, *506 etc., *fount* 149, 465, *vount* 118, 213, 414, *counte(z)* 188, 479, 489, *verrount* 220, and *averount* 504, 505–6, 506, among numerous others. It also occurs in many s., e.g., *noun* 16, 100, 112 etc., *maisoun* 43, 46, 52 etc., *lamentacioun* 55, *enchaisoun* 58,

⁷¹ Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, §1.6: “It is generally thought to be a 13th-century phenomenon foreign to 12th-century texts and consequently useful as a dating criterion.”

⁷² *Ibid.*, §6.7.

321, 375, *temptacioun* 65, 470, and *oreisoun(s)* 108, 111, 129 etc. Many further examples could be added to this short list.

There are numerous examples of the insertion of *e* between *v + r*, e.g., in *sovereines* 2 and *sovereigne* 106; in *oevere* 9, *oevereigne(s)* 77, 461–62, 493 etc., and *oeverour* 155; in *cheveres* 79 and in fut. forms of *avoir* 112, 123, 125 etc., *boivre* 284, and *savoir* 423; in cond. *devereit* 351 and *dever[i]oms* 384–85; in p.p. *oeveree* 153, imper.2 *coveres* 157, and p.pr. *overaunt* 484; also, between *t + r*, e.g., in *tisteresce* 77–78.⁷³ Our text offers scant evidence of syncopated fut. forms other than *ahour(r)ount* 503, 504 (cf. *ahourera* 494) and *delivera* 510.⁷⁴

We find *h* as an intervocalic glide indicating hiatus in representatives of *ahourer* 11, 123, 421 etc., *obehir* 91, *enhoindre* 243, 422, 432, and *traire* 435.⁷⁵ Use of the letter *k*, an AN convention, is uncommon, appearing only in *cink* 43, *bokerel* 79, *patriarks* 263, *estomak* 233, 262, 308, *Isaak* 298, and *cok* 325. Elsewhere, *w* is an intervocalic glide in *Giewerie* 37, *eschiwes* 140, *lower* 154, 177, 448, *fower* 326, *cuwe* 427, and *vewe* 435, 481, 488.⁷⁶ The scribe substitutes *y* for *i* in *paynys* 21, *mynuyt* 61, *mercy* 113, *chemyn* 210, 235, *amys* 254, and many others.⁷⁷

Evidence of the raising of /ə/ to /i/ in contact with palatals occurs only in *chival* 258.⁷⁸ AN *primer* 225 also appears.

The scribe prefers archaic spellings with preconsonantal *l* in *veals* 9, *altre* 14, 157, 235 etc. and *altrefoiz* 59, *vols* 104, 245, *volsist* 25, 457, *voldra(i)* 207, 455, and *volt* 496, *oels* 64, 114, 220 etc., *almoigne(s)* 73, 84, 142 etc., *(tres)halt* 130, 149, and *haltesce* 415, *assalt* 228, *c(h)amels* 361, 397, 440, *salvee* 438, 491 and *salves* 486, *malditz* 506, *malmetz* 529–30, *malveisetee* 538, and the like.⁷⁹ “Much, many” is always *mult(z)* 29, 31, 39 etc. Meanwhile, the pl. of *quel* is consistently written *queus* 10, 76, 93 etc.. We find subj.impf.3 *vousist* 215 alongside *volsist* 25, 457, and for *enhaucea* 516, the scribe of *P* writes *enhalcea* instead (fol. 148r).

⁷³ Ibid., §19.11. “The interconsonantal glide *e* . . . is already present in AN spelling in the middle of the 12th century” (§19.11*).

⁷⁴ See *ibid.*, §19.6.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, §19.3.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, §§5.4, 28.3.

⁷⁷ Short, *ibid.*, §8.1**, traces this practice from the mid-thirteenth century.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, §§4.5*, 19.13.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, §21.1.

In addition to the Continental French *oi*, our scribe often uses *ei* as in *voleit* 24, *poeit* 34, 78, 133 etc. and *poieient* 482, *quideit* 133, 352, *maneit* 224, *voilleit* 395–96, and the like, and of cond.3 in *ensevelereit* 52, *avendreit* 287, 327, *remaindreit* 350, *devereit* 351, *porreit* 390, and others.⁸⁰ For *oi* we also find numerous examples including ind.impf. *avoient* 281, 305, 342 etc., *estois* 57, 163, 469, *estoit* 4, 15, 29 etc., and *estoient* 121, 211, 364 etc., and cond. *irroient* 9, 412, *emplerioient* 342, *morroit* 287–88, and *esclarzieroit* 342–43, among others. Overall, the scribe prefers ind.impf.3 or cond.3 *-eit* (fifteen uses) to *-oit* (ten), but ind.impf.6 or cond.6 *-oient* (twelve) to *-eient* (one).

Final *-z* stands for *-s* in certain ind.pr.2, imper.2, and sbj.pr.2 forms, e.g., *enseveliz* 59, *voiez* 80, *voile(t)z* 142, 166, 219 etc., *demaundez* 277, and *benesquiez* 510. Contrariwise, *-s* replaces *-z* in *benesquies* 479 and *oies* 535.⁸¹ The use of *-tz* (fourteenth c.) is widespread, as seen prominently in the opening lines, e.g., in *tiertz* 13, *proselitz* 13, *amonestementz* 26, *besauntz* 27, *famillauntz* 34–35, and *mortz* 35.⁸²

Vowels are doubled before final consonant in *pees* 96, 289, *475 etc., *sees* 193, *meer* 318, and *decees* 351.⁸³ Doubled consonants appear very frequently. We find *-cc-* in *occident* 3, *pecche(e)(z)* 18, 89, 113 etc., *peccheruse* 495, and *peccheours* 159, 496, *successours* 66, *leccherie* 120, 258, 266 etc., *secchesces* 230, and all representatives of *occire*, e.g., at 36, 39, 40 etc. Double *f*, noted above, occurs also in all spellings of *cirograffe* 30, 164, 166 etc., in *affiaunce* 148 and *proffitablement* 233, and in representatives of *soeffrir* 64, 138, 147 etc. and *suffire* 217, 235, among a handful of other examples. Geminate *-gg-* appears in *juggement(z)* 87, 88, 93; *-ll-* more than eighty times, e.g., in *illoeqes* 11, 173, 303 etc., *famillaunt(z)* 34–35, 157, *ancelles* 99, 330, 332 etc., *pucelle* 102, 265, 310, and in representatives of *voler* 74, 142, 159 etc., *bailler* 91, 100, 119, *apeller* 114, 134, 302 etc., and *apparailer* 179, 211, 282 etc., to name only these; *-rr-*, especially in fut. forms of *estre* 243–44,

⁸⁰ Ibid., 45.

⁸¹ Ibid., §34.4. For *-z* in place of *-s*, see further F. J. Tanquerey, *L'Évolution du verbe en anglo-français (XII^e–XIV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1915; hathitrust.org), 66–70; for *-s* as *-z*, Tanquerey writes, “ce n'est qu'au XIV^e siècle que nous trouvons un nombre assez considérable de cette graphie” (201).

⁸² Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, §25.2*.

⁸³ Short, *ibid.*, §3.5, dates this scribal practice from the middle of the thirteenth century.

263, 312 etc., *doner* 172, 250, 296 etc., *poer* 144, 197, 313 etc., *restorer* 175, 198, *veer* 220, 424, and *ahourer* 503, 504, e.g., as shown in the Glossary; also, in infin. *morrer* 97, †133–34, *curre* 428, and *garrir* 471; and cond. *morroit* 287–88, *porreit* 390, and *irroient* 412. Occurrences of *-mm-*, *-nn-*, and *-pp-* are unremarkable.⁸⁴

Regarding the interchange of prefixes, a characteristic of AN, our text offers only *fauntile* 9 / *enfauntil* 14–15, *deguerpir* 50–51 / *guerpir* 5, *prier* 188, 191, 201 etc. / *deprier* 86, 108, 355, *vers* 154, 164, 185 etc. / *devers* 174–75, and *adonqe* 143, 190 / *donqe* 86, 169, 174 etc.⁸⁵

Abbreviations are mostly as expected, but the scribe often places a horizontal bar above several letters of a word, routinely intersecting with the ascender of *b* or *l* and indicating abbreviations of *mult(z)* 31, 39, 42 etc., *Israel* 32, 39, 49 etc., *substaunce(s)* 248, 396, *Jerusalem* 498, 510, *512, and *alleluia* 515.

As for characteristic AN spellings like *memoire* / *memorie*, we find *primicies* 12, *glorie* 130, *convivie* 344, and *necessarie(s)* 345, 413.⁸⁶ “Father(s)” is commonly *pere(s)* 99, 111, *169 etc., but we also find *pier* 249, 448.

Metathesis of *er* and *re* occurs in some forms of *prendre*, e.g., *pernaunt* 51, 79, 297 etc., as shown in the Glossary.⁸⁷ “Book” is *livre* in the *incipit* but *liver* in the *explicit*.

Verbs

A single pret.1 ends in *-a*, *medla* 118, likewise there is one pret.3 in *-ai*, *apellai* 134. Among fut.1 in *-a*, we find *porchacera* 171, *demoustrera* 255, and *ahourera* 494.⁸⁸

Ind.pr.3 of *avoir* includes archaic *ad* 123, *247, 252 etc., fifteen uses in all.⁸⁹ Ind.impf.3 of *avoir* appears once as *avoit* 349; our scribe prefers pret.3 *out* 10, *27, 38 etc., including as aux. in compound forms. We find, however, several uses of ind.impf.6 *avoient* 281, 305, 342 etc.

⁸⁴ Ibid., §30.2.

⁸⁵ Ibid., §30.1.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 46, §13.4.

⁸⁷ Ibid., §22.4.

⁸⁸ Ibid., §11.10.

⁸⁹ Short, *ibid.*, §1.3*, dates this AN orthographic convention from the twelfth century; see also 24.2**.

Ind.impf.3 of *estre* is *estoit* 4, 15, 29 etc. or *ert* 22, 40, 44 etc. The scribe consistently uses ind.impf.6 *estoient* 121, 211, 364 etc. Fut.2 of *estre* appears as *ers* 198 and *serras* 263, fut. 3 as *ert* *124, 143, 148 etc. and *serra* 525, 527, 528.

For *aler*, sbj.pr.3 is *voise* 173, 176, 204.⁹⁰

In compound tenses, the scribe occasionally uses *avoir* as aux. in contexts where a form of *estre* is expected, e.g., *il out venuz* 27, *il eust alee* 49, *si ne avoms nous point alee* 94–95, *si en ay jeo alee sovent* 184, *il eust entree* 366, and *tu averas entré* 420, but we also find *aler* with aux. *estre* in *il fussent alez* 214.

Among about forty-five instances of clauses beginning with *com*, the sbj. is used in eighteen cases (40%), followed by ind.impf. (eleven, 24.4%), fut. or fut.perf. (six, 13.3%), and pret. (six, 13.3%).

The scribe / translator of *L* ably promotes comprehension and a smooth reading experience by coordinating verb tenses and context. Nevertheless, we sometimes encounter cond. forms in contexts where ind.impf. is expected, e.g., *com touz irroient as veals d'or* 9; cond. for inf. or sbj.impf., e.g., *le porta a sa maisoun . . . q'il lui ensevelereit* 51–52, *comaunda Raguel a ses serfs q'il empleroient la fossee* 341–42, *q'ele le porreit veer de loinz* 390; ind.impf. for pret., e.g., *Tu fesoies Adam* 319; pret. for ind.impf., e.g., *il departi totes les choses q'il poeiet avoir* 6, *si nurrist il les famillauntz et dona vestures as nuds* 34–35, *ele ploraunt chescun jour regarda entour et s'en vait* 388–89, *dementres q'ele regarda son revener* 416–17; and, most insistently, ind.pr. presenting as pret., often with a form of *s'en aler*, e.g., *et s'en vait a Jerusalem* 11, *Lors s'en vait il* 25, *Thobie s'en vait de jour en jour* 33, *il s'en vait et lui enseveli* 56, *sa femme s'en vait chescun jour* 77, *Et ambedeux s'en vount ensemble* 212–13, and *cil s'en vount* 414. Also note *trait* 230, an ind.pr.3 form here signifying a past action, “he drew in, he pulled in” (cf. pret.3 *trahist* 435).⁹¹

⁹⁰ Ibid., §34.5.

⁹¹ Thierry Revol, “Traduire un text sacré: Analyses syntaxiques de la *Bible anglo-normande*,” *Linx* 78 (2019; journals.openedition.org/linx/3034): 1–16, devotes a section (3–7) to analysis of the treatment of the Vulgate’s verb tenses and participles by the scribes of the ANB’s book of Genesis in *L* and *P*. For Genesis, he notes the occasional use of the conditional to convey the Vulgate’s subj.impf. (4).

Syntax

The ANB's Tobit uses absolutes extensively, a reflection of its Latin source. These forms may involve present participial constructions, e.g., *cil ceo pernaunt* 51, *ele pernaunt un bokerel* 79, *ele permesnaunt en oreisoun* 107–8, *Thobie adecertes respoignaunt* 209, *Le quel Thobie doutaunt* 227, *tu entrant ton lit* 260, and others; or past participial constructions, e.g., *cil mys en cheitivetee* 5, *cil returnee counta* 49, *Thobie adonqe entree counta* 190, *cil entree le salua* 192, *totes choses apparaillez* 211, and others.

In imitation of its Latin source, moreover, the ANB's Tobit regularly expresses the negative imper. with *voler*, e.g., *Ne voillez parler en ceste manere* 74, *ne voilles . . . manger ne boivre od peccheours* 159, *ne voil(l)e(t)z douter* 166, 475, *Ne voilletz plorer* 219, *ne voilles tu ore porter doute* 295–96, and the like. We also find one use of the negative imper. without *voler*, *Ja ne soeffres orgoille en ton sen enseigner* 151–52.

The workhorse rel.pron. in our text is *qe* (some 160 uses), but *le q(u)el* in its various forms also appears about twenty-five times. Use of *qi* is limited: it appears as obj. of prep. in *A qi cil respoundi* 184, 448, *A qi Thobie dist* 188, *od qi* 387 and the like, and in possess. *Raguel moy ad conjuree qi conjureisoun jeo ne pusse despire* 359–60—where *qi* means “whose”—but never as rel.pron.

Pleonastic *en* appears in tandem with *faire* and *avoir* in compound tenses, e.g., in *com il en out fait* 230, *ceo en ai jeo oy* 252, *et en as eu merci* 338, *les bienfaitz de Dieu q'il en out fait* 441–42, and *quar il en ad fait . . . sa mercy* 460. Parataxis of *qe* occurs in jussive constructions, e.g., in *Nous ne veoms de toi plus outre filz ne fille* 103, *benesquient toi les ciels et les terres* 317–18, and *Et trovez vous totes choses dreites entour voz amys et voient mes oels voz filz* 400–402; we find parataxis of *ne* in *je preigne point ma sorour* 320.

At the beginning of a sentence, *Qe* may mean “Which things,” e.g., *Qe com il (en) out fait* 229–30, 234, or “May,” e.g., in *qe vous voiez voz filz* 370–71.

The expression of possess. by juxtaposition is common, occurring in *l'angle Dieu* 179, *des serfs Raguel* 361, *le seint angle Dieu* 399–400, *les cosyngs Thobie* 443, *les oevereignes Dieu* 461–62, *la femme ton filz* 471, *la parole Deu* 526, *la maisoun Dieu* 528, and *la maisoun Raguel* 542, a

comprehensive list. The scribe prefers to use the gamut of possess.adj. and insertion of *de*, e.g., *la lignee de Neptalim* 8, *el temple de Nostre Sire* 11, *la maisoun de Thobie* 46, *les filz des seintz* 75, *les trespases de mes parentz* 90, among many further examples. As noted, in *Raguel moy ad conjuree qi conjureisoun jeo ne pusse despire* 359–60, *qi* means “whose.” There are two uses of a possess.pron., *Le toen espoir fait est vain* 83–84 and *vous chastea pur la vostre iniquitee* 490–91.

Morphology

The gender of nouns is consistent and mostly as expected. “Fear,” *doute*, is fem. (69, 119), however, as are, apparently, *corage* 195, *co-sinage* 295, and *heritage* 542, but evidence is scant. We find masc. *rues* 514, although it is fem. elsewhere (50). Likewise, s.inf. *manger* presents as fem. (51) and masc. (467); also, *blame* (masc. 151, apparently fem. at 109, 115), and *chemyn* (masc. *235, 415, 523, fem. †185). We find *touzes primicies* 12, even though *compaignie*, *giewerie*, *mangerie*, and other s. in *-ie* are labelled as fem. in our text. Effacement of final *-e* results in *un pucelle* 265, *un partie* 308, and *un de ses ancelles* 332. Inappropriate use of enclisis may explain *del cheitivete* 272, *al tierce et la quarte generacioun* 371–72, and *al quint generacioun* 543.⁹²

Enclisis is evident in *al* (*a + le*), e.g., in *al roi* 40, *al corps* 51, *al tierce jour* 110, *al secchesces* 230, and four other appearances in our text. Pl. *as* (*a + les*), as in *as veals d’or* 9, *as proselitz et as estranges* 13, *as nuds* 35, *as mortz et as occis* 35–36, and three further uses, is re-analyzed only in *a les altres sept* 327.⁹³ Prep. *de + le* is written *du* in *honuree du roi* 28, *tu moi lais du lien* 115, *la lumere du ciel* 194, and twelve more; and by *del*, e.g., in *el regard del roi* 23, *Les chauds fient[z] del ny* 63, *del travaille de ses mains* 78, and six other uses. The *des* or *dé* enclisis (*de + les*) occurs, e.g., in *roi des Assiriens* 5, *mangerent des mangeres des paynims* 20–21, *citee des Medes* 27, *multz des filz* 39, and about thirty more instances, also occurring once in re-analyzed form as *de les paroles* 307. We find *el* (*en + le*) in *el senestre* 4, *el temple* 11, *el tiertz an* 13, *el regard del roi* 23, and nine more uses. Our text offers four examples of *nel* (*ne + le*): *tu nel faces* 156, *jeo nel conuis* 171, *cil ne[l] voilleit oir* 395–96, and *il nel poieient plus outre veer* 481–82.

⁹² Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, §31.2*.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, §33.

Among obj. pronouns, sg.3 *ly* is routine with verbs of communication, e.g., *ele ly respoundi* 102, *Thobie ly dist* 219, *et ly comaunda* 302, and *et ly dist* 446; but we also find *luy* repeatedly, e.g., with representatives of *doner* *23, 172, 290 etc., *dire* 134, 197, 200 etc., *demaunder* 160–61, *demoustrer* 175, *envoier* 216, *prendre* 229, 249, 456, *boiser* 278, *require* 357, *counter* 363, *faire venir* 364, *mesner* 442, *appeller* 456, and *ahourer* 459, 462, 487–88 etc., and in disjunctives after *a* 16, 101, 191 etc., *pur* 32, *de* 40, 165, 260 etc., *entour* 222, and *od* 261, 364.

For pl., the scribe uses *lour* before forms of *doner* 25, *suffire* 235, *dire* 274, 459, 475 etc., *counter* 334, and *plaire* 412. We find one substitution of *a eux* for *lour*, in *halegretee fust a eux donee* 315–16.

For sg.obj.pron.1, *moy* fills tonic and unstressed functions, e.g., *Fai ore Sire merci a moy* 95, *si tu moi vols occire* 104, *qe tu moy ostes* 115–16, *Il ne moy conusse* 171, *Dieu vous fist a moy venir* 294–95, and numerous further uses; *toi* is unstressed or tonic sg.obj.pron.2, e.g., in *Nous toi benesquioms* 335–36, *les fai plus pleinement toi benesquir et a offrir a toi sacrifice* 339, *jeo toi depri* 355, *Naciouns de loinz vendront a toi* 503, and so forth. Finally, *soi* is alternately disjunctive or reflex., e.g., in *soi tapist* 42, *il apellai a soi Thobie* 134, *il les porterent od soi* 234–35, *et soi donnent . . . a lour leccherie* 257–58, and the like.

Lexis

The vocabulary of the ANB's book of Tobit is expressive but by no means especially rich.⁹⁴ For description of Tobit's religious regimen and his recommendations to Tobias regarding proper practice, e.g., the vocabulary is workaday Anglo-Norman involving repetition of such words as *ahourer*, *almoigne*, *benesoun*, *benesquir*, *ensevelir*, *esjoir*, *oreisoun*, and similar. We also find *malmetz* 529–30 for which *P* substitutes *ydoles*.

A large cluster of words expresses Jewish group identity: *amys*, *cognacioun*, *cosinage*, *cosyn*, *filz de Israel*, *gendre*, *generacioun*, *giewerie*, *lignee*, *lin*, *mesnie*, *proesmes*, *proschein*, *proselitz*, *successours*, and *voisins*. Outsiders are *estranges* or *paynims*. (For line references, see the Glossary.) Another small word-cluster names documents and writing materials: *cirograffe*, *chartre*, *endenture*, and *escript*. It is perhaps not

⁹⁴ The chief dictionary of reference is the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (AND) at www.anglo-norman.net supplemented by Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW), at apps.atilf.fr.

surprising that this story about exile, suffering, and a perilous journey should evoke health and well-being so frequently, often with adj. *sain* or *sauf* or, insistently, with the expression *sain et halegre*.

Compound words include adj. in *nyent-* (“un-” or “not”), e.g., *nyentmovable* 69, *nyentdigne* 120, and *nyentvisible* 477; verbal form with prefix *avaunt-*, *avauntmesnez* 264–65; and, with *tres-*, s. *tresprudhom* 369.

Doublets include the aforementioned *lin* 16, 29 / *ligne(e)* 2, 8, 20 etc.; also, *manger(es)* 20, 51, 467 / *mangerie* 46, 282, 445, *cirograffe* 30 / *cerograffe* 164 / *celegraff* 166, 174, *vestures* 35 / *vestementz* 158, and *rementailles* 511 / *remenaunt* 522.

Our text twice uses the adverbial expression *si la qe* “until” 188, 236.⁹⁵

On three occasions, the scribe / translator uses verbs based on *clore* < CLAUDĒRE: *decloset* 257, *forclos* 337, and *esclost* 541. The use of *forclos* is appropriate and meaningful in the context. At l. 257, however, *decloset* is mistakenly used to convey the idea of excluding God from one’s mind and thoughts. *V* has *Deum a se sua mente excludant* (Tob 6:17), and in the AND *declore* usually means not closing but opening. Accordingly, *forcloset* has been substituted for *decloset* 257 in the text. In the scene where Sarah’s parents die and Tobias faithfully closes their eyes, the form *esclost* 541 stands, as *esclore* may mean “to close” (FEW).

Several words in the story are not found in the AND. These include *avantable* 453, *avauntmesner* 264–65, *desboueler* 232, *peregriner* 382, *services* 355, *tresorer* 146, and *tueresce* 103–4, among others.

NARRATIVE CHARACTERISTICS

The Anglo-Norman Bible’s Book of Tobit, following the Latin Vulgate text, includes effective use several features in the narrative. The examples below are presented with corresponding Latin:

1) *Dialogue*. As Moore states, “much of the characterization of the personalities throughout the book is conveyed through direct address.”⁹⁶ Although Jerome’s Latin translation, *V*, tends to flatten or shorten the

⁹⁵ Ratcliff, “Edition and Study,” cxvi, comments that *si la qe* does not seem to be used outside AN.

⁹⁶ Moore, *Tobit*, 135. Bible references in this section follow the Vulgate Tobit’s chapter and verse divisions.

direct discourse of the *Vetus Latina* to indirect discourse, its early chapters and the corresponding ANB text feature several examples of direct discourse and dialogue, including the bitter argument of Tobit and Anna in ll. 77–85 (Tob 2:19–23) and Azariah-Raphael’s honeymoon instructions to Tobias in ll. 255–67 (Tob 6:16–22).⁹⁷ Of particular interest are the job-interviews of Azariah by Tobias and Tobit in ll. 178–210 (Tob 5:5–21): Tobias questions Azariah and determines that he is a seasoned guide. Then Azariah is interviewed a second time by Tobit and is hired. Azariah’s speeches seem evasive. To maintain his disguise, he avoids giving a direct answer to a repeated question about his kinship group. He first responds generically, *Des filz de Israel* (l. 181; Tob 5:7, *ex filiis Israhel*). Then, in reply to Tobit’s repeated query, he answers with a question, *Queres tu la lignee del mercener ou cil mercener qe voise od ton filz?* (ll. 203–4; Tob 5:17, *genus quaeris mercennarii an ipsum mercennarium qui cum filio tuo eat*). The conversation advances the story by providing information and introducing a new main character but leaves gaps likely to intrigue the reader until lingering questions about Azariah are finally answered.

2) *Simultaneity*. After Tobit’s quarrel with Anna, he is so disheartened that he prays for death: *comaunde mon esperit estre resceu en pees car il espleit plus a moi morrer qe vivre* (ll. 96–97; Tob 3:6, *praecipe in pace recipi spiritum meum expedit enim mihi mori magis quam vivere*). At the very same time in Ecbatana, as the author informs readers, Raguel’s daughter Sarah, who has been taunted by an impudent handmaid, climbs to the highest story of her father’s house, where she also prays and contemplates death: *Ha Sire jeo demaunde qe tu moi lais du lien de yceste blame ou qe tu moy ostes certeignement de sur la terre* (ll. 114–16; Tob 3:15; *peto Domine ut de vinculo inproperii huius absolvas me aut certe desuper terra eripias me*). These prayers are brought before the Lord at the same time *En ycel temps sount les oreisouns des ambedeux oies el regard de la glorie del halt Dieu* (ll. 129–30; Tob 3:24, *in illo tempore exauditae sunt preces amborum in conspectu gloriae summi Dei*).⁹⁸ In chap. xi, finally, Anna sits by the road to watch for Tobias’s return. As

⁹⁷ Skemp, *Vulgate of Tobit*, 459, q.v. for references. By Jerome’s time, the *Vetus Latina* had been read in the Church for over two centuries (1).

⁹⁸ For the “close literary symmetry” of the plights of Tobit and Sarah, see Moore, *Tobit*, 159.

she gazes into the distance, suddenly Tobias reappears, and Anna rushes off to tell Tobit (ll. 415–19; Tob 11:5–6).

3) *Irony*. Perhaps the most obvious example of irony, which results when the reader has more information than the actor,⁹⁹ is that, although the reader knows by Tob 5:6 that Azariah is in fact the angel Raphael in disguise, Tobit and Tobias do not learn this until Tob 12:15, when Raphael reveals, *car jeo sui Raphael l'angle un des sept qe esteount devaunt Nostre Sire* (l. 472; *ego enim sum Rafahel angelus unus ex septem qui adstamus ante Dominum*).¹⁰⁰ Beginning at Tob 3:25, moreover, the reader is aware that the story will have a happy ending—Tobit's sight will be restored, and Sarah will marry Tobias—yet the characters do not witness these outcomes until chaps. viii (Sarah) and xi (Tobit).

4) *Prayers*: Moore points out that “the insertion of a prayer at a crucial point in the story is characteristic of narrative writing in the OT,” and Tobit is no exception.¹⁰¹ There are nine prayers in Tobit, some quite short and others longer: three by Tobit (ll. 86–97, Tob 3:1–6; 437–38, Tob 11:17; 485–516, Tob 13:1–23), two by Sarah (ll. 111–28, Tob 3:13–23; ll. 323–24, Tob 8:10), and one each by Tobias (ll. 317–22; Tob 8:7–9), Raguel and Anna (ll. 335–41; Tob 8:17–19), by Raguel alone (ll. 399–402; Tob 10:11) and by Gabael (ll. 368–72; Tob 9:9–11).¹⁰² Some prayers might be described as psalms, others as vocalized wishes. Only two—the aforementioned *de profundis* prayers by Tobit and Sarah in chap. ii—are sent up before Tobias's journey to Râges (chap. iv). Prayers then resume in chap. viii, in the wedding-story of Tobias and Sarah, continuing into chap. x, five prayers in total. Afterwards, two prayers (chaps. xi and xiii). Dancy terms Tobit's prayer in chap. xiii “a formal song of praise.”¹⁰³ Along with lively dialogue and alert narrative, prayers are as it were the third leg of the stool in the book's literary strategy, the lyrical counterpart of the characters' words and deeds. They advance the

⁹⁹ Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 35.

¹⁰⁰ The author of Tobit “takes Old Testament ideas about angels further than ever before—indeed in some respects further than the New Testament . . .” (Dancy, *Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 9).

¹⁰¹ Moore, *Tobit*, 138.

¹⁰² Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 47, counts only six prayers.

¹⁰³ Dancy, *Shorter Books of the Apocrypha*, 7.

story by revealing supplicants' thoughts, feelings, and vulnerabilities, and they predict what will follow.

5) *Wisdom*: Tobias benefits especially from his father's moral and ethical teaching (ll. 134–61, Tob 4:2–20; ll. 525–38, Tob 14:6–13), while Azariah-Raphael addresses his instructions to Tobit and Tobias (ll. 459–65, Tob 12:6–10). Tobias's mentors base their lessons on the Law, with particular emphasis on “private religious duties, especially prayers and almsgiving.”¹⁰⁴ Specific instructions recall Tobias's responsibility to bury the dead, to marry within the tribe, and to pray continually. Two familiar precepts are juxtaposed in chap. iv, the fair treatment of workmen (ll. 153–55; Tob 4:15) and a version of the Silver Rule (ll. 156–57; Tob 4:16). Moore calls the sections in chaps. 4 and 12 “collections of proverbs,” stating that together they “give the book a sapiential character.”¹⁰⁵

EDITORIAL CONSIDERATIONS

The text of the Anglo-Norman Bible's Tobit presented here is from *L* with missing letters shown in square brackets and with other editorial emendations noted in the apparatus, which has the rejected *L* readings followed by the readings from *P* and *V* in parentheses. Variants in *P* are not noted where the text in *L* is clear and complete and has required no emendation, since it would overwhelm the apparatus of this edition to show all textual differences in *P*. Selected examples of the divergent versions of the ANB's Tobit in *L* and *P* have been presented above in the section on the manuscripts of the ANB's book of Tobit, but in the edition of *L*'s Tobit, *P*'s readings are for the most part noted only where they may serve as the basis for the emendation of *L*. The Tobit text in *L* adheres very consistently to the Vulgate text (*V*), and emendation of *L* is necessary in some cases where the *P* reading corresponds more closely to the Latin reading, both of which are listed in the apparatus after the rejected reading in *L*.

The apparatus generally does not report strikethroughs, expunctions, or the insertion of superscript letters in *L*. Instead the edition silently fol-

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁵ Moore, *Tobit*, 10. When Moore returns to the topic of sapiential literature on p. 19, he brings Chap. 14 into this group. For discussion of the Silver Rule, see Moore, *Tobit*, 178–80.

lows the copyist's corrected text. Following accepted editorial practice, moreover, consonantal *i* and *u* are transcribed as *j* and *v* to distinguish them from the vocalic forms. In cases where the distinction of *c* and *t* or *u* / *v* and *n* is unclear, readings are based on a legible occurrence of the word elsewhere in our text. Abbreviations are expanded in the text without further comment, and effaced final *e* is indicated by an apostrophe ('). For chapter numbers, *L* prefers lower-case Roman numerals **ii**, **iii** etc., while the scribe of *P* writes *Capitulum i*, *Capitulum ij.* etc. Word-separation in variant readings from *P* follows that of the edited text or of entries in the Anglo-Norman Dictionary.

The Anglo-Norman Bible's Book of Tobit
(London, British Library Royal 1 C III, fols. 312r–315v)

Ci finist le secound livre de Esdre et comence le livre de Thobie.

Thobie de la ligne et de la citee de Neptalim qe est es souveraines parties
de Galilee par desur Nason, prés de la voie qe mesne a l'occident, eiaunt
el senestre la citee de Sepheth com il estoit pris es jours de Salmanasar,
5 roi des Assiriens, nepurquant cil mys en cheitivetee ne guerpi point la
voie de veritee issint q'il departi totes les choses q'il poeiet avoir de jour
en jour a ses cheitifs freres qe furent de son gendre. Et com il fust plus
joevene de trestouz en la lignee de Neptalim, nepurquant il ne fist rien
fauntile chose en oevere. Al derrein com touz irroient as veals d'or—les
10 queus Jeroboam, roi de Israel, out fait—cil soul fui la compaignie de touz
et s'en vait a Jerusalem el temple de Nostre Sire. Et illoeques ahoura il le
Sire Dieu de Israel, offraunt loialement touz ses primicies et ses dismes
issint q'il ministra el tiertz an as proselitz et as estranges tote sa disme.
Cestes choses et altre a eux semblables solom la lei Dieu de ciel cil en-
15 fauntil garda. Com il adecertes estoit fait bier, il prist femme—Annan—
de son lin. Et il engendra de ly un filz, mettaunt a luy son noun, le qel il
enseigna a douter Dieu de sa enfaunce et abstinere de tut' manere de
pecchee.

Lors com il fust devenuz par cheitivetee od sa femme et son filz en la
20 citee de Ninivee od tote sa lignee et com ils touz mangerent des mangeres
des paynyms, il garda s'alme et ja n'est soillie en lour viaundes quar il
ert remembrant de Nostre Sire en tut son quoeer.

Nostre Sire luy dona grace el regard del roi Salmanasar et luy dona
poer d'aler en quel lieu q'il voleit, eiaunt fraunchise a faire quele chose
25 q'il volsist. Lors s'en vait il par touz qe furent en cheitivetee et lour dona
amonestementz de salu.

Et com il out venuz en Rages, citee des Medes, et out eu dis besauntz
d'argent de ceux dount il fust honoree du roi, et com il vist Gabellum
busoignaunt od mult de compaignie de sa lignee le quel estoit de son lin,
30 il le dona south cirograffe le pois d'argent remembree.

21 est soillie] estoit s. *L* (est s. *P* : contaminatus est *V*) **23** el regard del roi
Salmanasar et] el regard del roi *S*. le roi et *L* (el regarde del roy *S*. et *P* : in con-
spectu Salmanassar regis et *V*)

Adecertes après mult de temps le roi Salmanasar mort, com Senacharib son filz regnast pur luy et eust haignous les filz de Israel en son regard, Thobie s'en vait de jour en jour par tote sa cognacioun et les conforta. Et il departi a chescun de ses facultez si com il poeit, si nurrüst il les famillauntz et dona vestures as nuds. Et cil corious dona sepulture as mortz et as occis.

Al derrein com le roi Senacherib fust [re]turnee fuiaunt de la Giewerie pur la plaie la quele Dieu out fait entour lui pur sa blastenge—et cil corucee out occis multz des filz de Israel—Thobie ensevelist lour corps. Et com ceo ert countee al roi, il le comaunda estre occis et prist de luy tote sa substance. Thobie adecertes od son filz et od sa femme, fuiaunt nuds, soi tapist pur ceo qe multz luy amerent. Adecertes après quaraunte et cink jours, si occirent le roi ses filz. Et Thobie retourna a sa maisoun, et tote sa facultee lui ert restoree.

ii Après cestes choses adecertes, com le jour festival de Nostre Sire fust et bone mangerie fust fait en la maisoun de Thobie, il dist a son filz: “Va, si mesnes les uns de nostre lignee doutauntz Dieu q’il manguent od nous.”

Et com il eust alee, cil returnee counta un des filz de Israel estranglee giser en la rue. Et cil demaintenaunt saillaunt de sa couche, deguerpissaunt sa manger, vint june al corps. Et cil ceo pernaunt le porta a sa maisoun privement q’il lui ensevelereit queintement com le solail se couchast. Et com il out muscee le corps, il mangea de pain en weiment et en doute, remembrant de cele parole la quele Nostre Sire dist par Amos le prophete: “Le jour de vostre feste turnera en lamentacioun et plur.”

Et com le solail fust a rescous, il s’en vait et lui enseveli. Lors le pristrent touz ses proesmes, disauntz: “Ja estois tu comaundee d’estre occis par enchainoun de ceste chose, et a peine as tu fuiz le comaundement de mort et altrefoiz enseveliz tu les mort[z]?”

Mais Thobie, plus doutaunt Dieu qe le roi, | ravi les corps des occis et les muscea en sa maisoun et a mynuyt les enseveli. 312v

45–46 com le jour festival de Nostre Sire fust et] com le j. fes. de N. Sire et *L* (com le j. fes. de N. Seignor fust et *P* : cum esset dies festus Domini et *V*) **50** Et cil demaintenaunt saillaunt de sa couche] Et cil s. de sa acouche *L* (Et cil demaintenaunt issaunt de sa couche *P* : statimque exiliens de accubitu suo *V*)

Lors avint qe a un jour, cil las de sepulture, venaunt a maisoun, se rua
 joust la pareie et dormi. Les chauds fient[z] del ny de aronde[s] chairent
 [a] ly dormaunt sur ses oels, et si fust il fait cieux. Lors soeffri Nostre
 65 Sire ceste temptacioun a lui venir qe ensample de sa pacience fust doné
 a ses successours si com et de seint Job. Car com il out doutee Dieu tut
 dis de sa enfaunce et out gardee ses comaundementz, il ne ert point fait
 trist contre Dieu qe la plaie de voeglesce feust a lui venuz. Einz permesna
 il nyentmorable en la doute de Nostre Sire, fesaunt graces a Dieu touz
 70 les jours de sa vie.

Car si com rois assaillerent seint Job, en tiele manere ses parentz et ses
 cosins escharnerent sa vie, disauntz: “Ou est ton espoir par la quele tu
 fesoies almoignes et sepultures?”

Et Thobie les blama, disaunt: “Ne voillez parler en ceste manere quar
 75 nous sumes les filz des seintz et si attendoms nous ceste vie la quele Dieu
 est a doner a yceux les queus ja ne chaungent lour foi de luy.”

Anna adecertes sa femme s’en vait chescun jour a l’oevereigne de tistre-
 tesce et aporta le vivre qe ele poeit gagner del travaille de ses mains.
 Dount est il fait qe ele pernaunt un bokerele des cheveres le porta a mai-
 80 soun, la voiz de quel—com son baroun oi balaunt—il dist: “Voiez qe ceo
 ne soit paraventure emblee, mais le rendes a ses seignurages quar il ne
 list pas a nous rien manger ou tucher de larcine.”

A cestes paroles sa feme corucee respoundi: “Le toen espoir fait est
 vain apertement, et ore sont tes almoignes periz.” Et de cestes paroles et
 85 de tieles ele lui reprova.

iii Donqe gemist Thobie et comencea a deprier od lermes, disaunt:
 “Ha, tu, Sire, tu es dreiturer et justes sont touz tes juggementz, et totes

62–63 se rua joust] se acoucha *L* (se rua *j*. *P* : iactasset se *V*) 66–67 com
 il out doutee Dieu tut dis de sa enfaunce et out gardee ses comaundementz il] com
 il out doutee *D*. et de sa en. et out *g*. ses comaundementz il *L* (com il out doutee *D*.
 et *g*. ses comaundementz tut dis de sa en. il *P* : cum ab infantia sua semper Deum
 timuerit et mandata eius custodierit *V*) 69 en la doute de Nostre Sire fesaunt] en
 la d. f. *L* (en la d. de Nostre Seignor f. *P* : in Dei timore . . . agens *V*) 76 chaung-
 ent lour foi de] c. l. f. et de *L* (c. sa f. de *P* : fidem suam . . . mutant . . . ab *V*)
 78 et aporta] et ele lui a. *L* (et a. *P* : deferebat *V*) 84 vain] vait *L* (vain *P* : vana *V*)
 87 justes sont touz tes juggementz] justes s. tes juggementz *L* (justes s. touz tes
 juggementz *P* : omnia iudicia tua iusta sunt *V*)

tes voies sount merci et veritee et juggement. Soies tu, Sire, ore de moi
 remembraunt qe tu ne preignes vengeance de mes pecchez ne ne re-
 90 membres mes trespases ou les trespases de mes parentz. Car nous ne
 avoms point obehez a tes comaundementz, si sumes nous baillez en ravine
 et en cheitivetee et en mort et en fable et en reproece a totes naciouns es
 queus tu nous as esparpliz. Et ore, Sire, grantz sount tes juggementz por
 ceo qe nous ne avoms point fait solom tes comaundementz et si ne avoms
 95 nous point alee clerement devaunt toi. Fai ore, Sire, merci a moy solom
 ta volentee et comaunde mon esperit estre resceu en pees, car il espleit
 plus a moi morrer qe vivre.”

A cel jour avint il en tiele manere qe Sarra la fille Raguel ert en la citee
 dé Medes. Et ele oy une reproece de une des ancelles de son pere quar
 100 ele ert baillie a sept barouns, et le deable—par noun Asmodeus—les eust
 occis demaintenaunt com il fussent a luy entrez.

Por ceo com ele out blamee la pucelle por sa coupe, ele ly respoundi,
 disaunt: “Nous ne veoms de toi plus outre filz ne fille sur terre, tu, tue-
 resce de tes barouns. Saver moun si tu moi vols occire si com adecertes
 105 as occis sept barouns.”

A cele voiz s'en vait ele en la plus soevereigne couche de sa maisoun.
 Et par treis jours et treis nultz ne mangea ele ne ne beust, mais ele
 permesnaunt en oreisoun depria Dieu od lermes q'il luy deliverast de
 ceste blame.

Fait est adecertes al tierce jour dementres q'ele out acomplie sa
 oreisoun benesquiaunt Nostre Sire, ele dist: “Tu, Dieu de noz peres, ton
 noun est benesquist le quel—com tu averas estee corucee—tu feras
 mercy et tu osteras pecchez en temps de tribulacioun a yceux qe toi
 apellent. Jeo turne, Sire, ma face a toi, si adresce jeo a toi mes oels. Ha,
 115 Sire, jeo demaunde qe tu moi lais du lien de yceste blame ou qe tu moy
 ostes certeinement de sur la terre. Tu le scies, Sire, qe jeo ne coveitai

88 merci et veritee et juggement] m. et j. *L* (m. et verité e j. *P* : misericordia et veritas et iudicium *V*) **88–89** Soies tu Sire ore de moi remembraunt] Soies tu Sire de moi r. *L* (Soiez tu Seignor ore de moy r. *P* : nunc Domine memor esto mei *V*) **98** A cel jour avint il en tiele manere qe] A c. j. a. il qe *L* (A c. j. il a. en tiele manere qe *P* : eadem itaque die contigit ut *V*) **100–101** les eust occis] les occist *L* (les eust . . . occis *P* : occiderat eos *V*) **110–111** *Beginning with a in sa oreisoun, three letters written over others* **115–16** moy ostes certeinement de sur la terre] m. o. c. sur la t. *L* (m. o. c. de sur la t. *P* : certe desuper terra eripias me *V*) **116** scies]

jammés baroun et si ai jeo garde m'alme nette de tote coveitise. Si ne
 moi medla ja od les juauntz ne od [c]eux qe vount en legeretee, ne moy
 ai jeo baillee parciners. Si ai jeo assentue de prendre baroun en ta doute,
 120 ne mye adcertes od leccherie. Et ou estoi jeo a eux nyentdigne ou cil
 paraventure n'estoient point a moy dignes quar paraventure tu moy as
 garde a altre baroun. Car ton conseil n'est point en la posté de hom. Et
 chescun qe toi ahoure, ceo ad pur certeigne qe si sa vie avera estee en
 proeve, il ert coronee. S'il adcertes eit estee en tribulacioun, il ert deli-
 125 verés. Et s'il avera estee en correpcioun, il luy plerra de venir a ta merci
 car tu ne delites point en noz perdiciouns. Car après tempestee, fais tu
 tranquillitee. Et après lacrimacioun et plur, tu espaundes joie. Si | soit, 313r
 Dieu d'Israel, ton noun beneit es secles."

En ycel temps sount les oreisouns des ambedeux oies el regard de la
 130 glorie del halt Dieu. Et seint Raphael, l'angle de Nostre Sire, est envoiee
 q'il les curast ambedeux desqueus les prieres furent rehercez en un temps
 el regard de Nostre Sire.

iii Por ceo com Thobie quideit estre oi de sa oreisoun qe il poeit mor-
 rer, il apellai a soi Thobie son filz et luy dist: "Oies, my filz, les paroles
 135 de ma bouche et les mettes en ton quoe si com fundament. Com Dieu
 avera pris ma alme, ensevelies mon corps. Et tu averas honur a ta mere
 touz les jours de sa vie. Car tu deis estre remembraunt queles choses et
 combien ele eit pur toi suffert en son ventre. Et com ele avera acomplie
 le temps de sa vie, tu la enseveleras prés de moy.

140 "Et tu averas Deu en ta pensee touz les jours de ta vie. Et eschiwes qe
 tu ne consentes ja a pecchee et entrelais les comaundementz de Nostre
 Dieu. Fai almoigne de ta substauce et ne voillez tourner ta face de nul
 poevre, adonqe ert il fait qe la face de Nostre Sire ne soit tournee de toi.
 Soies tu si merçiable com tu porras: Si mult avera estee a toi, doignes
 145 haboundauntment. Si tu averas eu petite chose, estudies adcertes depar-

sczees *L* (sciez *P* : scis *V*) **127** *Beneath* espaundes joie Si, *a catchword*: soit
 deu **128** Dieu d'Israel] Dieu *L* (Dieu d'Israel *P* : Deus Israhel *V*) **133–34** orei-
 soun qe il poeit morrer il apellai] o. il a. *L* (o. qe il poeit morrir et a. *P* : orationem
 suam . . . ut mori potuisset vocavit *V*) **135** et les mettes] et m. *L* (et les appa-
 railles *P* : et ea . . . construe *V*) **141** pecchee et entrelais] p. et qe tu e. *L* (p. qe
 tu e. *P* : peccato . . . et praetermittas *V*) **141–42** Nostre Dieu] N. Sire *L* (N.
 Deu *P* : Dei nostri *V*)

tier volenters petite chose. Quar tu tresores a toi bone tresore el jour de busoigne por ceo qe almoigne delivre de tut pecchee et mort et ne soeffre point l'alme de aler en tenebres, car almoigne ert grant affiaunce devaunt la treshalt Dieu a tuz yceux qe la fount.

150 "Ha, tu, filz, gardes toi de tote manere de fornicacioun et ja ne soeffres nullui fors ta femme savoir ton blame. Ja ne soeffres orgoille en ton sen enseigner ou en ta parole quar en lui prist tote perdicioun commencement. Qicunqes toi avera oeveree nulle chose, demaintenaunt lui restoeres son loer, si ne remeisne de tut en tut vers toi le lower de ton oeverour.

155 "Ceo qe tu averas hai estre fait a toi de nullui, voi qe tu nel faces ja a nul altre. Mange ton pain od les famillaunt[z] et busoignous et coveres les nuds od tes vestementz, si adresces ton pain et ton vin sur la sepulture del jouste et ne voilles de ceo manger ne boivre od peccheours. Purchaces tut dis consail del sage. Benesquies Dieu en tut temps et luy demaundes q'il dresce tes voies et qe touz tes consails permesnent en luy.

160 "Ha, my filz, jeo toi demoustre moy avoir donee dis besauntz d'argent dementers qe tu estois petit enfaunt a Gabel en Rages, citee des Medes, et si en ay jeo le cerograffe vers moy. Et por ceo porchace tu en quele manere tu veignes a ly et receives de luy le poys d'argent desus remembre et rendes a lui son celegraff. Ha, my filz, ne voillez douter quar nous mesnoms poevre vie, mais nous averoms multz des biens si nous averoms doutee Deu et averoms departiz de tut pecchee et fait bien."

165 v Donqe respoundi Thobie a son pere et dist: "Ha, my pere, jeo feroi totes les choses les queles tu moy as comaundee, si mesconuis jeo comment jeo porchacera yceste pecunie. Il ne moy conusse ne jeo nel conuis. Quel signe luy dorroi jeo? Ne jeo ne conuis a null temps la voie par la quele hom voise illoeqes."

170 Donqe lui respoundi son pere, et dist: "J'ai adcertes son celegraff devers moy le quel, com tu luy averas demoustree, il la restorra a toi de-

148–49 almoigne ert grant affiaunce devaunt la treshalt Dieu a tuz yceux qe] al. ert tr. affiaunce a yceux qe *L* (ert al. grant fiaunce devaunt la tr. Dieu a tuz qe *P* : fiducia magna erit coram summo Deo elemosyna omnibus qui *V*) 160 Benesquies Dieu] B. Nostre Sire *L* (B. Dieu *P* : benedic Deum *V*) 165 veignes a ly et receives] v. et r. *L* (v. a ly et r. *P* : ad eum pervenias et recipias *V*)

maintenaunt. Mais va ore et porchace a toi ascun loial hom qe voise od toi, si soit a ly son lower salvee dementres qe jeo vive, qe tu la receives.”

Donqe Thobie issu trova un jovencel esteaunt resplendissaunt, ceint et si com apparaillee a aler. Et cil mesconussaunt q’il fust l’angle Dieu, lui
180 salua et dist: “Ha, tu, bon jovencel, dount toi avoms nous?”

Et cil respondi: “Des filz de Israel.”

Et Thobie lui dist: “Conuis tu la voie la quele mesne en la regioun des Medes?”

A qi cil respondi: “Jeo le conuis et si en ay jeo alee sovent totes ses
185 chemy[n]s. Et si ai jeo demoree vers Gabel nostre frere qe demoert en Rages, citee des Medes, la quele est assise en la mountaigne de Eglathanis.”

A qi Thobie dist: “Jeo toi pri, moy susteignes un poy si la qe jeo counte ycestes choses a mon pere.”

Thobie adonqe entree counta totes cestes choses a son pere sur queles
190 choses son pere esmerveillee pria q’il entrast a luy.

Por ceo cil entree le salua et dist: “Joie soit tut dis a toi.”

Et Thobie dist: “Quele joie ert a moy le quel sees en tenebres et ne voi la lumere du ciel?”

A qi le jovencel dist: “Soies de forte corage. Il est en proschein qe tu
195 soies garriz de Dieu.”

Por ceo Thobie luy dist: “Saver mon si tu porras mesner mon filz a Gabelum en Rages, citee des Medes, et com tu ers returnee, jeo restorroi ton loer.”

Et l’angle luy dist: “Jeo lui mesnerai et remesnerai sain a toi.”

A qi Thobie respondi: “Jeo toi pri, de quele maisoun ou de quele
200 lignee es tu? Si le moi moustres.”

A qi l’angle Raphael dist: “Queres tu la lignee | del mercener ou cil
205 mercener qe voise od ton filz? Mais qe paraventure jeo ne toi face curious, jeo sui Azarias le filz Ananie le grant.”

176–77 od toi si soit a ly son lower salvee dementres qe] od toi por son lower d. qe *L* (od toy si soit a ly son lower salvee d. qe *P* : tecum salva mercede sua dum adhuc . . . ut *V*) 184 et si en ay *twice* 185 nostre frere] vostre f. *L* (nostre f. *P* : fratrem nostrum *V*) 203 la lignee del mercener] la li. de del m. *L* (le gendre de m. *P* : genus . . . mercennarii *V*) 204–5 Mais qe paraventure jeo ne toi face curious] Mais p. jeo n. t. f. c. *L* (mais qe p. j. n. toy rendroi curieuse *P* : sed ne forte sollicitum te reddam *V*)

Et Thobie respoundi: “Tu es de grant gendre, mais jeo toi pri qe tu ne toi coruces qe jeo voldrai conustre ton gendre.”

Lors lui dist le angle: “Jeo mesnerai sain et remesnerai ton filz sain.”

210 Thobie adecertes respoignaunt dist: “Alez vous bien, et soit Nostre Sire en vostre chemyn et soit son angle a vous acompaignee.”

Donqe totes choses apparaillez les queus estoient a porter en la voie, Thobie prist congee a son pere et a sa mere et les salua. Et ambedeux s'en vount ensemble.

215 Et com il fussent alez, sa mere comenceai a plorer et dire: “Tu as pris et transportee de nous le bastoun de nostre veillesce. Vousist Dieu qe cele pecunie ja ne fust pur la quele tu luy as envoieez. Nostre poeverté a nous eust suffit qe nous eussoms acomptee richesses ceo qe nous veismes nostre filz.”

220 Et Thobie ly dist: “Ne voillez plorer. Nostre filz vendra sain et si ert il sauf a nous retournee, et tes oels le verrount car jeo crei qe le bon angle de Dieu est a lui acompaignié. Et bien ordeinera totes les choses qe sount entour luy faitz issint q'il retournera a nous od joie.” Et a cele voiz cessa sa mere a plorer et teisa.

225 **vi** Thobie adecertes s'en ala, et un chien le sui. Et si maneit il a la primer' mansioun joust le fluvie de Tigre. Et cil s'en issi por laver ses piez et, voi, un grant pesshoun et feloun ly vint pur devorer.

Le quel Thobie doutaunt cria a grant voiz, disaunt: “Ha, Sire, il moy assalt!”

230 Et l'angle luy dist: “Pren luy par les wemberges et ly trais a toi.” Qe com il en out fait, il luy trait desqes al secchesses. Et cil comencea a estendre devaunt ses piez.

Lors luy dist le angle: “Desboueles ycest pesshoun et garde son quoeur et son fiel et son estomak vers toi quar ceo sount proffitablement bu-saignous a mediciens.” Qe com il out fait, il rostea ses chars et il les

208 Jeo mesnerai sain et remesnerai ton filz sain] J. m. et r. ton fililz sain *L* (J. m. sayn et r. ton filz sain *P* : ego sanum ducam et sanum tibi reducam filium tuum *V*) 216–17 Nostre poeverté a nous eust suffit qe] N. p. nous s. qe *L* (N. p. a nous eust assez s. qe *P* : sufficiebat enim nobis paupertas nostra ut *V*) 222 retournera] retournee *L* (returnera *P* : revertatur *V*) 229 wemberges] wemberbes *L* (wemberges *P* : brancia *V*) 234 il rostea *twice*

235 porterent od soi el chemyn. Et salerent l'altre qe lour poiet suffire el chemyn si la q'il vindrent a Rages, cité des Medes.

Lors demaunda Thobie a l'angle et luy dist: "Ha, frere Azarie, jeo toi pri qe tu moy dies quel' remedi ycestes choses unt qe tu comaundas de estre gardez du pesshoun."

240 Et l'angle respoignaunt luy dist: "Si tu mettes une piece de son quoeur sur les carbouns, la fume de ceo engette tote manere de deablerie le quel qe ceo soit de hom ou de femme issint q'il ne repoirent ja a eux. Et le fiel por enhoindre les oels es queus la blanche escume en est, et ils en serrount garriz."

245 Et dist Thobie: "Ou vols tu qe nous demoe[r]geoms?"

Et l'angle respoignaunt dist: "Ci est un hom, Raguel par noun, un prochein de ta cognacioun. Et cil ad une fille, Sarra par noun, et si ne ad il mal' ne femelle forspris lui. Si sont totes ses substaunces a toy deues et si te covent a luy prendre a ta femme. Por ceo la demaundes de son pier, 250 et il la toi dorra a femme."

Lors respoundi Thobie et dist: "J'ai oy q'ele estoit donee a sept barouns, et cil sount mortz. Et ceo en ai jeo oy, qe le deable les ad occis. Por ceo moy doute qe ceo paraventure ne veigne a moy. Et depuis qe jeo sui soul a mes amys, jeo abateroi lour auncientee od dolour a enfer."

255 Donqe lui dist Raphael l'angle: "Moi oies et jeo toi demoustrera queus ceo sount les queus le deable poet venquer. Car cil qe preignent espoussaille issint q'il forclosent Deu hors de soi et hors de lour pensee et soi donnent issint a lour leccherie si com un chival et un mule as queus il n'y ad nul entendement—sur eux ad le deables poestee."

260 "Et com tu la averas pris, tu entrant ton lit toi deportes de luy par treis nultz. Et si ne feras tu od luy nulle altre rien fors prier tes prieres. Et en cel' nuit l'estomak du pesshoun allumee, le deable en ert dechacee. Et en la secoude nuit serras tu resceu en copulacioun des seintz patriarks. Et

242 a eux Et] a ceo Et *L* (a eux Et *P* : ad eos et *V*) 247 Sarra par noun et] Sarram et *L* (Sarra par noun et *P* : nomine Sarram sed *V*) 248–49 lui Si sont totes ses substaunces a toy deues et si te covent a luy prendre] lui soient totes ses sub. a toi deuez et si desire il a luy p. *L* (ly si sont totes ses sub. a toy deues si te covent a p. *P* : tibi debetur omnis substantia eius et oportet te eam accipere *V*)
 257 forclosent] declosent *L* (desclosent *P* : excludant *V*) 258 queus] quel *L* (queus *P* : quibus *V*)

265 en la tierce nuit averas tu la beneisoun qe enfauntz soient de vous avaunt-
mesnez seins et halegres. Et la tierce nuit passee, tu prendras un' pucelle
mesnee od la pour Dieu et d'amour des filz plus qe de leccherie, qe tu
suies beneisoun en filz el semoil de Abraham."

vii Et cil entrerent desques a Raguel, et Raguel les resceust a joie.

270 Et Raguel regardaunt Thobie, dist a Anna sa femme: "Mult resem-
blaunt est cesti joevenes a mon cosyn." Et com il eust dit ycestes choses,
il dist: "Dount estes vous, noz joevenes freres?"

Et il distrent: "Nous sumes de la ligne de Neptalim del cheitivetee de
Ninivee."

Et Raguel lour dist: "Conussez vous Thobie, mon | frere?"

275 Les queus distrent: "Nous le conussons."

Et si com il parla de luy multz des biens, le angle dist a Raguel: "Tho-
bie dount tu demaandez est le pere de cesti enfaunt." Et Raguel se mist
sur lui et luy boisa od lermes.

280 Et cil ploraunt sur son col dist: "Beneisoun soit a toi, my filz, quar tu
es le filz de prodom et tresbon." Et Anna sa femme et Sarra sa fille
plorerent. Et com il avoient parlee, Raguel comaunda un motoun d'estre
occis et de apparailler une mangerie.

285 Et com il les amonesta de asser a mangere, Thobie dist: "Jeo ne man-
geroi point hui ci ne ne beveroi si tu ne confermes primes ma peticioun
et promettes a doner moi Sarra ta fille." La quele parole oie, Raguel se
douta sachaut quele chose ert avenue a sept barouns qe entrerent a luy.
Et il comencea a douter qe paraventure il avendreit issint a luy et il mor-
roit.

290 Et com il sist en pees et ne dona point de respouns a lui demaundaunt,
l'angle lui dist: "Ne voilles douter de luy doner a cesti, quar ta fille est
due d'estre moiller a cesti Dieu doutaunt et por ceo nul altre ne la poet
avoir."

295 Lors dist Raguel: "Jeo ne doute point qe Dieu eit resceu mes prieres et
mes lermes en sa presence. Et por ceo crei jeo qe Dieu vous fist a moy
venir qe ele fust ajointe a sa cosinage solom la lei de Moisen. Et ne
voilles tu ore porter doute qe jeo la dorroi ore a toi."

277 Raguel se mist] R. le m. L (R. le m. P : misit se Raguhel V)

279 sur
twice

Et cil pernaunt la destre main de sa fille la dona a la destre main Thobie, disaunt: “Le Dieu de Abraham, le Dieu de Isaak, le Dieu de Jacob soit od vous, et cil vous ajoigne et acomplisse sa beneisoun en vous.”

300 Et une chartre pris, il firent un escript de esposaille. Et après ceo mangerent il, benesquiaunt Dieu.

Et Raguel apella Anna sa femme a soi et ly comaunda de apparailler un altre lit. Et ele mesna Sarra sa fille illoeqes dedeinz et ele plora. Et cil luy dist: “Soies de forte volentee, ma fille, ly Sire du ciel toi doint joie
305 pur l’anuy que tu as soeffert.” Et puis q’il avoient soupee, il mesnerent le jovencel a luy.

viii Et Thobie remembra de les paroles de l’angle et il prist hors de sa pouche un’ partie de l’estomak et la mist sur vifs carbouns. Donqe prist Raphael le angle le deable et lui lia el desert de Egipte suseyne.

310 Lors amonesta Thobie la pucelle et luy dist: “Lieve tu, Sarra, et prioms nous Nostre Sire hui, demain et le tiercz jour quar en cestes treiz nuitz sumes nous jointz a Dieu. Et la tierce nuit passee, serroms nous en noz noeces quar nous sumes filz des seintz et si ne porroms nous issint estre jointz com gentz qe Dieu point ne conussent.” Et cil levauntz ambedeux,
315 prierent forment ambedeux ensemble qe sauntee et halegretee fust a eux donee.

Et dist Thobie: “Ha, Sire Dieu de noz peres, benesquient toi les ciels et les terres et la meer et les fountaignes ensemment et les flots et totes tes creatures qe en eux sount. Tu fesoies Adam de l’escume de la terre et lui
320 donas Eve en aide. Et ore, Sire, scies tu qe je preigne point ma sorour par enchaisoun de liccherie mais solement par l’amour de engendrure suaunt en la quele ton noun soit seintifiee es secles des secles.”

Por ceo dist Sarra: “Eies, Sire, merci de nous. Eiez mercie de nous et deveignoms nous ensemble ambedui vieux, seins et halegres.”

298 Abraham le Dieu de Isaak] A. de D. de I. *with the first* de *expuncted* L (A. le D. de I. P : A. et Deus I. V) **303–4** Et cil luy dist] Et c. d. L (Et c. lui d. P : dixitque ei V) **305** (*In P, chap. viii begins* Et puis qe il avoient soupee) **307** remembra] remembraunt L (pensaunt sur P : recordatus V) **317** Thobie Ha Sire Dieu] T. Ha D. L (T. seignor D. P : Tobias Domine Deus V) **322** soit seintifiee] soient se. L (soit se. P : benedicatur V) **324** nous ensemble ambedui] n. a. L (n. e. a. P : ambo pariter V)

325 Et fait est entour chaunter del cok, Raguel comaunda ses servauntz
d'estre appelez, et cil s'en alerent od lui pur fower un sarcu quar il douta
q'il avendreit ensemment a lui com il avint a les autres sept qe entrerent a
luy.

Et com il eust apparillee la fossee, Raguel returnaunt a sa femme luy
330 dist: "Envoies une de tes ancelles et voie ele s'il soit mort qe nous le
pussoms ensevelir einz qe ceo esclarzist."

Et ele envoya un' de ses ancelles la quele entraunt la couche les trova
saufs, seins et halegres, ambedeux ensemble dormauntz. Et ele returnee
lour counta bone novele.

335 Et Raguel et Anna sa femme benesquirent Dieu et distrent: "Nous toi
benesquioms, Sire Dieu de Israel, quar ceo n'est point avenuz a nous si
com nous quidames, quar tu as fait od nous ta merci. Et tu as forsclos
nostre enemy nous pursuiaunt et en as eu merci de deux solement. Ha,
my Sire, les fai plus pleinement toi benesquir et a offrir a toi sacrifice de
340 ta loenge et de lour saunctee qe la commune des gentz conussent qe tu
es Dieu soul en tote la terre." Et demaintenaunt comaunda Raguel a ses
serfs q'il emplerioient la fossee la quele il avoient fait einz q'il esclarzie-
roit.

Et si dist il a sa femme q'ele apparillast une convivie et q'ele appa-
345 raillast totes choses qe | furent necessaries as gentz estranges en viaun-
des. Et il fist deux crasses vaches et quatre motouns d'estre occis et
viaundes deliciouses d'estre apparillez a touz lour voisins et a touz amys
et lour proesmes. Et Raguel amonesta Thobie q'il demorast od lui par
deux symeignes. Et de totes les riens qe Raguel avoit dona il a Thobie la
350 moitee. Et il fist en escript qe la moytee qe outre remaindreit, remaindre
devereit en tote manere a Thobie après lour decees.

ix Lors apella Thobie l'angle a luy, le quel il quideit estre un hom, et
luy dist: "Ha, frere Azaria, jeo toi pri qe tu oies mes prieres. Si jeo dorroi
moy mesmes serf a toy, jeo ne serroi point dignes de ta porveaunce. Sou-
355 lement jeo toi depri qe tu preignes a toi bestes ou services et va a Gabel

326 *After appelez, a smeared lez* **335–36** *toi benesquioms Sire Dieu] toi
b. D. L (toy b. seignor D. P : benedicimus te Domine Deus V) 344* *q'ele
apparillast une convivie] q'il a. une c. L (qe ele a. un c. P : ut instrueret convivium
V) 353–54* *dorroi moy mesmes serf a toy] d. moy mesmes a toy L (d. moy
meismes serf a toy P : me ipsum tradam tibi servum V)*

en Rages, citee des Medes, et rende a lui ses endentures. Et receive de luy l'argent et luy requer de venir a mes noeces car tu mesmes le scies que mon pere nombre les jours, et si jeo demoerge un jour plus s'alme devendra dolente. Et certeinement tu vois com Raguel moy ad conjuree
360 qi conjureisoun jeo ne pusse despire.”

Raphael donqe pernaunt quatre des serfs Raguel et deux camels, il s'en vait en Rages, citee des Medes. Et cil trovaunt Gabelum luy dona sa endenture et receust de luy tut son argent. Et cil luy counta de Thobie le filz Thobie totes les choses que estoient faitz et si luy fist il venir od luy
365 as noeces.

Et com il eust entree la maisoun de Raguel, il trova Thobie seaut a manger. Et cil saillaunt avaunt, il soi entreboiserent chescun altre.

Et Gabel plora et benesquist Dieu et dist: “Le Dieu de Israel toi benesquie quar tu es le filz de tresprudhom et justes et Dieu doutaunt et fesaunt
370 almoignes. Et beneisoun soit dit sur ta femme et sur voz amys, que vous voiez voz filz et les filz de voz filz desques al tierce et la quarte generacioun, et soit vostre semoil beneit de Dieu de Israel que regne es secles.”

Et com trestouz eussent dit, “Amen,” il aproscherent al convive et si haunterent il la convive des noeces od la pour de Nostre Sire.

x Et com Thobie eust fait demo[r]er par enchaisoun des noeces, Thobie son pere estoit pensifs, disaunt: “Por quei quides tu que mon filz demuert ou pur quei est il illoeqes retenuz? Quides tu que Gabel soit mort et nul hom ne luy rend le argent?” Et il et Anna sa femme devindrent dolentz et comencerent ambedeux de plorer ensemble quar lour filz ne revint a eux al jour que fust assis.
380

Et sa mere plora de lermes sanz remedie et dist: “Halas, halas, my filz! A quei toi envoiames nous a peregriner, lumer de noz oels, bastoun de nostre veillesce, confort de la nostre vie, espoir de nostre generacioun suaunt? Nous eiaunt totes choses ensemble en toi soul, ne toi dever[i]oms point avoir lessee aler de nous.”
385

A qi dist Thobie: “Teise t'en, si ne voilles estre troeblee. Nostre filz est sain. Cil hom est assez loial od qi nous lui envoiames.”

358 nombre] nombra *L* (nombra *P* : numerat *V*) **363–64** de Thobie le filz Thobie totes] de *T*. totes *L* (de *T*. le filz *T*. totes *P* : de *Tobia filio Tobiae omnia V*)
378 nul hom ne luy rend] nul h. ne r. *L* (nul h. ne ly r. *P* : nemo illi reddet *V*)
385 lessee aler de] l. de *L* (l. aler de *P* : dimittere ire a *V*)

Et ele ne poeit en nulle manere estre confortee, mais ele ploraunt chescun jour regarda entour et s'en vait par les chemyns ou espoir estoit de son revener, q'ele le porreit veer de loinz venaunt si ceo poet estre fait.

390

Et Raguel dist a son filz en ley: "Demoerres yci et jeo maunderoi un messenger de saunctee a Thobie ton pere de toi."

A qi dist Thobie: "Jeo le sai qe mon pere et ma mere acomptent ore les jours, et si est lour esperit turmentet en eux."

395

Et com Raguel eust priece Thobie des multz des paroles et cil ne[l] voilleit oir par nulle resoun, il lui dona Sarra et la moitee de sa substaunce en enfauntz et en ancelles et en bestes et en chamels et en vaches et en mult d'argent.

400

Si lui lessa aler sauf, esjoissaunt de luy, disaunt: "Car le seint angle Dieu soit od vous en vostre chemyn et vous mesne sains et halegres. Et trovez vous totes choses dreites entour voz amys, et voient mes oels voz filz einz qe jeo moerge."

405

Et il pernauntz lour fille la boiserent et la lesserent aler, amonestaunt lui de honurer son pere en lei et sa mere en lei, de amer soun baroun, de gouverner sa mesnie et sa maisoun et a doner soi mesmes ne mye a reprover.

xi Et quant cil retournerent, il vindrent a Charram qe est en mylieu contre Ninivee, el xi. jour.

410

Et l'angle dist: "Ha, frere Thobie, tu scies en quele manere tu lessas ton pere. Si toi plese issint aloms nous devaunt, et suient tes mesnies od ta femme et tes bestes nostre chemyn."

Et com il lour plust q'il irroient, Raphael dist a Thobie: "Preignes od toi du fiel du pessoun quar ceo ert necessarie." | Por ceo prist Thobie de cel fiel, et cil s'en vount avaunt.

415

Et Anna sist chescun jour joustle le chemyn en la haltesce de la moun-taigne dount ele poet regarder de loinz. Et dementres q'ele regarda son revener de mesmes cel lieu, ele vist de loinz et demaintenaunt ele conuist

389 *In ou the letters are unconventionally formed and may involve overwriting*
400 sains] seintz *L* (seins *P* : incolomes *V*) **403** pernauntz] prinauntz *L* (pernauntz *P* : adprehendentes *V*) **407** retournerent il vindrent] r. et v. *L* (r. il v. *P* : reverterentur pervenerunt *V*) Charram] Tharram *L* (Tharram *P* : Charram *V*)
416–17 ele regarda son revener] il reg. soi rev. *L* (ele reg. son rev. *P* : specularetur adventum eius *V*)

son filz venaunt de loinz. Et ele curraunt counta a son baroun, disant:
 “Voi, ton filz vient!”

420 Et Raphael dist a Thobie: “Com tu averas entré ta maisoun, demaintenaunt
 ahoures ly Sire ton Dieu. Et tu fesaunt a lui graces, aproches a ton
 pere et lui boises et demaintenaunt enhoignes sur ses oels de cest fiel du
 pesshoun qe tu portes od toi. Car tu saveras qe ses oels serrount demain-
 tenaunt overtz, et ton pere verra la lumere du ciel et cil esjoissera en ta
 425 veue.”

Donqe currust le chien devaunt qe fust ensemment en la voie et il esjoi
 de leesce de sa cuve si com ceo fust un messenger. Et son pere cieux
 comencea a curre chancellaunt de ses piez. Et sa main donee a un en-
 faunt, currust il contre son filz. Et cil lui pernaunt lui boisa od sa femme,
 430 et il comencerent a plorer de joie. Et com il eussent Dieu ahouree et fait
 graces, il sount entrez et assistrent.

Donqe Thobie pernaunt du fiel du pesshoun enhoint les oels de son
 pere, et cil soeffri pur poi si com demy heure. Et la blanche escume
 comencea de issir hors de ses oels si com l’estiche de un oef le quel Tho-
 bie pernaunt trahist de ses oels, et demaintenaunt reseust il la vewe. Et
 435 il et sa femme glorifierent Dieu et touz cil qe lui conuistrent ensemment.

Et dist Thobie: “Jeo toi benesqui, Dieu de Israel, quar tu moy as chas-
 tiee et salvee. Et voi, jeo voi Thobie mon filz!”

Et Sarra sa femme entra après sept jours et tote sa mesnie et ses bestes
 440 et ses chamels et mult d’argent de sa femme et l’argent q’il out pris de
 Gabel. Et si counta il a ses amys touz les bienfaitz de Dieu q’il en out
 fait entour lui par le bier qe luy out mesnee.

Et Achior et Nabath, les cosyns Thobie, vindrent a Thobie esjois-
 sauntz, fesauntz leesce a lui de touz les biens qe Dieu out moustree en-
 445 tour luy. Et cil fesauntz mangerie par sept jours esjoirent de grant joie.

xii Lors apella Thobie son filz a luy et ly dist: “Quei porroms nous
 doner a cest seint hom qe vint od toi?”

A qui cil respoundi: “Ha, pier, quel lower luy dorrom nous ou quei
 poet valer ses bonurtez? Il moy mesna et moi remesna seinz et halegres,

419 Voi ton filz] V. tein f. L (V. ton f. P : ecce . . . filius tuus V) **439–40** bestes
 et ses chamels] b. et ses chivals et ses chamels L (b. et ses camels P : pecora . . . et
 cameli V) **445** sept] seps L (sept P : septem V) **449** remesna] remesnai L
 (remesna P : reduxit V)

450 si prist il l'argent de Gabel. Si moy fist il avoir ma femme et il refrena
de lui le deable. Si fist il joie a ses amys et moi mesmes defendi de[l]
devorer de un pessoun. Et toi fist a veer la lumere du ciel, et nous sumes
repleinz de touz biens par lui. Quele chose avantable porroms a luy do-
ner? Mais, pere, jeo toi pri que tu demaundes et lui requers si paraventure
455 il voldra prendre a ly la moytee de totes les choses que sount portez.”

Et le pere et le filz luy appellauntz luy pristrent en un part et comen-
cerent a prier q'il volsist la moytee de touz les riens q'il avoient mesnee
prendre.

Lors lour dist il privement: “Benesquiez le Dieu de ciel et luy ahourez
460 devaunt touz vivauntz quar il en ad fait od vous sa mercy. Car il est bon
de muscier le sacrement du roi et honorable chose a demoustrer les oeve-
reignes Dieu et de luy ahouer. Bon est prier od jeune almoigne plus que
de muscer tresors d'or car almoigne delivre de la mort et mesmes ceo est
ele que purge pecchez et fait a trover mercy et vie pardurable, et cil que
465 fount pecchez et iniquitez sount enemys a lour almes. Por ceo jeo vous
demoustre la veritee et ne muscerai point de vous une privee parole:
Quant tu prias od lermees et ensevelies les mortz et refusas ton manger
et musceas les mortz par un jour en ta maisoun et les ensevelis par nuit,
jeo offri ta priere a Nostre Sire. Et pur ceo que tu estois accept a Nostre
470 Sire, busoigne estoit que temptacioun toi provast. Et ore moy maunda
Nostre Sire por toi garrir et deliverer Saraa la femme ton filz du deable
car jeo sui Raphael, l'angle un des sept que esteount devaunt Nostre Sire.”

Et quant il avoient oy, il estoient troeblez. Et cil tremblauntz chairent
sur lour faces.

475 Et l'angle lour dist: “Pees a vous, pees a vous. Ne voilletz douter. Car
com jeo estoi od vous par la volentee de Dieu, jeo estoi veu de manger

453–54 Quele chose avantable porroms a luy doner] Q. ch. a. porra estre a luy
donee L (Q. ch. digne porroms a ly doner P : quid illi . . . dignum poterimus dare V)
454–55 si paraventure il voldra prendre a ly la moytee] sil pa. il v. pr. la m. L (si
pa. il v. pr. a ly la m. P : si forte dignabitur medietatem . . . sibi adsumere V)
456 pristrent en un part et] pr. et L (pr. en un part et P : tulerunt . . . in partem V)
461 demoustrer] demoustrer L (demustrer P : revelare V) 462–63 que de muscer
tresors d'or car] que de faire t. c. L (que de muscer t. dor c. P : quam thesauros auri
condere quoniam V) 468–69 nuit jeo] n. et jeo L (n. jeo P : nocte . . . ego V)
470 provast] pernast L (provast P : probaret V)

od vous et boivre mais jeo usse viaunde nyentvisible et boivre le quel ne
 poet estre veu de gent. Por ceo temps est qe jeo returne a cil qe moy
 envoia. Et benesquies Dieu et countez totes ses merveilles et chauntez a
 480 luy.”

Et com il eust dist cestes choses, il est empris de lour vewe, et il nel
 poieient plus outre veer. Lors benesquirent il Dieu par treis heures
 chaeuz sur lour face. Et cil levauntz, counterent totes ses merveilles. |

xiii Et Thobie le plus auncien, overaunt sa bouche, benesquist Dieu et 315v
 485 dist: “Ha, Sire, tu es grant sanz fin et touz secles est ton regne quar tu
 turmentes et salves, si mesnes tu a enfern et remesnes. Et il ne ad nul qe
 porra ta main fuir. Ahourez Nostre Sire, vous filz de Israel, et luy ahou-
 rez en vewe des gentz quar il vous ad esparpliz. Por ceo entre gentz qe
 490 point ne lui conussent, qe vous countez totes ses merveilles et les faces
 a saver quar il n’y ad nul altre dieu tutpussaunt forspris lui qe vous
 chastea pur la vostre iniquitee et il vous ad salvee por sa mercy. Por ceo
 voiez quei il ad fait pur vous et lui ahourez. Et regeiez a luy od pour et
 tremblure, et ahourez le roi des secles en voz oevereignes. Jeo adcertes
 regeieroi a luy et luy ahourera en la terre de ma cheitivetee car il ad de-
 495 moustree sa magestee en la gent peccheruse. Returnez por ceo, vous
 peccheours, et faites justices devaunt Dieu, creauntz q’il volt faire od
 vous sa merci. Et jeo et m’alme esjoiera en luy. Benesquiez Nostre Sire,
 voz touz ses eslutz, fetez jours de joie et regeiez a luy. Ha, tu, Jerusalem,
 la citee Dieu, Nostre Sire toi ad chastiee es oevereignes de tes mains.
 500 Regeiez a Nostre Sire en biens et benesquiez Dieu des secles q’il reedifie
 son tabernacle en toi et reapelle a toi touz tes cheitifs, et qe tu esjoisses
 en touz secles des secles. Tu resplenderas de clere lumere et touz les

478 temps est qe] t. qe L (t. est qe P : tempus est . . . ut V) **479–81** countez
 totes ses merveilles et chauntez a luy Et com] co. ses m. et ch. a luy Et com L (co.
 tottes ses m. si le benesquies et ch. a ly Et com P : narrate omnia mirabilia eius et
 cum V) **482–83** (P begins chap. xiii Lors cheus a la terre par treis hourres en
 lour faces benesquirent Dieu) **486–87** qe porra ta main fuir] qe p. toi f. L (qe
 p. ta main f. P : qui effugiat manum tuam V) **492** il ad fait] il fait L (il ad fait
 P : fecit V) **498** et regeiez a luy Ha tu] et luy ahoures Ha tu L (et rejeiez a lui
 tu P : et confitemini illi V) **499–500** mains Regeiez a Nostre Sire en] m.
 Ahourez N. S. en L (m. Regeiez a nostre seignor en P : manuum . . . confitere
 Domino in V) **500** et benesquiez Dieu des secles q’il] et lui b. des s. q’il L (et
 lui b. D. des ciels il P : et benedic Deum saeculorum ut V)

contrees de la terre toi ahourrout. Naciouns de loinz vendront a toi et
 cil portauntz douns ahourout Nostre Sire en toi. Et averout ta terre en
 505 seintificacioun quar il apelleront un grant noun en toi. Et cil qe toi ave-
 rount despitz serrout malditz, et cil serrout dampnez qe toi averout
 blastengez. Et cil serrout beneitz qe toi averout edifiez. Et tu esjoieras
 en tes filz quar il serrout touz benesquiez et quilliez a Nostre Sire.
 Beneitz soyent cil qe toi ayment et qe esjoissent sur ta pees. Ha, tu,
 510 m'alme, benesquiez Nostre Sire car il delivera Jerusalem sa citee de totes
 tribulaciouns. Jeo serroi benesquist si les rementailles de mon semoil
 avera estee a veer la clerete de Jerusalem. Si serrout les portes de Je-
 rusalem edifiez de saphir et de esmeroude et tut le compas de ses murs
 de perre preciaus. Si serrout touz ses rues pavez de perre blanche et
 515 clere, et alleluia ert chauntee par ses rues. Beneit soit Nostre Sire qe la
 enhauce, qe son regne soit sur ly sanz fin. Amen.”

Et totes les paroles de Thobie sont finyz.

xiiii Et après ceo q'il fust esluminee, il vesquist quaraunte et deux anz
 et vist les filz de ses cosins. Por ceo cent et deux anz acompliz ert il
 520 honorablement enseveliz en Ninivee. Car il out perdu la lumere de ses
 oels de cinquante et sis anz et cil de la veillesce de sessaunte anz la
 reseust, et le remenaunt de sa vie ert en joie. Et cil s'en vait en pees od
 bon chemyn par la pour Dieu.

Et el temps de sa mort, il apella a soi Thobie son filz et ses sept joenes
 525 filz ses cosyns et il lour dist: “La mort de Nynyvee serra proscheine car
 la parole Deu n'est point avenuee. Et noz freres qe sont esparpliz de la
 terre de Israel retourneront a ceo et tote sa terre gasté serra acomplie. Et
 la maisoun Dieu qe est arse serra derichief reedifiee. Et illoeqes re-
 tourneront touz ceux qe Dieu doutent, et les gentz refuseront lour mal-
 530 metz et vendront en Jerusalem et habiteront dedeinz. Et touz
 esjoieront en ly, ahourantz le roi de Israel. Oiez por ceo, mes filz,
 vostre pere, et si servez Nostre Sire en veritee et querez a faire les choses

517 (*P begins ch. xiv* Et totes les paroles de Thobie sont finies) **521** oels de
 cinquante] o. par c. *L* (o. de c. *P* : quinquaginta . . . oculorum *V*) **529–30** lour
 malmetz et vendront] l. m. et touz les rois de la terre esjoieront et vendront *L*
 (lour ydoles et vendront *P* : idola sua et venient *V*) **530–31** Et touz esjoieront]
 Et touz les rois de terre es. *L* (Et tuz les roys de terre es. *P* : et gaudebunt . . . om-
 nes *V*) **532** a faire les choses] a f. las c. *L* (a f. les c. *P* : ut faciatis quae *V*)

535 que sount a lui pleisaunz. Et comaundez voz filz que il facent justices et
 540 almoignes, q'il pensent de Dieu et benesquient Dieu en tuz temps en ve-
 ritee et en tote lour vertue. Por ceo, filz, ore moy oies et ne voillez ci
 demorer, mais en quel jour que vous averez vostre mere ensevely jousté
 moy en un sarcu, de ycel jour adrescez voz chemyns que vous en alez de
 ci quar jeo voi que sa malveisetee dorra a ceo fin."

540 Et fait est après la mort de sa mere, Thobie s'en partie de Ninyvee od
 sa femme et ses filz et returna a son ael et a sa aele et les trova seins et
 halegres en bone veillesce. Et il fist lour cure et si esclost il lour oels. Et
 si out il tote la heritage de la maisoun Raguel et il vist les filz de ses filz
 tanqe al quint generacioun. Et noefaunte et noef anz acompliz en la pour
 545 de Nostre Sire, il lui ensevelirent a joie. Et tote sa cognacioun et tote sa
 generacioun demora en bone vie et seinte conversacioun issint q'il furent
 acceptés ambedeux a Dieu et as hommes et a touz les habitours des
 terres. **Ci finist le liver de Thobie.**

540 sa femme et ses filz et returna] sa femme et ses enfauntz et les filz de ses
 filz et r. *L* (sa femme et ses enfauntz et les filz et r. *P* : uxore sua et filiis et reversus
 est *V*) **542** si out il] si out il *L* (si out il *P* : ipse percepit *V*) et il vist les
 filz de ses filz] et il v. ses f. *L* (et il v. les f. de ses f. *P* : viditque . . . filios filiorum
 suorum *V*) **543** Et noefaunte et noef anz acompliz] Et noef vintz et noef anz
 ac. *L* (Et noefaunte auns et noef ac. *P* : et completis annis nonaginta et novem *V*)
546 habitours] habitaçons *L* (habitours *P* : habitatoribus *V*) **547** Ci finist le
 liver de Thobie] Ci finist le livre de Thobie et comence le livre de Judith *P*

TEXTUAL NOTES

After the line number(s) and headword(s), each note provides the corresponding text in the Vulgate Tobit (*V*) and its location. References are to the Stuttgart Vulgate text (n. 1 above) unless stated otherwise. The standard source in English is the NRSV (n. 1 above). The chief dictionary of reference is the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (=AND), at www.anglo-norman.net, as supplemented by Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (=FEW), at apps.atilf.fr, and other dictionaries. The notes also refer to Moore (n. 4 above) and Fitzmyer (n. 10 above).

2 *Neptalim* | *Nepthalim* (Tob 1:1). Naphtali, named for the second son of Jacob born to Rachel's maidservant Bilhah. "The tribe's territory lay to the W and NW of the Sea of Galilee. . . . Sixteen of its fortified cities are listed in Josh 19:35–38" (Fitzmyer, 95); see Yonanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, 2nd ed., rev. and enl., trans. and ed. A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia, 1979), 249 (Map 18).

3 *Nason* | *Naasson* (Tob 1:1). Hazor (Fitzmyer).

4 *Sepheth* | *Sephet* (Tob 1:1), "perhaps to be identified with *Šēpat* (modern Safed in Upper Galilee), to the WSW of Hazor" (Fitzmyer, 96–97).

9 *as veals d'or* / *ad vitulos aureos* (Tob 1:5). Jeroboam I (922–901 B.C.E.), king of Israel, established one golden calf at Dan and one at Bethel to draw his subjects away from worship at the Temple in Jerusalem (1 Kings 12:26–30).

11 *s'en vait a Jerusalem el temple de Nostre Sire* / *pergebat ad Hierusalem ad templum Domini* (Tob 1:6): From Naphtali to Jerusalem is almost one hundred miles (Moore, 109). The Temple that Solomon built "still stood in all its glory" at the time depicted in our story, i.e., in eighth- to seventh-century Jerusalem. "The author, not Tobit himself, knows of its destruction under Nebuchadnezzar (587 B.C.);" (Fitzmyer, 311–12).

11–12 *illoeqes ahoura il le Sire Dieu de Israel offraunt loialement touz ses primicies et ses dismes* / *ibi adorabat Dominum Deum suum Israhel omnia primitiva sua et decimas suas fideliter offerens* (Tob 1:6). R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913; rpt. 1976; archive.org), 1:197, calls prayer, almsgiving, and fasting "The Three Pillars of Judaism." For details of tithes, see Moore, 109–10.

16–18 *le qel il enseigna a douter Dieu de sa enfaunce et abstinere de tut manere de pecchee* / *ab infantia timere Deum docuit et abstinere ab omni peccato* (Tob 1:10). In Fitzmyer's interpretation, the implication in *V* is that Anna taught Tobias (112), but our text clarifies that Tobias's teacher was Tobit, not Anna.

19–20 *en la citee de Ninivee* / *in civitatem Nineve* (Tob 1:11). "The background for the events is the Assyrian deportation mentioned in 2 Kgs 15:29, when Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.) in his campaign of 733–732 conquered towns in northern Israel, including 'all the land of Naphtali' and 'took the people to Assyria.' . . . Tobit of the tribe of Naphtali and his family and relatives are portrayed as deported to Nineveh in that Assyrian Captivity ca. 732 (Tob 1:3)" (Fitzmyer, 50); located on the east bank of the Tigris opposite modern-day Mosul, Nineveh became the capital of Assyria under Sennacherib (705–681) (103). For further discussion of the historical context of Tiglath-pileser III's campaigns of 733–32, see Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 371–76, including Map 30.

27 *en Rages citee des Medes / in Rages civitatem Medorum* (Tob 1:16). “Cities in Media were among the places where the Assyrian king scattered the inhabitants of Samaria after its fall in 721 B.C.E”; Ráges is identified with modern Rai, a town “six miles southwest of modern Teheran” and “about two hundred miles northeast of Ecbatana” where Raguel’s family lived (Moore, 118).

30 *south cirograffe / sub chirografo* (Tob 1:17), the first of three references to the record created when Tobit deposited money with Raguel. See also ll. 164, 166, and 174. In Antiquity, chirographs were often ‘used specifically as a ‘certificate of indebtedness’”; “The giving of handwritten bonds for such monetary transactions in antiquity was quite customary. . . . Such documents were written on skin or papyrus in the last pre-Christian centuries in the eastern Mediterranean world, but these materials would not have been used in the time of Tobit in the Neo-Assyrian world, where clay tablets would rather have been customary” (Fitzmyer, 179, 186). According to M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England, 1066–1307* (Cambridge, 1979), in a chirograph, the terms of the agreement are set down twice, above and below a formula in majuscules, e.g., CHIROGRAPHUM, stretching across the width of the document. The document was then cut in half along the formula, often with a wavy cut rather than a straight one (65–66). “This practice grew so common in the later Middle Ages that chirographs became generally known as ‘indentures’” (66). [See *indenture(s)* 356, 362–63 in our text above.] Each part of the chirograph was “authenticated by the seal of the other party” (65). Chirographs are a very versatile form of duplicate writing that were used not only for loans and repayment of debts, but also for marriage settlements (65, 67). For a reproduction of an English chirograph dated 1254, see Clanchy, Plate VII.

35–36 *Et cil corious dona sepulture as mortz et as occis / et mortuis atque occisis sepulturam sollicitus exhibebat* (Tob 1:20). “To bury someone is the most important ‘charitable act’ in Tobit. . . . burying the dead took precedence over studying Torah, having one’s son circumcised, or preparing the paschal lamb” (Moore, 120).

37–38 *com le roi Senacherib fust [re]turnee fuiuaut . . . pur sa blastenge / cum reversus esset rex Sennacherim fugiens a Iudaea plagam quam circa eum Deus fecerat propter blasphemiam suam* (Tob 1:21), a reference to King Sennacherib’s retreat from Judea in 2 Kings 19:32–36 (Moore, 120). For the blasphemy of King Sennacherib, see 2 Kings 18. Sennacherib captures all the fortified cities of Judah, imposes a heavy tribute on Judah’s King Hezekiah, and taunts the Jews that no god has ever successfully resisted him. Even Yahweh is powerless to check him: “Who among all the gods of the countries have

delivered their countries out of my hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?" (2 Kings 18:35, NRSV).

43 *si occirent le roi ses filz | occiderunt regem filii ipsius* (Tob 1:24). 2 Chronicles 32:21 briefly relates the patricide.

45 *le jour festival de Nostre Sire | dies festus Domini* (Tob 2:1). The Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, celebrated seven weeks after Passover. Deuteronomy 16:11 requires that strangers, orphans, and widows be invited to the feast. See J. C. Dancy with W. J. Fuerst and R. J. Hammer, *The Shorter Books of the Apocrypha* (Cambridge, 1972), 22; Fitzmyer, 131; and Moore, 127.

55 "*Le jour de vostre feste turnera en lamentacioun et plur*" | *dies festi vestri convertentur in lamentationem et luctum* (Tob 2:6), a quotation of Amos 8:10: "I will turn your feasts into mourning, and all your songs into lamentation" (NRSV).

60–61 *Mais Thobie . . . et a mynuyt les enseveli | sed Tobias . . . et mediis noctibus sepeliebat ea* (Tob 2:9). This verse in *V* is not found in the other ancient versions (Fitzmyer, 136).

63 *Les chauds fient[z] del ny de arounde[s] | ex nido hirundinum . . . calida stercora* (Tob 2:11). In NRSV, sparrows, not swallows. Moore points out "the ironic fact that Tobit's blindness occurred when he was piously celebrating Pentecost and was selflessly burying a helpless corpse" (130).

66–68 *seint Job . . . il ne ert point fait trist contre Dieu | sancti Job . . . non est contristatus contra Deum* (Tob 2:12–13). The references to Job—absent in the modern English Bibles, e.g., NRSV—were apparently inserted by Jerome. The first sign of Job's constancy in suffering comes in Job 1:20–21, where after a series of crushing blows, Job says, "the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." The most familiar reference may be Job's response to his wife's taunt: "'Do you still persist in your integrity? Curse God, and die.' But he said to her, 'You speak as any foolish woman would speak. Shall we receive the good at the hand of God, and not receive the bad? In all this Job did not sin with his lips'" (Job 2:9–10). See further Fitzmyer, 138–39; Moore, 132; and the note for 71.

71 *si com rois assaillerent seint Job | nam sicut beato Job insultabant reges* (Tob 2:15), a puzzling verse, as no kings or rulers taunt Job, only his friends Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar (Job 2:11). According to Vincent T. M. Skemp, *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses* (Atlanta, 2000), "The reference to 'kings' . . . comes from LXX Job 2:11 . . . where two of Job's friends are designated βασιλεύς" (86). For Job's response to their mockery, see Job 30:1–14. See also the note for 66–68.

81–82 *il ne list pas a nous rien manger ou tucher de larcine / non licet nobis ex furto aliquid aut edere aut contingere* (Tob. 2:21). In Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie's *La Vie de Tobie*, Tobit is resentful of Anna's new enterprise:

En tel paine e en tel torment
 Fu Tobie mult longement;
 E sa femme teiles tisseit,
 De sa gaaingne le pesseit.
 Un jor ot pris por son loier
 Un gras chevriz bon a menger.
 Tobie, qui l'oi beeler,
 La comença a apeler:
 Dame, fait il, por Deu gardez,
 Que li chevriz ne seit emblez;
 Gardez, qu'a tort n'aiom d'autrui

Por poverté ne por ennui (Robert Reinsch, ed., "La vie de Tobie de Guillaume le Clerc de Normandie," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 62 [1879; hathitrust.org]: 375–96, at 386, ll. 433–44).

98–99 *en la citee dé Medes / in civitate Medorum* (Tob 3:7). The ruins of Ecbatana are located near the modern city of Hamadan, about 300 km west of Teheran in northern Iran (Fitzmyer, 149–50). For a description of Ecbatana's defenses, see Judith 1:2–4, although Moore calls this description "totally fictitious" (145). See also the note for 186–87.

100 *le deable par noun Asmodeus / daemonium nomine Asmodeus* (Tob 3:8). This is "the first appearance in Jewish literature of the demon Ashmedai, who will become quite prominent in Talmudic . . . and later Jewish writings" (Moore, 147).

103 *Nous ne veoms . . . plus outre / amplius . . . non videamus* (Tob 3:9). In the ANB, parataxis of *qe*: "May we never see."

116 *Tu le scies Sire / tu scis Domine* (Tob 3:16). The emendation replaces ind.pr.2 *sczees* with the more recognizable *scies*, a form that recurs at 320, 357, and 409.

134–61 *Oies my filz les paroles de ma bouche . . . tes consails permesnent en luy / audi fili mi verba oris mei . . . consilia tua in ipso permaneat* (Tob 4:2–20). Tobit has prayed for death and believes his end is near. His first concerns are for his own burial and Anna's. Now comes Tobit's first instruction to Tobias, called a "Testament" by Moore, who states, "testamentary literature was quite popular among Jews for the last two centuries B.C.E., as well as for the next three centuries" (163–64). See also the note for 139.

139 *tu la enseveleras prés de moy / sepelies eam circa me* (Tob 4:5). "Tobit . . . wants to follow the same burial custom . . . established by Abraham for Sa-

rah (Gen 25:8–10) and followed by Isaac and Jacob (Gen 49:29–33)” (Moore, 165). See also the note for 536–37.

142–49 *Fai almoigne de ta substaunce . . . almoigne ert grant affiaunce devaunt la treshalt Dieu a tuz yceux qe la fount | ex substantia tua fac elemosynam . . . fiducia magna erit coram summo Deo elemosyna omnibus qui faciunt eam* (Tob 4:7–12). “Almsgiving . . . appears more often in Tobit (22 times) than in any other book of the Old Testament” (Moore, 176). See further Charles, *Apocrypha* 1:197; Moore, 166, 176–77; and the note for 11–12.

146–47 *Quar tu tresores a toi bone tresore el jour de busoigne | praemium enim tibi bonum thesaurizas in die necessitatis* (Tob 4:10). Although the standard dictionaries do not list the verb *tresorer*, the meaning of Tobit’s precept is clear: by giving alms, Tobias will accumulate good-will and divine favor that will serve him well in time of need.

164 *cerographe | chirografum* (Tob 4:21). See the note for 30.

174 *celegraff | chirografum* (Tob 5:3). See the note for 30.

186–87 *en la mountaigne de Eglathanis | in monte Exbathanis* (Tob 5:8), a garbled reference to Ecbatana, which lies 325 km from Râges, at about 2000 meters above sea level. To go from one city to the other on foot would require more than two days (Fitzmyer, 189). In Ezra 6, King Darius’s order to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem drew its authority from a record discovered in Ecbatana. See also the note for 98–99.

188–89 *moy susteignes un poy si la qe jeo counte ycestes choses a mon pere | sustine me obsecro donec haec ipsa nuntiem patri meo* (Tob 5:9). The *Vetus Latina* version records Azariah’s response: “Look, I am waiting for you, but do not take long” (Fitzmyer, 189).

203 *l’angle Raphael | Rafahel angelus* (Tob 5:17). See Peter Riga, *Aurora: “Hoc nomen Raphael medicina Dei sonat” (Aurora. Petri Rigae Biblia versificata: A Verse Commentary on the Bible, ed. Paul E. Beichner, 2 vols. [Notre Dame, Ind., 1965], 1:319, l. 91)*; see also Fitzmyer, 49. The Lord sends his angel Raphael to cure Tobit’s blindness and to free Sarah from the designs of the demon Asmodeus.

205 *jeo sui Azarias le filz Ananie le grant | ego sum Azarias Ananiae magni filius* (Tob 5:18). “The different forms of Raphael’s reply in the various versions get across the impatience he has with the attempt to find out who he really is” (Fitzmyer, 192). The names Azariah (AN *Azarias*, *Azarie*) and Hananiah (*Anania*, *Ananiah*, *Hanani*) turn up repeatedly in the ANB’s Ezra and Nehemiah.

208 *Jeo mesnerai sain et remesnerai ton filz sain | ego sanum ducam et sanum tibi reducam filium tuum* (Tob 5:20). The same response that Azariah gave in l. 200 (Tob 5:15, V).

210 *et soit son angle a vous acompaignee | et angelus eius comitetur vobiscum* (Tob 5:21), an ironic statement since, unbeknownst to Tobit or his son, Tobias is travelling with an angel. See also ll. 220–21.

215–16 *Vousist Dieu qe cele pecunie ja ne fust | numquam esset ipsa pecunia* (Tob 5:24). In *L*, Anna invokes God independently of *V*. *P* mimics *V*: *Ja ne feust ycele pecunie*.

224 *et un chien le sui | et canis secutus est eum* (Tob 6:1). All that is known of the dog is that it next appears, wagging its tail, when Tobias finally returns to his father's home (ll. 426–27).

224–25 *a la primer' mansioun joust le fluvie de Tigre | prima mansione iuxta fluvium Tigris* (Tob 6:1). The expression *la primer' mansioun* means “the first stopping-place” or, we might say, “the first campsite.” As noted, Nineveh—the starting point—was on the east bank of the Tigris. Azariah and Tobias were travelling toward Ecbatana in the east. It is difficult, therefore, to understand how they could have camped on the Tigris, which always lay behind them in their journey eastward. “More than likely, . . . the author is just poorly informed about Mesopotamian geography” (Fitzmyer, 205).

226 *un grant pessoun et feloun | piscis inmanis* (Tob 6:2). *L* inserts *et feloun* independently of *V*. Cf. *P*: *un tresgrant pessoun*.

251–52 *J'ai oy q'ele estoit donee a sept barouns | audio quia tradita est viris septem* (Tob 6:14). Although Tobias has never met his far-away cousin, he has heard about her misfortunes.

253–54 *Et depuis qe jeo sui soul a mes amys jeo abateroi lour auncientee od dolour a enfern | et cum sim unicus parentibus meis deponam senectutem illorum cum tristitia ad infernum* (Tob 6:15): “and since I am the only child of (my) parents, I should bring down their old age in sorrow to Hades” (Fitzmyer, 215).

255–59 *Donqe lui dist Raphael . . . ad le deables poestee | tunc angelus Rafahel dixit ei . . . habet potestatem daemonium super eos* (Tob 6:16–17). “In v. 17, the strange comparison of a horse and a mule is derived from Ps 32:9” (Fitzmyer, 220). See further Moore, 206–7, 242–45. Here *La Vie de Tobie* implies that Asmodeus, acting as judge and executioner, has punished Sarah's first seven husbands because they were motivated by lust:

Diabes sont, qui ont poeir
De tels oscire e deceveir,
Qui solement por lor luxure
E nient por engendreure
Receivent femme en mariage:
Ceo est grant pecche e grant rage.
Cels a le diable en justise,
Qui se marient en tel guise (Reinsch, ed., 390, ll. 781–88).

260–61 *tu entrant ton lit toi deportes de luy par treis nuitz | ingressus cubiculum per tres dies continens esto ab ea* (Tob 6:18). According to the AND, *deporter* means precisely “to abstain from sexual intercourse with.” *La Vie de Tobie* follows Jerome (Reinsch, ed., 390, ll. 801–16).

263 *serras tu resceu en copulacioun des seintz patriarks | in copulatione sanctorum patriarcharum admitteris* (Tob 6:20). The other ancient versions have no equivalent of ll. 260–67 (Fitzmyer, 220).

268–82 *Et cil entrerent desqes a Raguel . . . et de apparailler une mangerie | ingressi sunt autem ad Raguhalem . . . et parari convivium* (Tob 7:1–9). During his earlier interview with Tobias (ll. 184–87), Azariah-Raphael claims to have stayed at Raguel’s home in the past. It is strange that, when Azariah now reappears on his threshold, Raguel does not recognize him, focusing rather on Tobias’s physical resemblance to Tobit.

297–98 *cil pernaunt la destre main de sa fille la dona a la destre main Thobie | adprehendens dexteram filiae suae dexteram Tobiae tradidit* (Tob 7:15). This is “an act with legal meaning, denoting marriage and the transfer of authority and possession from the father to the bridegroom” (Fitzmyer, 234).

300 *Et une chartre pris il firent un escript de esposaille | et accepta carta fecerunt conscriptionem coniugii* (Tob 7:16). Thus Raguel and Tobias draw up the marriage contract together. The ancient Aramaic marriage contract was usually drawn up by the bridegroom; among other details, it guaranteed support for the bride and the couple’s children (Fitzmyer, 225). Our text hedges with respect to this restriction by giving Tobias and Raguel collaborative roles.

309 *el desert de Egipte suseyne | in deserto superioris Aegypti* (Tob 8:3). The narrative implies that Asmodeus was already present in the bedchamber with the newlyweds (Fitzmyer, 242). “Upper Egypt” means the remote southern part of Egypt, i.e., a place far removed from Ecbatana (ibid., 243).

317–22 *Et dist Thobie Ha Sire Dieu de noz peres . . . es secles des secles | dixitque Tobias Domine Deus patrum nostrorum . . . in saecula saeculorum* (Tob 8:7–9). In commenting on Tobias’s prayer, Moore notes that as early as 1085, Tobit was used in the marriage ceremony in England and that it is now a part of the Amish wedding ceremony (241 n. 181).

342 *q’il emplerioient la fossee | ut replerent fossam* (Tob 8:20), an instance of gallows humor, in which Raguel—after so many previous burials—now orders the refilling of an unneeded grave.

347–48 *et a touz amys et lour proesmes | omnibus vicinis suis et cunctis amicis* (Tob 8:22). *L* inserts *et lour proesmes* independently of *V*. Similarly, *P*: *et a tuz lour amys et lour proesmes* (fol. 147r).

350 *il fist en escript | fecit hanc scripturam* (Tob 8:24). Having coauthored the marriage contract (see the note for 300), Raguel now formalizes the bequest

of his considerable property to the newlyweds, one-half immediately and the other half after his and Anna's deaths.

355 *bestes ou services / animalia sive servitia* (Tob 9:3): "animals and servants" (Fitzmyer, 254).

356 *indentures / chirografum* (Tob 9:3). See the note for 30.

359–60 *tu vois com Raguel moy ad conjuree qi conjureisoun jeo ne pusse despire / vides quomodo Raguhel coniuraverit me cuius adiuramentum spernere non possum* (Tob 9:5): "You . . . see how Raguel has adjured me, and I cannot disregard his oath" (Fitzmyer, 255).

391–92 *un messenger de sauntee / nuntium salutis* (Tob 10:8). That is, a messenger bearing news (for Tobit) that Tobias, while quite late in returning, is safe.

397–98 *en enfauntz et en ancelles et en bestes et en chamels et en vaches et en mult d'argent / in pueris et in puellis et in pecudibus et in camelis et in pecunia multa* (Tob 10:10): "in male and female slaves, cattle and camels, and much money" (Fitzmyer, 267).

407–8 *Charram qe est en mylieu contre Ninivee / Charram quae est in medio itinere contra Nineven* (Tob 11:1). Kaserin (Moore, 259). "Charran is otherwise unknown, and no one knows where Jerome would have derived the information that it was midway between Ecbatana and Nineveh, apart from his Aramaic source" (Fitzmyer, 274).

426 *Donqe currust le chien devaunt / tunc praecucurrit canis* (Tob 11:9). The dog's function in the story may well be only to bookend Tobias's quest.

434 *si com l'estiche de un oef / quasi membrana ovi* (Tob 11:14). The AND lists *estiche* as a variant form of *estike*, "stem, stalk, scrap"; "like the skin of an egg" (Fitzmyer, 278). *La Vie de Tobie* paints a similar scene:

Tobie prent sa medecine,
E oint en a les eulz son pere,
Qui tost ot la veue clere,
Ne demora que un petit,
Que cil des eulz son pere vit
Eissir, com est l'aubon d'un oef.
Li fiz, qui de lui esteit proef,
Li traist cele chose des eulz;
E maintenant lui estut mielz:
Car il vit autresi clerment,
Com il faiseit en son jovent (Reinsch, ed., 394, ll. 1210–20).

443 *Achior et Nabath les cosyns Thobie / Achior et Nabath consobrini Tobiae* (Tob 11:20). As Fitzmyer states (121), in chap. 1 Jerome edits out the relationship of Ahiqar and Tobit only to take up the story again here as Ahiqar

and Nadin join the wedding party; for discussion, see Fitzmyer, 282–83; and Moore, 264: “The exact Hebrew name of the villainous nephew of Ahiqar is uncertain. . . . Although the narrator has not mentioned Nadin before, he assumes that his readers are familiar with him.”

449–52 *Il moy mesna et moi remesna . . . Et toi fist a veer la lumere du ciel / me duxit et reduxit . . . te quoque fecit videre lumen caeli* (Tob 12:3). In praise of Azariah’s meritorious service, Tobias recapitulates his benevolent deeds.

460–65 *il est bon de muscier . . . sount enemys a lour almes / abscondere bonum est . . . hostes sunt animae suae* (Tob 12:7–10). Azariah begins a brief moral instruction to Tobit and Tobias in the form of precepts.

472 *l’angle un des sept / angelus unus ex septem* (Tob 12:15), that is, one of the Angels of the Presence. For discussion, see Fitzmyer, 296.

476–78 *jeo estoi veu de manger od vous . . . ne poet estre veu de gent / videbar quidem vobiscum manducare . . . ab hominibus videri non potest utor* (Tob 12:19). In his self-revelation shortly after Tobit’s physical sight is restored, Raphael also opens Tobit’s and Tobias’s eyes to his angelic nature. Raphael implies that just as his eating and drinking was an illusion, he has no use for material compensation for his services. In *La Vie de Tobie*, Raphael explains as follows:

Jeo sui Raphael angelus,
 Un des set, qui somes la sus
 Ades devant nostre seignor;
 Por vus geter de tenebror,
 E por vostre fiz marier,
 E por sa femme delivrer
 Del reproche e de vilainie,
 M’enveia Deus en vostre aie.
 Vos cuidiez, que home fuisse
 E que jeo menjasse e beusse
 Come vus, mes pas nel feseie:
 Car peu somes toteveie
 De dolce espiritel viande,
 Que nostre cuer plus ne demande (Reinsch, ed., 395, ll. 1313–26).

478 *Por ceo temps est qe jeo returne / tempus est ergo ut revertar* (Tob 12:20). After this sentence, *V* omits Raphael’s command that Tobit and Tobias record all these events: “Write down everything that has happened to you,” i.e., in a book (so *G*^I, a Greek recension based on *LXX*^{ABN}) which the story of Tobit purports to be (Moore, 267, 273). For *G*^I, see Moore, 7 n. 1, 15, 33 and following.

484 *Thobie le plus auncien / Tobias senior* (Tob 13:1). The label, used here for the first time, clarifies that the prayer following is Tobit's. "In the last two chapters Tobit becomes again the principal actor, just as he was in the first two chapters of the book" (Fitzmyer, 303).

509–16 *Ha tu m'alme benesquiez Nostre Sire . . . qe son regne soit sur ly sanz fin Amen / anima mea benedic Dominum . . . ut sit regnum eius in saecula saeculorum super eam amen* (Tob 13:19–23). Having spent much of his life in captivity far from Jerusalem—and now aware that he will never again see the Holy City—Tobit recalls his youthful visits to the Temple [Tob 1:5–8 (V), ll. 9–15]. Tobit's prayer for the restoration and embellishment of Jerusalem is based in part on Isaiah 60:1–22; "the hymn in chap. 13 may well be an apocalyptic psalm with a vision of the new Jerusalem" (Fitzmyer, 43). See also the notes for 11–12 and 526–31.

517 *Et totes les paroles de Thobie sount finyz | et consummati sunt sermones Tobi* (Tob 14:1). In *P* and *V*, the corresponding verse begins the final chapter.

524–25 *Thobie son filz et ses sept joenes filz ses cosyns / Tobiam filium suum et septem iuvenes filios eius nepotes suos* (Tob 14:5): "his son Tobiah and his seven young sons, his grandchildren" (Fitzmyer, 325).

525–26 *La mort de Nynyvee serra proscheine car la parole Deu n'est point avenuee / prope erit interitus Nineven non enim excidit verbum Dei* (Tob 14:6). The allusion is to an oracle by the OT prophet Nahum, who foretold the destruction of Nineveh (Nahum 1:1, 2:8–10, 13, 3:18–19) (Fitzmyer, 325–26).

526–31 *Et noz freres qe sount esparpliz . . . ahourauntz le roi de Israel | et fratres nostri qui dispersi sunt . . . adorantes regem Israhel* (Tob 14:6–9). Tobit reprises his vision for the restoration of Israel and Jerusalem. See also the note for 509–16.

531–35 *Oiez por ceo mes filz . . . et en tote lour vertue | audite ergo filii mei . . . et in tota virtute sua* (Tob 14:10–11). Tobit leaves a final moral instruction for his children.

536–37 *en quel jour qe vous averez vostre mere ensevely jouste moy en un sarcu / quacumque die sepelieritis matrem vestram circa me in uno sepulchro* (Tob 14:12). In an *inclusio* reaching back to ll. 138–39 (Tob 4:5), Tobit again instructs that Anna should be buried with him after her death.

541 *si esclost il lour oels | et ipse clausit oculos eorum* (Tob 14:15): "He closed their eyes" (Fitzmyer, 336), further testimony to the loving care given by Tobias to Sarah's aging parents.

545 *demora en bone vie et seinte conversacioun | in bona vita et sancta conversatione permansit* (Tob 14:17): "continued in a good life and holy relations" (Fitzmyer, 336). This expression forms an *inclusio* with Tobit's earlier exhortation, *si attendoms nous ceste vie la quele Dieu est a doner* (ll. 75–76).

SYNOPSIS OF THE ANB'S TOBIT

(2–30) Tobit (*Thobie*) is steadfast in his service to the Lord. His marriage to Anna produces a son, Tobias (*Thobie*), whom Tobit instructs in the faith. Tobit travels in the employ of King Shalmaneser (*Salmanasar*), and on one trip lends ten talents to a needy friend, Gabael (*Gabel / Gabellum*), in Media.

(31–44) After Shalmaneser's death, his son Sennacherib (*Senacherib*) installs a campaign of terror against the Jews. Tobit comforts his people, providing food and clothing and burying Jews killed by the king. Sennacherib orders him killed and his property seized, but Tobit and his family escape. The king then dies in a palace coup, and Tobit returns home, his property restored.

(45–61) As Tobit prepares a feast, he dispatches Tobias to invite others to share it. Tobias returns to report the killing of another Jew whose corpse lies unburied. Tobit immediately leaves his meal to retrieve the body. Later, as he performs the burial, his neighbors chide him for resuming this charitable work.

(62–76) Returning home exhausted, Tobit sinks into sleep. When swallows deposit excrement in his eyes, Tobit becomes blind. Despite his infirmity, and regardless of the taunts of kinsmen, Tobit remains steadfast in his faith.

(77–97) With Tobit now infirm and unemployed, Anna takes work as a weaver. One day, when Anna returns home with a young goat—apparently a gratuity from her employer—Tobias rashly accuses her of theft. Their harsh words cause distress and tears for Tobit who ends a prayer with a wish for death.

(98–128) Meanwhile, in Ecbatana, Sarah (*Sarra*), daughter of Raguel, Tobit's kinsman, hears a reproach from her maid: "You were promised to seven men, and yet all were killed by the demon Asmodeus. May you never bear children." Sarah retires to pray, pleading innocence in her fiancé's deaths and—like Tobit—wishing for death if she cannot be absolved.

(129–223) God hears the prayers of Tobit and Sarah and sends his angel *Raphael* to aid them. Tobit commissions Tobias to retrieve the money lent to Gabael. Tobias finds a guide who calls himself *Azarias* but is the angel in disguise. Azariah promises to lead Tobias to Ráges and to bring him back safely. As Azariah, Tobias, and a dog set out, Tobit comforts a distraught Anna.

(224–44) At the first campsite along the Tigris, Tobias, attacked by a giant fish at the river's edge, follows Azariah's instruction to kill the fish, also removing its heart, gall-bladder and stomach. Azariah explains that when placed on embers the heart casts off demonic powers and the gall-bladder cures the eyes.

(245–67) As they approach Ecbatana, Azariah advises Tobias about Raguel's daughter Sarah and encourages him to claim Sarah as his wife. Azariah gives Tobias specific instructions for the consummation of his marriage to Sarah.

(268–306) Azariah and Tobias are greeted by Raguel with open arms. Raguel begins preparations for a feast, but Tobias refuses to eat unless Raguel consents to give him Sarah in marriage. Raguel agrees, then blesses Tobias and Sarah and draws up a marriage contract. He instructs Anna to prepare the nuptial bed.

(307–43) The newlyweds follow Azariah's instructions. Tobias places the fish's stomach on burning embers, thus repelling the demon Asmodeus. Raphael captures Asmodeus and binds him in remotest Egypt. At daybreak, fearing the worst, Raguel orders that a new grave be dug for Sarah's eighth fiancé. When a maid goes to visit the couple, however, she finds them safe and sleeping peacefully. Rejoicing with Anna, Raguel orders the unused grave filled in.

(344–74) Raguel and Anna now plan a wedding feast. Raguel gives his son-in-law half his property, promising him the other half after his death. Tobias dispatches Azariah to visit Gabael in Media both to collect the ten talents and to invite Gabael to the wedding feast. Tobias expresses concern that, by now, his parents must be anxious for his safe return. Azariah completes his mission, collecting the money and returning to Raguel's home with Gabael.

(375–414) As the wedding feast continues at Raguel's house, Tobit and Anna wail for their absent son. Tobias declines Raguel's invitation to stay on after the wedding feast. Tobias and Sarah set out with their new possessions for Nineveh. On the way, Raphael reminds Tobias of the fish's gall-bladder, instructing him that by daubing it on Tobit's eyes, he will cure his blindness.

(415–45) Anna waits each day beside the road for Tobias's return. When Tobias appears on the horizon, Anna runs to tell Tobit. The dog, wagging its tail, is in the returning travellers' vanguard. Reunited with his parents, Tobias applies the gall-bladder to Tobit's eyes, and the father's eyesight is immediately restored. After Sarah also arrives, the family celebrates with a seven-day feast.

(446–517) Tobit and Tobias discuss a fitting reward for Azariah who has served them so faithfully. They implore Azariah to accept half of the goods brought from Raguel's house. In response, Azariah reveals himself as the angel Raphael. The angel tells the two men that the Lord sent him to heal Tobit and to deliver Sarah from the demon. As Raphael vanishes to return to the Lord, Tobit and Tobias fall on their faces in worship. Later, in a prayer of thanksgiving, Tobit foretells the end of the Captivity and the restoration of Jerusalem.

(518–47) As death approaches, Tobit gathers his offspring for moral instruction. He prophesies the fall of Nineveh, the restoration of the temple in Jerusalem, and the glorification of Israel. He implores Tobias that, after his and Anna's death, he and Sarah should return to live near Sarah's parents. After the deaths of Tobit and Anna, Tobias and Sarah return to Raguel's house. They lovingly care for Sarah's aging parents and inherit their estate. Tobias and Sarah bear sons, and their line honors God and prospers through multiple generations.

GLOSSARY

The glossary generally excludes common Old French and Anglo-Norman words. Full line references are provided for words that occur fewer than four times; for words appearing four times or more, the third reference is followed by etc. Spellings with *y* for *i* are not listed separately. For infinitives not attested in the text, spellings are deduced; such infinitives are directly followed by a semi-colon. An asterisk (*) marks a word that is repeated in the line indicated; a dagger (†), a word that has been emended in the text.

To account for the blurring of past and present tense in narration, *ind.pr.* and *pret.* forms are shown according to their use in the text. Thus, e.g., *vait* and *vount* are shown as *pret.* forms when their intended meaning is “went.”

The chief dictionary of reference in this section is the Anglo-Norman Dictionary (=AND²), at www.anglo-norman.net, as supplemented by the Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français, at www.deaf-page.de/; Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, at apps.atilf.fr; Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330–1500), at www.atilf.fr/dmf/; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris, 1881), at micmap.org/dicfro/home/dictionnaire-godefroy; Alan Hindley, Frederick W. Langley, and Brian J. Levy, *Old French-English Dictionary* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000); and Le Trésor de la Langue Française informatisé (TLFi).

abatre, *v.a.* cut (down), reduce; *fut.1*

abateroi 254

abstiner, *v.n.* abstain (from) 17

acompaigner; *p.p.* **acompaignede** 210, **acompaigné** 221; *v.a.* join, keep the company of

acomplir; *sbj.pr.3* **acomplisse** 299; *p.p.* **acomplie** 110, 138, 527; *p.p. as a.* **acompliz** 519, 543; *v.a.* finish, complete

acompter; *ind.pr.6* **acomptent** 393; *p.p.* **acomptee** 217; *v.a.* consider, deem; count, add up

adecertes, *adv.* assuredly 15, 31, 41 etc.

adrescer; *ind.pr.1* **adresce** 114; *imper.2* **adresces** 158, 5 **adrescez** 537; *v.a.* direct, guide, make ready

adonqe, *adv.* then 143, 190

ael, *s.* father-in-law 540

aele, *s.* mother-in-law 540

affiaunce, *s.* surety, guarantee 148

ahourer, *v.a.* adore, worship 462;

ind.pr.3 **ahoure** 123; *imper.2*

ahoures 421, 5 **ahourez** 459,

*487–88, 492 etc.; *pret.3* **ahoura**

11; *fut.1* **ahourera** 494, 6

ahour(r)ount 503, 504; *p.pr.*

ahourauntz 531; *p.p.* **ahouree** 430

ajoindre; *sbj.pr.3* **ajoine** 299; *p.p.*

as a. **ajointe** 295; *v.a.* join, unite

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