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A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE BABA RABBAH
SECTION OF THE SAMARITAN CHRONICLE
NO. II: WITH TRANSLATION AND
COMMENTARY.

JEFFREY M. COHEN

A thesis submitted for
the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in the
Department of Hebrew
and Semitic Languages
in the University of
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PREFACE

This thesis is the result of work done in the Department of Hebrew and Semitic Languages of Glasgow University under the supervision of Professor John Macdonald, during the period 1972-1977. No part of it was done in collaboration, and the views expressed are entirely my own.

I should like to place on record my profound thanks to Professor Macdonald for having introduced me to the study of Samaritanism and for having made available to me the fruits of his great erudition in this field. His sincere interest and encouragement throughout the years of my research have been a source of profound satisfaction and academic stimulation.

I also thank my colleagues, Drs. Robert Gordon, Berl Cutler and Alexander Broadie, whose academic companionship also provided a reliable sounding-board for my ideas and theories.



November 1977

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SUMMARY

The present work fills an important gap in Samaritan studies, in that it treats of one of the most charismatic personalities in Samaritan tradition and of a period (3rd - 4th cent.A.D.) which constituted a high-water mark in Samaritan history.

The figure of Baba Rabbah looms large on the Samaritan canvass. Much has been said of him that is legendary; much that is true. Earlier and later traditions have been interwoven around his personality. No critical attempt has ever been made, however, to reconstruct his life by analyzing the historicity of these traditions, especially regarding the victories he is said to have won over the Roman (and other) enemies of the community, and the social, religious and political reforms he introduced in order to achieve a total reconstruction of Samaritan life.

The present study brings to light a hitherto unpublished part of the important Samaritan Chronicle No.II. Two versions are critically compared, and presented in parallel texts, though all the extant Chronicles and traditions are referred to in the commentary which accompanies the texts. The two versions — designated H1 and H2 — are far more detailed than any other Samaritan Chronicle, presenting a full and readable account of the life and activity of Baba Rabbah, and,

in general, of the social and political history of the period. The nature of these versions is described and analyzed, and their linguistic features detailed.

H1 and H2 differ mainly in that the former is written in Samaritan Hebrew, while the latter reflects their particular dialect of Aramaic. These versions are, additionally, therefore, a rich source of new vocabulary to deepen and broaden our ever-growing knowledge of non-Masoretic forms. The commentary and word-list, which accompany this section of the Chronicle, highlight this particularly important aspect of the research.

The Samaritans of the 3rd - 4th cent. A.D. did not live in a vacuum, as did some of their predecessors and most of their successors, when enemies permitted them this luxury. This generation was outgoing and determined, and roused to a unique degree of national pride and solidarity by the personality and leadership of Baba Rabbah. Their emergence into the political and religious arena of Palestine would have been bound, therefore, to have brought them into closer contact with the Judean community. The course of this interrelationship is plotted in the Chronicle; and the present study enables us, therefore, to fill in the background to Jewish attitudes toward the Samaritans, as reflected in rabbinic literature, such as the charge that they worshipped an image of a dove on Mount Gerizim.

Since Baba's reforms laid the foundation for the fruitful period of Marqah, and other Samaritan liturgists and writers who made a pioneering contribution to the flowering of Samaritan literature, Baba's significance cannot be overestimated, and it is thus of the greatest importance that his life and times be researched.

ABBREVIATIONS

(Biblical books are not listed here. They are referred to by their customary abbreviation)

<u>AF</u>	<u>Abu'l Fath (ed. Vilmar).</u>
<u>Aram.</u>	<u>Aramaic.</u>
<u>Arab.</u>	<u>Arabic.</u>
<u>BDB</u>	<u>Brown, Driver and Briggs (Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament).</u>
<u>Ber. Rabb.</u>	<u>Midrash Bereshith Rabbah.</u>
<u>BH</u>	<u>Biblical Hebrew.</u>
<u>BH³</u>	<u>Biblia Hebraica (Kittel³).</u>
<u>b</u>	<u>ben.</u>
<u>BT</u>	<u>Biblical Text (Judaistic version).</u>
<u>Cf.</u>	<u>Compare.</u> (Used, especially in our Commentary, to indicate biblical references where text differs from version of Chronicle. Otherwise "See" is used.)
<u>Dittog.</u>	<u>Dittography.</u>
<u>EJ</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia Judaica.</u>
<u>Ed.</u>	<u>Edition.</u>
<u>GK</u>	<u>Gesenius-Kautzsch, Hebrew Grammar</u>
<u>Gloss.</u>	<u>Glossary.</u>
<u>Gr.</u>	<u>Greek.</u>
<u>GRP</u>	<u>Gazetter of Roman Palestine, (ed. M. Avi-Yonah).</u>
<u>Heb.</u>	<u>Hebrew.</u>
<u>Ibid.</u>	<u>Ibidem.</u>
<u>KB</u>	<u>Kohler and Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros.</u>

<u>Lit.</u>	<u>Literally.</u>
<u>Loc. cit.</u>	<u>Loco citato.</u>
<u>LOTS</u>	<u>The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic among the Samaritans, Z. Ben-Hayyim, Jerusalem, 1957.</u>
<u>LXX</u>	<u>Septuagint version of the Old Testament.</u>
<u>MT</u>	<u>Masoretic Text.</u>
<u>n.</u>	<u>Note.</u>
<u>NEB</u>	<u>New English Bible.</u>
<u>NH</u>	<u>New (late) Hebrew.</u>
<u>Op. cit.</u>	<u>Opere citato.</u>
<u>OTL</u>	<u>Old Testament Library.</u>
<u>pl.</u>	<u>Plural.</u>
<u>sing.</u>	<u>Singular.</u>
<u>SP</u>	<u>Samaritan Pentateuch.</u>
<u>ST</u>	<u>Samaritan Targum.</u>
<u>Tal.</u>	<u>Talmud.</u>
<u>Targ.</u>	<u>Targum.</u>
<u>Tol.</u>	<u>Tolidah.</u>
<u>v.</u>	<u>Verse.</u>
<u>Vb.</u>	<u>Verb</u>

JOURNALS

<u>AJBA</u>	<u>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology.</u>
<u>AJSL</u>	<u>American Journal of Semitic Languages.</u>

<u>ALUOS</u>	<u>Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society.</u>
<u>BA</u>	<u>The Biblical Archaeologist.</u>
<u>BASOR</u>	<u>Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research.</u>
<u>BJPES</u>	<u>Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society.</u>
<u>BS</u>	<u>Bibliotheca Sacra.</u>
<u>BZAW</u>	<u>Beiherte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</u>
<u>EI</u>	<u>Eretz Israel.</u>
<u>HTR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review.</u>
<u>HUCA</u>	<u>Hebrew Union College Annual.</u>
<u>IEJ</u>	<u>Israel Exploration Journal.</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique.</u>
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</u>
<u>JNES</u>	<u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</u>
<u>JPOS</u>	<u>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.</u>
<u>JQR</u>	<u>Jewish Quarterly Review.</u>
<u>JThS</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies.</u>
<u>OTS</u>	<u>Oudtestamentische Studien.</u>
<u>PAAJR</u>	<u>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research.</u>
<u>PEFQSt</u>	<u>Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement.</u>
<u>REJ</u>	<u>Revue des Études Juives.</u>
<u>RB</u>	<u>Revue Biblique.</u>
<u>SH</u>	<u>Scripta Hierosolymitana.</u>
<u>TrGUOS</u>	<u>Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society.</u>
<u>VT</u>	<u>Vetus Testamentum.</u>
<u>ZAW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</u>

4. INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The present study constitutes a critical edition, with commentary, of a hitherto unpublished section of the fullest extant Chronicle of Samaritan history. This Chronicle -- Chronicle II -- commences with the period of the biblical historical books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings/II Chronicles) and continues the Samaritan saga down until the beginning of the 20th century.

The biblical section of this Chronicle has already been published by John Macdonald,¹ as has a small section on the Jesus period.² The present study focusses upon the lengthy section on the life and activity of Baba Rabbah; and we have attempted in our research to reconstruct the exact nature of the contribution of that great charismatic leader.

The scope of this research has inevitably been fairly wide, as the Chronicle possesses linguistic as well as historical significance. We have presented the major burden of our linguistic inquiry in chapters 5-7 (comprising the text, translation and commentary), the quintessence of which is presented in chapter 15, in the form of a word list which extracts lexical and morphological features of special significance, to supplement what is already known from other Samaritan texts.

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1. For works of scholars referred to in this introduction, see Bibliography.

2. Published by J. Macdonald and A. J. B. Higgins.

It should be noted that, apart from the work done by J. Macdonald, the Samaritan chronicles have been a neglected field from the point of view of critical textual inquiry. A critical edition of the type here offered has long been a desideratum.

A considerable amount of interest has been aroused, however, in recent decades, in other aspects of Samaritanism, with important works having been contributed in the fields of Samaritan linguistics (by Ben Hayyim, Kahle and Murtonen), grammar (by R. Macuch), hermeneutics (by S. Lowy¹), Theology (J. Macdonald), Philosophy (A. Broadie²), history (Bowman, Coggins and Kippenberg) — not forgetting the pioneering contribution, in so many aspects of Samaritanism, made by scholars of a less recent period, notably A. Cowley, M. Gaster and J. Montgomery. The fruits of the present research will be of considerable importance, it is believed, in each of the above-mentioned aspects of Samaritanism, serving to offer a newly-published source which can only help to extend the insights and results so far obtained by these scholars.

The text of the Chronicle is set out in the parallel versions of H1 and H2, two recensions, each possessing a totally differing linguistic complexion. The former

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1. Lowy's contribution, which is expected to be published shortly, is entitled, "An Investigation into the Sources and Hermeneutic Method of the Samaritan Midrashic Literature from the Roman Period to the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D. Dissert. Leeds, 1973).

2. Details of Broadie's research are taken up by us in chapter 13.

is written in a unique classical form of Samaritan Hebrew; the latter in a more colloquial and familiar Aramaic dialect. Both these recensions are of great importance. H1 offers a form of Waw-Consecutive Classical Hebrew which extends our knowledge of non-Masoretic forms, disclosing verbs which appear in other conjugations, and semantic shades of meaning, than those of biblical Hebrew, as well as a syntax which is not bound by rules as clearly defined as those of biblical Hebrew. Similarly, H2 also makes a significant contribution to our lexical knowledge of Samaritan Aramaic, providing interesting and new vocabulary to supplement that already gleaned. The parallel texts provide, we believe, the best method of demonstrating the varying stylistic approaches of both versions, as well as their undoubted interrelationship.

Among the intriguing problems raised by the Chronicle is that of the very liberal use made of the Judaistic book of Psalms. The significance of this employment of "external literature" by a Samaritan author is discussed in chapter 8(B). The significant textual variations in the chronicler's version of these Psalms is monitored and discussed in our Commentary. These will be of special interest to the biblical scholar interested in non-Masoretic forms.

The 4th cent. period of Palestinian history is not well documented, and our Chronicle provides an

unexpectedly rich harvest of historical data and traditions which shed much light on the history of the community at that period, as well as upon the inter-community relations between Samaritans and Jews, the intrigue, struggle and recriminations which characterized this relationship, as well as their mutual dealings with the Romans.

The Chronicle provides new slants on important issues which dogged attitudes of the rabbinic authorities toward the Samaritans. Especially interesting is the suggestion we offer that the Mishnaic charge that the Samaritans kindled beacons on the wrong night of the New Month solely in order to frustrate the Jews' attempt to convey its date to their diaspora communities, may well have been a misrepresentation of fact, based upon ignorance (real or pretended) of a Samaritan ritual of fire-purification, prescribed for Rosh Hodesh, and not an act of mischief! (see chapter 8(D)).

New slants are also provided on the familiar charge that the Samaritans worshipped a dove on the top of Mount Gerizim. We have related this charge to an episode described in our Chronicle, and have re-examined the rabbinic sources in the light of this new material, in order to determine the basis for such a charge (chapter 8(C)).

The personality of Baba Rabbah has hitherto been enigmatic, as has even the exact significance of his name (or title? See chapter 10). We have attempted to demonstrate, by the textual-critical approach, that a number of the generally accepted traditions about him are, in fact, later accretions, intended to enhance his legendary mystique, but based upon unreliable evidence, with little historical credibility. In this context we have highlighted the confusion surrounding the chronology of the period (chapter 9), and have been constrained, on the basis of a chronological reconstruction, to offer a new date for the life and activity of Baba Rabbah. We have also demonstrated that the generally-held view that he was a High Priest (see Encycl. Judaica, 4, 17) cannot be substantiated, and that the tradition that he ended his days in captivity in the city of Constantinople is a later tradition which has no basis in historical fact, and which cannot be harmonized with other traditions linking Baba with the period of the pre-Constantine emperors.

Baba is known to have been a great reformer; but the chronicles, other than Chronicle II, provide a rather sketchy description of the exact nature of these reforms. On the basis of the material contained in our Chronicle, we have analyzed these reforms, as well as the

hierarchic re-structuring which Baba embarked upon. We have been enabled thereby to determine a tripartite structure of leadership comprising -- under Baba -- a supreme council of seven leaders, eleven "pairs" of priestly administrators and fifty Synagogue administrators or Šimmûrê Ha-Tôrâh (see chapter 11).

Baba's reforms were especially geared toward a spiritual re-construction of Samaritan life around the institution of the Synagogue; and to this end he re-opened Synagogues that had been closed by the Romans and he built many new ones. The locations of these Synagogues are carefully described in our Chronicle, although the significance of the overall siting of these Synagogues has hitherto remained unnoticed. We have discussed the various sites, some of which are still a matter of archaeological conjecture, and we have detected a definite symmetry, whereby all the Synagogues lie around the circumference of a circle, with Shechem and 'Amartah at the epicentre. This arrangement served to further Baba's political aspiration of a centralized authority.

The question of Baba's Dositheanism has recently been re-opened in the light of the research into this sect by J. Isser. Again, our chronicle provides important insights into this question.

From a passage in our chronicle, referring to a rival "family" that did not accept the authority of Baba Rabbah and maintained their own political and religious autonomy, we were led to examine the origin, extent and significance of this opposition — referred to by the name of Miṣpaḥath Haššibh⁴im (see chapter 12) — and the manner in which Baba came to terms with it. This, inevitably, provided a new dimension from which to assess Baba's diplomatic achievements and his limitations.

An important period of cultural and spiritual activity was inaugurated by Baba Rabbah, a period which inspired men of the calibre of 'Amram Darah and Marqah who, in turn, laid the foundation for Samaritan theological speculation and liturgical development. The antecedents of a number of Marqah's ideas are also traced in our Chronicle (see chapter 13).

The present study attempts to illuminate the background of this activity, and to provide, at the same time, a biography of one of the greatest and most charismatic personalities in Samaritan history.

5. HEBREW TEXT

H2

H1

§1

- 1 ואחר כן שת יהוה לכהן הגדול בתבאל שלשה בנים.
- 2 וזאת שמותם הראש יתקרי בבא והשני עקבון והשלישי פינחס.
- 3 וזה פינחס היה שכון בקרית מחבא אשר היא בתחתית ההר הקדש.
- 4 ובבא היה מן צעירו יקיר משתעבד.
- 5 ואגדל ושם יהוה בלבה קבאה על הדת ומלא אתו מן רוח החכמה ואציל עליו מן רוח הקדש.
- 6/7 וכד אגדל צפר איש מורם בעל אימה ומשלה בין עמו ומן רב חכמתו אתחכם ואתבונן ועמה .
- מה בא על משפחתו ועל בני דתו מן חמס האדום שנאה אימנותו הכפורים ביהוה התמיד באלהותו.
- 8 ואתור בלבו ואתגדלת מדעותו.
- 9 ואתיטב ביצרותו כי יגלי ביהוה קבאתו לדת.
- 10 ואחל בראש למן היו בני דרה ומתיסרים אתו ואמר להם.
- 11 כי עתה חם לבבי אגלי קבאה לכוזבת דת משה הנבי .
- 12 כי חלשו הכפור ומבקש לו יגויע והקשט צפר מתכבי ואכרת זכרבויו אה אהבי .

- 1 ויהי אחרי כן נתן יי' יתברך שמו לכהן הגדול בתבאל שלשה בנים.
- 2 ואלה שמותם האחד קרא את שמו בבא והשני קרא את שמו עקבון והשלישי קרא את שמו פינחס.
- 3 ופינחס היה יושב בקרית מחבה אשר היא בקצה המקום המבחר הר' גרזים בית אל תחת ההר.
- 4 ובבא מנעריה היה איה איש מוסר בעל חכמה ובינה ויהי איש מצליח וכל אשר הוא עשה יי' מצליח בידו.
- 5 וקבאת יי' שכבת בלבו ותהי עליו רוח קדושה.
- 6 ויהי בימים ההם ויגדל בבא ויהי איש כבוד ואימה ופחד בין כל בני עמו בני ישראל השמרים על האמת וירא בסבלותם וירא את אשר היה עליהם מאת האויבים.
- 7 ויתחכם להסיר את הצדעה הזאת מעליהם וירא את שרי המסים אשר שמו עליהם למען ענותם וימררו את הייהם הארורים בני אדום.
- 8 ויאמר בבא הזוכיר בלבו ויעבר בענינו וכוח גדול היה ביצרו.
- 9 וייטב אלהים את מחשבו יגלי קבאה גדולה להראות את פני יי' אלהיו.
- 10 ואחרי כן הקהל בבא את כל אנשי דרו אשר היו שמעים לקולו ויאמר אליהם לאמר.
- 11 אחי האזינו כלכם לאמרתי רוח הקבאה דבר עם לבבי לאמר.
- 12 לנגלא את האימן הישראלי כי חזקת יד האויבים עליו וימחו מן הארץ את כל זגליו.

- 13 וידיק בבא הזוכיר את חניכו וינציר
את יצרו על כן וירבי לפני יי'
אלהיו את פלליו.
- 14 ויקרא את אנשיו אשר הקהל אתם
מטרם והם בני דרו אשר זכרנו אתם
ויאמר אליהם לאמר.
- 15 עד מתי הערלים האלה הכפורים ביי'
אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו מפנינו עבודי
אלהי זרה הצרים לתורת משה הקדושה
ימדרו את חיינו ואת חיי כל
השמרים אחינו.
- 16 עד מתי לעדה הרעה הזאת עד מתי
יזכרו צרינו ויאמרו ידינו רמה עד
מתי יהיה זה לנו למוקש.
- 17 עד מתי תשקע מעלינו זאת האש עד
מתי ימנעו לנו את משמר דרך יי'
אלהינו להקים את מצוותיו.
- 18 עד מתי ימנעו לנו מן המקרא בקדוש
תורותיו ולשמר את משפטיו ועדותיו.
- 19 וישיבו אתו אנשי דרו דבר לאמר
20 שמענו אדני ראה את הגללים אשר
מנעת לנו לקום לפני אויבינו וכי
בלאים בזאת הימים הזינו.
- 21 ראה כי אזלת ידינו וחקומה אין
לנו בין ידי שבאינו.
- 13 ודק קנאתו ואנציר בזה
יצרותו וגם אחל ביחדאות
להתמיד ביחדאותו.
- 14 ובזב בני עמיתו וכל נשיאי
עדתו ואמר להם.
- 15 עד מתי אהלין הערלים דלא
בהם אחד הנמל בשר ערלתו
הכפורים ביהוה ותורותו
מצררים לנו כל אחד הך
די ריחותו.
- 17 והם מבקשים ישמידו לנו
וימיתו וימאנו אתנו מן
משמר דרכי יהוה חקותו
ומשפטו ותורותו.
- 19/20 ואחלו עדתו לו יספרו
הגללות אשר תמאן אתם
במה מדרשו יעפלו ובלאותם
ומה להם אויביהם שפלו.

§2

- 1 ויען אתם בבא לאמר הלוא מבני יעקב
ישראל אנחנו אשר שבנים אחים מבניו
קנאו ליי'.
- 2 ויהרגו שביהם את כל אנשי עיר שכם
אשר אמר בעדם בתורותו הקדושה לאמר
ויקחו שני בני יעקב שמעון ולוי אחי
דיבה איש חרבו ויבאו על העיר בטח
ויהרגו כל זכר ואת חמור ואת שכם
בנו הרג לפי חרב ויקחו את דיבה
מבית שכם ויצאו.
- 1 ואמר להם הלוא מבני ישראל
אנחנו דשבנים מבניו קנאו
ליהוה.
- 2 ואתכונו וחרבו מדינה
וכל מבון חרבו בימינו
ובזו כל מדלות דאמרו להם
והתחתנו אתנו.

- 3 הלוא ימצא בתוכנו אנשים משבט לוי אשר קנאו ליי' אלהיהם לעת העגל.
- 4 ואמר בעדם בתורותו הקדושה ויאספו אליו כל בני לוי והרגו איש את אחיו ואיש את רעהו ואיש את קריבו וימחו את עבודי העגל בעצם היום הזה לפי חרב.
- 5 ראו את הברכה אשר אשית יי' יתקדש שמו עליהם.
- 6 הלוא ימצא בתוכנו אנשים מבני פינחס אבינו ונראה לו כי אז קנא ליי' אלהיו מלבין כל בני ישראל עמו איך נתן יי' לו יתר שאת ויתר עז.
- 7 ואמר בעדו ופינחס בן אלעזר בן אהרן הכהן הבני נתן לו את בריתי שלום והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם תחת אשר קנא לאלהיו יכפר על בני ישראל.
- 8 זכרו את אשר היה לשמעון ואל לוי איך יי' יתברך שמו הפל חת על הערים אשר היו סביבותיהם ולא רדפו אחריהם.
- 9 ועתה חייב עלינו נאמץ את לבבינו ונקבה ליי' אלהינו כקנאת אבותינו על זאת המעשים אשר פגענו להם מפני אויבינו.
- 10 ונתן את מאדינו לקוממית חקת יי' אלהינו אשר מלבין כל העמים בחר בנו ולו לעם סגולה לקחנו.
- 11 ועתה אין לנו בלתי השובה והתחבון והצעקות לרם כבודו ולדרש את טובו וחסדו ולעמל לפני גדלו בצלות והציאם והתחבון והתפללות והנחמות והדרישות.
- 3 הלוא ימצא בנו מן השבט הלוי דקנאו ליהוה בהרגות עבודי העגל.
- 4 ואתאמר בגללון בתורה הקדשה ויאספו אליו כל בני לוי למימרו והרגו איש את אחיו ואיש את קריבו עד אחרה ומחו עבודי העגל הקב בחרב.
- 5 ועמו מה היה להם מן הברכה.
- 6 הלוא ימצא בנו מן זרע פינחס אבינו איך קנא לאלה בל עמו ישראל ואיך יהוה נצחנה ונתן לו מיתובה.
- 7 וכרת אתו ברית לעלם וכהנה מתקוממה תמידה לו ולזרעו עד עולם.
- 8 הלוא תזכרו מה היה לשמעון ולוי ואיך יהוה אשקח אימה ופחד על יושבי הערים דסביבות שכם ולא רדפו אחריהם.
- 9 ועתה לאוי עלינו נתחזק ונאמץ ונקנא על זאת הגללות דקוממת עלינו מעם הזה השותפים ביהוה.
- 10 ונקנא על קעמות התורה וככז המשפטים והחקות דיהוה צוה אתנו במשמרון.
- 11 ולא נשאר לנו בלתי השובה והתפלה והצעקה והתהללות והבחמה.

12 ובתן את מאדנו לעשות את מצותיו
ולשמע בקולו ולהדבקה בו עד
ישים לבו עזרה ביכלותו וגאותו
על אויביו ושנאיו הן קבלנו
הוא מן טובו וחסדו והן גרשנו
הוא מרעות מעשינו.

13 כי הוא יתברך שמו מקבל השוברים
אשר ישונו לפני גדלו.

14 ועתה טוב לבו בהיה מן הקנאים
לתורתו הקדושה ובתן את כל
מאדינו לחדשות תלמודה כי היא
עתה אבדה ונקים את דגלי.

15 עתה בפילה ודרסה לבכרים
האדורים ונקם את ירכי האימון
לזאת הקבאה אולי בהיה כמו
אשר עברו לפנינו מן הישרים
והצדיקים אשר חפצו את דרך
י' אלהיהם ודרשו את טובו
וחסדו ולשמר את כל מצותיו
אהבו לדרגי אשר לדרכיו
השיגו.

16 הבו מעת והלאה נטהר את
לבבינו מן העונות והחטאות
ובנציר נשוב ליי' אלהינו
ונבקי מכל הרעות ולא נסה משפט
ולא נכיר פנים.

17 ונרחק את נפשותינו מכל עשוי
העונים אשר כחשו את מצות
אדון האדונים וסר לרע דרך
דרכי הרשעים החטאים.

18 אחי דעו כי נעשה כה בנציר
היצרים וירא יי' כי אבחנו
עשים מעשה הצדקים הישרים
ומהורי היצרים בנגלאים
ונסתרים לא פג כי ישא את
פניו אלינו ויקבל את
שובתינו וישמע את בקעתנו

ומכל מאור ונחיה בנציר

12 ובמאדנו נשתעבד ונחקרי
על שנאינו ביכלותו אן
היה כן הוא חסד ממנו
ואן אתריח ישגב רחמותו
מעלינו בהיה נפשותינו
בשבועדותו.

13 ויהיה לא יאבד אגר
החסדים.

14 ובזה עתה חייב עלינו
בקנא לתורה וצלמדה כי
עתה צפרת בעודות מתאבדה
ונקים את דגלי בקשט דבלת.

15 ובשיד ארכובי הדת בזאת
הקבאה דבלבבינו עתה הורידת
אולי בדמי למן אתקדמו
דחשקת נפשותם ודרגון אנשת
והכבדת ובקראת יהיה נמצא
מבינו חבנות מן הביא
מימינו אש דת.

16 והבו מיום הזה והלאה
בטהר לבבינו מן כל תועבה
ונשוב שובה בלא שובה
ונבקיא מכל מסה ומריבה.

17 ונרחק מעלינו עשוי
התועבה אשר הרעו בנו
וטמאו הארץ הטובה.

18 ודעו כי אבחנו עשינו כן
וידע יהיה טהרות יצרינו
בלא פג יראה לדלותינו
ובכוח והמצליה יעבנו.

19 וירחיב את לחצו ויעגי את מדרשיבו
וירא את עביבו ואת דלוחיבו ויתן
לבו מאתו יכולה על שנאיבו ויצליח
את דרכיבו ועבוטה יעביטבו ודבוקה
ידבקבו על רעצות הערלים האלה
בעלי הקללה הטמאים הרשעים החטאים
העשוי הפשעים עבדי הזכר^אים לפני
אלהי הרוחים אשר מן חסר ברא
הבוראים.

20 ובשמידם ובגלא אתם מזאת הארץ
הקדושה עד לא תראה בה נפש בישה
וילכו לארץ האחרית וראשם יקדית
לפני עדת השמרים על האמת.
21 קומו בנו ברגף אחריהם ובעזרת יי'
אלהיבו ונחלשם ונאבדם ובשא את
זאת המגפות הרעות מעליבו.

§3

1 ויכל הכהן בבא רבה מן הדברים
האלה עם מעיני עדת בני ישראל
השמרים ועם כל בני דרו.
2 ואחרי כן לחץ בבא רבה את ידי
ואת פניו ואת רגליו ויתפלל
וישתחוה לפני יי' אלהיו.
3 ויצום ביום ההוא לחם לא אכל
ומים לא שתה.
4 ויהי ביום השני וישכם בבא רבה
בבקר ויעל אל הר הברכה הר הקדוש
המקום המבחר הר גרזים בית אל.
5 ויי' יתברך שמו הצליח את דרכו
עד השיג אל המקום ההוא ויחן
שם בראש ההר.
6 ויחל הכהן בבא רבה את פני יי'
אלהיו ויתנפל לשלטניו ויתפלל
לגדלו ויתחנן לכבודו ויצליח
את צלותו ויקד ארצה וישתחוה.

1/2 ואחר זאת המוכחות והמגידות
דהוכיח בה בבא רבה עם אנשי
עמו ובני דרה קעם ורחץ במים.

2/3 וצלא וצעם בלב תמים.

4 וסלק להר הקדש הרגריזים
בית אל שער השמים.

5 ואכן יהוה לו הדרך
במובאו עליו.

6 וכד הביח שם אהל לעבודת
יהוה ואתפלל ואתנפל בין
ידי.

7 ויתפלל בתפלות ארון הנביאים ויאמר

אם נא מצאתי חן בעיניך אדני ילך
נא אדני בקרבנו כי עם קשה ערף
אנחנו וסלחת לעווננו ולחטאתינו
ונחלתנו.

8 ומן כליל מה אמר אחר
חסול צלותו.

8 ואחרי כלותו מן צלותו קרא בזאת
התפלה ואלה הם הדברים אשר התפלל
בהם.

9 אדני יהוה אשאלך.

9 ויאמר אדני יי' אשאלך תעבי את
שיאלי.

10 אה מן מצאת הנמצאים

10 אה מן המצא הנמצאות בגאותו ותקנה
בחכמתו וזווע הנועות ביכלותו והשכן
השכיבות בחפצו ואשר בחר את העם הזה
לו לעם סגולה לעבד את יחדאותו ואשר
שב על מן שב אליו מחטאתו ורשעתו
ואשר כפר למן קראו בבציר יצרותו
ואשר ענה למי שב אליו בטהרות
חשבנותו ואשר הולין אליו אשר סר
מדרך הישר בחננותו ואשר פתח למי
הכה את דלותו ופלטו מחזק דלותו
ידעיו.

ביכלותך אה מן יתבת
אתם בחכמתך אה מן התנועת
אתנועו בריחותך ואשכבת
השכונות ביחדאותך אה מן
דבחרת זאת העדה למען יעבדו
אתך אה מן תכפר על מן ישוב
מאחטאו לאלהותך אה מן תסלח
למן התפלל לך בסליחתך אה
מקבל שובת התהבים אה שמור
הברית והחסד למן לגדלך
אהבים אה דבוק למן בך מדבק
אה רחוק מכל רחיק אה שמעיו
לכל צעק אה ידעיו.

11 חכם אשר אין חכמה כחכמתו ולא

בינה כבינתו אשאלך אדני תרחם את
עמך ועבדיך בני עבדיך אשר אין להם
מקלט בלעדי כבודיך ולא בטח אלא על
רחמיך וחסדיך ולא גאל להם בלעדיך.

11 אה חכום אשאלך תסלח לעמך
ועבדיך דלית להם בלעדיך
ולא מבוס אלא לתרח רחמיך
וחסדיך וגדלך.

12 אדני יי' מה רב צרינו רבים קמים
עלינו ואתה תדע את כל הקרות אשר
קראתנו מעם זאת העמים והמלכים
הרשעים החטאים אשר כחשו את שמעך
אשר חשכו ממשמרת חקות בוראך.

12 ידעיו מה קם עליהם מן העמים
והמלכים הכפורים בך ובבניך
ובכתבך הסגודים למן תתעבם
תורותך דיעבדו לבעלים
הנדחים לגלולים והשקוצים
אשר בטמאות מתשכצים.

13 במקראנו עננו אלהינו בצר לנו
חננו ושמע תפלותינו.

14 עד מתי לכלמה יהיה כבודינו עד מה
מי יאהבון ריק ויבקשון כזב משלים
עלינו ומן התפשות בתורותך הקדושה
ימנעו לנו ולמיה זכרון את שמך

הקדש יכעסו לבו .

15 המשתחווים לכל תועבה לפניו הדרשים ממנו להסיר לבו מן הדרך אשר הוריתנו המבקשים להשמידנו העבדים לבעלים הבאמנים באלילים המתברכים במעשה ידיהם אלהים עשו כפי חפצם להם ומתברכים בם.

16 לאמירתי האזינה יי' אלהי בינה להגגי ומקראוי הקשיבה לקול שועתי מלכך ואלהי כי אליך אתפללתי.

17 כי לא תחפץ רשע אתה ולא תגור הרעים ההלכים בדרך בישתה.

18 אדני יי' הן היו עוביבו גדולים מנשא לא תיסרבו באלה עם הרשע כי אם לקחנו אליך בדרך המות פן ישמידו לבו אלה הרשעים בצרעה הזאת.

19 ואם היו אשמינו מנעו את דביקותך ואת ישועתך לבו לא תמשיל את צרי תורתך עלינו.

20 אדני יי' אל באפך תוכיחנו ואל בחמתך תיסרנו חננו יי' כי חלים אבחנו רפאנו יי' כי נהלה עצמינו ועד מאד נבהלה בפשנו.

21 עד מתי ואתה יי' אלהינו שובה יי' והצלינו ולמען חסדך הושיענו.

22 אדני יי' אם היו אשמינו גלל להרים את רחמיך מעלינו אתה אליך לקחנו ולא ימשלו אלה הרשעים בנו ולא תשא עלינו מי לא בוכל על משאו לעבד כעובד מדרך האמת תעו ולזכרון את שמך הקדוש דרשים לבו ימנעו.

23 יי' אלהינו בך בטחנו מכל הרדפים לבו אושיענו פן יטרפו כאריה את נפשנו פרק כי אין מציל בלעדיך לבו.

24 יי' זאלהינו אם עשינו מוס אם יש עול בכפינו אם גמלנו רעה אתה סלחיו כל חטאה.

18 אלהינו אן היו חטאינו אשר עשינו והם הגלל להשמידנו אליך עתה אקמצנו.

19 ואן היו פשעינו שגבו עזרותך וישועתך מעלינו לא תמשל בנו שנאינו ואן היו רעותינו גלל בשאות רחמיך ובשאת עלינו חמס צרינו ..

22 לא תסבל אתנו

מה לן יכולה על משאו מן הזקם בשמייע מעבדות בעלותם ופסעותם ומאנותם לבו זכרון רבותך ויכלותך.

25 לא תשים אויב ירדף בפשנו ולא ירמס
כארץ כבודינו.

26 יי' אתה אמרת לא תעזבנו כאמרך על
יד אדון הנביאים משה רבנו בתורה
הקדושה כתבך לא ירפך ולא יעזבך.

27 אדני יי' אתה אמרת בספרך בצר לך
ובקשת משם את יי' אלהיך ומצאתו.

28 יי' אלהינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ
אשר תנה הודך על השמים לחפץ.

29 מפי עוללים ויונקים יסדת עז להשביט
אויב וצורך מתנקם ולגאיל ישר וצדיק
עשה שלם.

30 כי בראה שמייך מעשה גאיך ירח

וכוכבים אשר כוננת באצבעיך מה

אנוש רשע כי תמטילהו במעשה גאיך

לשום תחת רגליו אהבים ידרשו מן

גדלך רפאיך.

31 נודך יי' בכל לבבינו ונרבנן בתהללותיך

ובמאדינו בספר כל בפלאותיך בשמח

תמיד ובתפא בעצמך ונזמרה עליון שמך

בשוב לאחור אויבינו יכשלו וייאבדו

מפנינו.

32 כי הסכתך תגער גוים מפני עמך ותאבד

רשעים ותמיח את שמך מצולמך כי אתה

תמיד משגב למי אליך ברח מקלט הדל

לעתות בצרה.

33 ויבטחו בך יודעי שמך כי אל רחום

וחנון שמך ולא תעזב דרושיך ולא

תרף מבקשיך.

34 ועתה ראה לדלותינו וקבל בעמל משה

בן עמרם שיאלינו ולאשר זממנו עליו

השיגנו כי לדרך רצונך דרשים בלך

בטהרות לבבינו לתמימות לכתבו אחרי

דרך יחידותך.

35 ואתה יכול קנאה מבור הלחץ אריצנו

וחדש לבו ישועה והשקף עליז ברחמיך

וחסדיך כי אנחנו מזרע הצדיקים עבדיך.

26 ואתה בשבעת לבו כי

לא תעזב אתנו מן

רחמיך ורתותך כי נפלנו

בנגע שנאינו.

34 עתה עזר אתנו כפי

בצענו בקנאתך.

35 ואתה היכול המחלש

הצילנו מן הצר דעלינו

חבש מן ההלכס אחרי המוקש,

והשקף עלינו בחסדך.

- 36 עשה לבו בחסדך כמעשה כבודך עם
אבותינו בני ישראל וכאשר אגאלת
להם לבו גאל.
- 37 מופתים גדלים גלית בארץ מצרים
ואמרת על גדלך אלהי העברים.
- 38 ובגלל זה הדבר היו מצרים ברב צרר.
39 והים שמת להרבה עד עברו בו על
רגליהם הלכים ביבשה בבלי תבה
ואת פרעה ועמו טבעו בתוך הים
ולעמך הצלת ממנו.
- 40 ויצאו בטוב שלום וערי הגבורים
להם נחלת ואימה ופחד על לב
אויביהם שמת.
- 36 ועבד אתבו הך מה
עבדת עם אבותינו
והצלת אתם על יד
בניך הצדיק.
- 37 הענו בסימנים ובפלאות
מעבדת מן בהם מכאו.
- 39 ובחילך בבקעת מימי
הים דבו באו והשמדת
פרעה ועמו וכעופרת
במים צללו ופלטנו
מן חמסם.
- 40 וערי הגבורים ירשת
אתם כאשר נשבעת לאבותם.

- 1 ויכל הכהן בבא רבה מן תפלותו
ומקראו וצלותו ותהללותו ותשבחו
וישב אל אחיו ובדיבי קהלו אשר
לפניו בעצם היום הזה הקהלו.
- 2 ויאמר אליהם מה תאמרו ולמה
ראיתם בעין לבבכם באזני דברו
מה עיצותיכם עתה עד אפני פני
אליה לעשותה.
- 3 ויענו כלם יחדו כל אשר תאמר
אלינו נשמע ונעשה בטוב לבב
ושלומה אנחנו עתה תחת מצור.
- 4 צוה לבו כחפץ לבבך ולא במרי
את פיך ולא בעזב לקולך וייטב
בעינינו ובעיני כל אחינו הדבר
אשר דברת לבו ועיצותך אשר אעצת
בה.
- 5 אכן כי היא טובה אין בה מום
ולא תועבה.
- 6 כל הישר בעיניך עשה כי כל אשר
תצוה לבו בו עלינו לא יקשה.
- 1 וכד כלה תפלותו שב
לאחיו ומעיני עדתו.
- 2 ואמר להם מה תאמרו ומה
מדעיכם לכם אורו.
- 3 ויענו אתו כהלון ואמרו
החזי לך ואנחנו תחת
דברך.
- 4 וממלך דדברת אלינו הוא
טוב החזי ראינו ואנחנו
לא בימיר במה תאמר לבו.

- 7 אך אנחנו לכל מצותך שמועים ונציר
הנפשות והרוחים.
- 8 לכל מקום תחפץ בלך כי לבנינו
טהרנו לשמע ולעשות את כל קולך
ואכן לא נמהי את פייך.
- 9 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה וילכו הכהן
בנא רבה ואת כל אחיו ונדיבי העם
עמה ויעברו בכל מושבי בני ישראל
השמרים על האמת ויפתחו את כל בתי
הכבשיות אשר הסגירו להם אויביהם.
- 10 ויאסף בהם ראשונה הוא ואחיו ויקראו
בתחילה את ספר התורה הקדושה באזני
כל קהל עדת בני ישראל השמרים על
האמת מאיש ועד אשה ויוסיפו מן
השירות והתפלות והתהללות והתנחנות
והרוממות לאלהי הרוחות יי' אל
צבאות בקולות עליונים גדלות.
- 11 וישלח הכהן בנא רבה ויאסף אליו את
כל חכמי התורה הקדושה ואת כל
הכהנים ואת כל הזקנים מכל המכוזים
ולא מצא הכהן בנא רבה מחכמי עדת
בני ישראל השמרים ומן הזקנים ולתי
מעט מן המספר כי נשמדו ביד הזידים
האדומים בגלל לא הקהיבו לאלהיהם
ויעבדום ויעזבו את מעבד יי' אלהיהם
ואלהי אבותם.
- 12 ויאמר הכהן בנא רבה לאשר מצאו מהם
לאמר קומו לכו כל איש מכם למקומו
ושמרו והשמרו ובינו את מאדכם תנו
בעבור תלמוד כל עדת בני ישראל השמרים
אנשים ונשים וכל הטף את התורה הקדושה
לשמרה ולעשות את כל הקותה ומשפטה עד
תמם כאשר היו אבותיכם יעשו.
- 13 וגם את מאדכם תנו לשמר את מקרת התורה
הקדושה ולהטיב את מקראתה בבטא שפתיכם
בטא ישר כאשר אתם עתיקים על אשר היו
מפביכם.
- 8 והמכון אשר תצוה עליו
לנו בלך אליו כי בך
לא נמרי ושמעים כלנו.
- 9 ואחר כן יצא בנא רבה
ואחיו ומעיבי עמו אתו
ובא בכל מכון היו
שכונים בני ישראל בהם
דמן עדת השמרים ולכד
הכבשנות אשר היו שנאיהם
מסגרים אתם.
- 10 ואתקבץ הוא ואחיו בהם
וקראו ספר התורה באזני
כל עמה ואוסיפו מן
התשבחות והמודאות והתהללות
לאלהי השמים וארעות בקולות
עלות.
- 11 ושלח בנא רבה והביא כל
שמורי התורה הקדושה וכל
הכהנים מכל מכון ולא מצא
מן האנשים אשר שמורים התורה
הקדושה אלא מעט למשמרה חמישים
כי הרב מבון הכו אתם האדומים
דפניון כושים בגלל הם לא
אישו יזבחו לאלהיהם ויעזבו
את יהוה אלהי השמים והארץ
הים וכל אשר בס.
- 12 ואמר בנא רבה לאשר מצא אתם
כל איש מכם ילך וישוב לביתו
ושמרו ואתבוננו ולמדו כל בני
ישראל השמרים האנשים והנשים
והטף תורת יהוה וחקותה ומצוותה
ומשפטה הך מה היו אבותיכם יעשו.
- 13 ובכל מאדיכם במשמרה אתקדשו
ועל קשיטות מקראה לא תמושו
הך מה אתם עתקים מן ארשיכם
אשר למשמרה צדיקה רשו.

14 ולא תפלו בתרדימה והלכו דרך תמימה
וגם שימו את כל מאדכם לשרת את כל
בתי הכבשיות עם כל הדרישות אשר
תדרש מכם.

15 לכו לשלום משתמרים מכל מום.
16 לכו בא הגברים מאת יי' מברכים.
17 יי' אלהי אבותיכם יסף עליכם ככם
אלף פעמים ויברך אתכם כאשר דבר
לכם.

18 ויכחשו לכם איביכם ואתם על במתם
תדרכו ולכל ממסלותם אמן תמשלו.
19 רק דעו כי כל איש מכם לא ישמר
ויעשה לעשות את המצוה הזאת אשר
אנכי מצוה אתכם היום אני מכה
אתו להמיתו.

20 ואלה היא זאת הטרחה אשר היתה
על עדת בני ישראל השמרים מאת
בבא רבה כי חזק מאד על הגדלים
והקטנים הנערים והילדים לתלמוד
את מקרת ספר התורה הקדושה ואת
מקרת ספרי החכמים והנבונים.

21 ויתעצב לעיניהם הדבר בעת ההיא
וישמחו עדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת שמחה גדולה ויראו כי
מצילים מן אויביהם קרוב ותסור
המגיפים מעליהם וכי חן ורחמים
וחסד תבוא עליהם בגלל זה המעשה.

§5

1 ויקח הכהן בבא רבה שבעה אבשים
מראשי בני ישראל השמרים אנשי
חיל יראי אלהים אנשי אמת שבאי
בצע חכמי התורה כמו האבשים
אשר צוה יי' את משה כאשר יאמר
בתורה הקדושה ואתה תחזה מכל
העם אנשי חיל יראה אלהים (עד
כלה).

14 ולא תהונו מן השלים
ובכל מאדיכם הכבשנות
שמשו.

15 לכו מברכים והורו
בדת משה סמיכים.
16 וביכלות יהוה בנזר
הנצען מתנזרים.

18 ושנאיכם לכם תכים.

19 וכי כל אנש מכם דלא
ישמר ויעשה על פי אלה
המצוה אשר אני מצוה
אתכם הכה אתו בלא פג.

20 וזאת עקה דפגעו אתה
בני ישראל השמירים
מן בבא רבה כי הוא
אבם הקטנים והגדלים
והזקנים עד יתלמדו.

21 וזה היה מריר עליהם
בזה עת דצוה בו להם
ושמחו השמירים

ואתבסרו בפשורון מן
שבאיהם ונשא הלחצות
והעקות מעליהם ובא
עליהם השש והנפוש
המתרבי מזה המעשה

דלו צפר ענן הרצון עבי.

1 ולקח בבא רבה שבעת אבשים
מזקיבי בני ישראל החמישים
אנשי חיל יראי אלהים
אנשי אמת שבאי בצע שמורי
התורה על פי מימר יהוה
בתורותו בגלל האבשיאים
והפוקדים.

- 2 ויפלא אתם הכהן בבא רבה בקראו את שמותם חכמים.
- 3 והחכמים השבעה הזוכרים היו שלשה מן הכהנים וארבע מן השמירים משגט יוסף הצדיק.
- 4 והכהנים היו מפני העת ההוא כל איש בעל אימה וכבוד מהם יקראו את העם שמו כהן.
- 5 ומיום הכהן בבא רבה בקראו חכמים ויחלף שם הכהנה מעל אנשים רבים מן הכהנים.
- 6 ויסר לאנשים רבים מהם מעל חבותם.
- 7 והגלל לדבר הזה לעת בא הכהן בבא רבה לבשן הכהנים אשר היו שם לא יצאו לקראתו ולא עשו כאשר הוא חייב עליהם להכבירו ולאיקרו.
- 8 רק כי כאשר בא העיר ויחן במקום אשר הנכון לו בא שמה וישלמו עליו כפי הסכנתם עם כל האנושים.
- 9 בגלל הדבר הזה אשר עשו הסירם מעל מקום חגותיהם כי לא יצאו הם לקראתו למחוך לעיר.
- 10 ואנשים מן אנשי העם שט תהתיהם ישרתו את משמרתיהם בלתי משא הספר הקדוש.
- 11 ובני ישראל השמרים על האמת היו יעשו גימי הכהן בבא רבה ומאחוריו את חקת הנמלה; כי מפני ימי הכהן בבא רבה לא היה מבני ישראל השמרים ימול את ערלת ילד מבני ישראל כי אם הכהנים היו הם אשר ימילו את ערלת כל ילד יוליד לכל העם.
- 12 ויהיו גם הכהנים אמרים מלי רבואתה ומלי סליחתה וגם משרתים לעבד את כל עבדה בבתי הכנשיות.
- 2 ואגדיל אתם במקרא שמותם חכמים.
- 3 והשבעה הזוכרים היה מבין שלשה כהנים וארבע אנשים מן העם מן הזקנים.
- 4 והיו הכהנים קדם זה זמן כל מן היה איש לקיר ישתמה כהן בישראל.
- 5 ומן בבא רבה והלאה יתקראו שופטים והמיר שם הכהנים על קרב כהנים.
- 6 ונטא אנשים מבין מן מיתרבותם.
- 7 בגלל כי לא צאו לקראתו כד בא לבשן ולא עשו כך מה חייב עליהם למוקרא.
- 8 רק כי במובאו למדינה באו ושלמו עליו כפי אמנותם עם האנשים זלית הם נגיטים.
- 10 ושם מן העם תחתם ישרתו מלבד משאות המכתב הקדש.
- 11 והיו בני ישראל בימי בבא רבה ובתרו יעשו ברית הבמילה; כי קדם כן לא היה להם עשותה רק אל הכהנים והיא מן כליל מיתרבותם.
- 12 ויאמרו בכנשנות מלי רבואתה ומלי סליחתא וכל עבדת הכנשנות היו ישרתו אתה.
- XX ומשם אתכסת תולדות הכהנים ושמו תולדותם למן גשור פניהם כי לא נשאר דאג לאחד מהם נשמירות תולדותו XX

13 ויצו הכהן בבא רבה את כל העם לאמר
לא יקרא שם חכמים אלא על כל איש
חכום ונבון מן הכהנים הוא היה או
היה מן העם.

14 ואשר היה איבנו נבון וחכום מן
הכהנים לא יקרא לו לא בשם חכם
ולא בשם כהן.

15 רק שם הכהנים וזרעם רק היה משתמר
בתולידה (פלאן אבן פלאן).

16 וישם הכהן בבא ויבה אל החכמים
השבעה אשר שמם ראשים על כל העם
כנות וילבישם חליפות שמלות וישם
לכל אחד מהם מיתובה משתמרה ליקרו
וליקר את זרעיו מאחריהם לא תשבת
ולא תכלה.

17 ויתבם לפניהם כל אנוש מהם בכנותו
עד ידע כל אחד מהם את מקומו.

18 ויהיו אלה השבעה ראשים על כל
עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת
לשמר כל אנוש מהם את גבולה ויורי
את כל עדתו ויבדיל אליהם בין
הטמא ובין הטהור ובין הקדש ובין
החל.

19 ויצגם על תלמוד מקרת התורה הקדושה.

20 ואלה שמותם רחמות יי' תטלל עליהם:—
הראש

שמו פרובעי ומפתרו פרי מדרשי והוא
חבתה מזרע איתמר בן אהרן הכהן
עליהם השלום.

21 וגבולו היה מציל האלון הגדול ולו
המקום הראישון עד יהיה ראש
הפתורים לפניו.

22 השני

שמו יוצבי ישראל והוא מן יסבי
קרית כופר יסלה ולו המקום השני
והפתרון באחרנית.

23 השלישי

שמו אליבאה סרפיז ולו המקראה השבית.

13 כי בבא רבה לא שלח שם אלא
על החכומים אך היו מן
הכהנים או מן בני ישראל.

14 והסוכילים מן הכהנים לא
היה ישלח עליהם לא שם
חכום ולא שם כהן.

15 רק תולדת הכהנים בשאר
משתמר בשמירות השלשלה והיו
יתולדו פלוגי בן פלוגי.
והסוכילים מהם היו מתנגדים
בכך הך מה קדמנו.

16 ושם בבא רבה על החכומים
השבעה מיתובות ואלביש אתם
בגדים ושם לכל אחד דרגה
משתמרה איקר לו ולזרעו
אחריהם לא תבטל ולא תתכלה.

17 ושב אתם בין ידיהם כל אנוש
בחנותו עד ידע כל אחד מכונו.
18 והיו אלה השבעה בשיאים על
כל עדת השמרים למשמר כל
איש מהם גבולו ויאעץ עדתו
ויבדיל להם בין הטמא ובין
הטהור.

19 ויעמד אתם על מקרא התורה
הקדושה התמימה.

20 ואלה שמותם רחמות יהוה עליהם:
החכום הראש

פרובעי והוא מן זרע איתמר

21 חבתה. וגבולו מן האלון הגדול
ולו המשרית הראישונה למען
יהיה בין ידי הפתור הראש.

22 השני

יצובי מן כפר סילה ולו
המשרית השנית המפתר באחרת.

23 השלישי

אליבאה סרפיז ולו המקראה השני

- 24 הרביעי 24
כהן לוי מקרית זיתא ולו המקראה
הראשונה ויזכר את שמות אשר
הרימו תרומות ואשר נתנו מתנות
בכל עת.
- 25 החמישי 25
ישראל מקרית כפור מרות ולו הפתרון
החמישי.
- 26 הששי 26
שמו עמרם והוא כהן לוי מקרית
כופר ספאסה ולו מקום הפתרון השביעי.
- 27 ויאמר כי זה הוא עמרם אבי מהקה
בעל החכמים והמדעים; ויאמר עוד כי
הוא עמרם דרה אשר הלך בתי הדראן
אשר יתבם על ימי הבריה ששת הימים
שנים עשר בתים וליום השבת ששה
ולראש כל חדש אחד ולחדש הראשון
אחד ולחדש השביעי אחד וליום הכפור
אחד ואלף.
- 28 חמשה בתים מרקה יתאמרו בצלות
יום השבת בבקר ובית אחד יתאמרו הן
פגע בחדש שבת חמישי מפני מקרת
הפרשה אשר תאמר בעוד צלות צהרים
אשר היא תחת המנחה.
- 29 ולו עוד שירה תאמר בלילת הכפור
ושירה שנית תאמר ביום הכפור וכן
שירה תאמר ביום מודע מעמד הר סיני
בצלות הבקר.
- 30 זאת בשארו מאשר אלפו החכם הזוכיר
עד היום הזה.
- 31 השביעי 31
ישראל רק לא מצאנו בספר הימים
זכרון למקומו ואף למנוחו.
- הרביעי 24
כהן לוי מן קרית זיתא ולו
המקרא הראשונה ובזכרון
שמות אשר משאות שאו ונתן
לו מתנות בכל דר.
- החכום החמישי 25
ישראלי מן קרית כפר מאורות
והוא הפתור החמישי.
- החכום הששי 26
עמרם כהן לוי מן קרית כפר
ספאסה ולו מכוון המפתר השביעי.
- 27 והמימר עליו כי הוא אב מהקה
פרוט החכמות; ואתאמר כי הוא
עמרם דרה.
- החכום השביעי 31
ישראלי. לא מצאנו לו שם במפרים
ולא למכונו ולא לתמונו ליהוה
היעדו.

- 1 על פי היתרוב ההוא יתבט הכהן בבא רבה ויאמר להם לאמר.
- 2 אחם תהיו מצוים לכל העם הקהל הזה ונתמסך להם והייתם סבים לכל ערם השמרים מבער ועד זקן והייתם עליהם שרפים וספחתם בלן איש ובין לעהו.
- 3 לא תכירו פנים במשפט פקטן כגדול תטמעון לא תגורו מפני איש כי המשפט לאלהים הוא.
- 4 והאיש אשר יעמד לפניכם והמיר אתכם בכל דברו אשר תדברו אליו לתבון אתו אבכי אדרש מעמו.
- 5 ובקרוב שבעת האבשים האלה הקים הכהן בבא רבה אהבעה אנשים מהם אנשי שם פקחים עליהם.
- 6 וזה היתרוב לא היה בימי הרצון כי אם היר בימי הרצון שבעים זקן בחורית חכמי הקהל ובתוכם שנים עשר איש ראשי השבטים ואיש אחד מתוך את שנים עשר איש הנשיא על הכל.
- 7 שמו גדול השבטים עזר לגדול מהם במשפט כי אם אין לו משלה על הכהנים ולא ישפט עליהם לא בכל עון ולא בכל משפט ולא בדיון.
- 8 רק את כל דבריהם תשוב את הכהן הגדול המשיח אשר מלא ידו לכהן או אחד מאת הכהנים הגדולים והם זרע ארזיכו פיבחס בן אלעזר עליהם הטלום לעולם.
- 9 והמיתובה לא תהיה מורשה לבן מאביו ולא מן הבן לאביו רק כי ימות אחד מהם יבחרו אחד תחתיו.
- 10 והיה בעל מוע וחכמה ובינה מן הקהל על יד הכהן הגדול בעתו ועל יד זקני העם וראשיהם ושריהם.
- 11 אלה הוא יתרוב ימי הרצון.
- 1 דעל כמו זה יתבון בבא רבה ויאמר אליהם.
- 2 אחם תצור ותכלאו ותהיו הבגילים על כל קהל ישראל השמידים מן הגדולים והקטנים וגם תהיו הטרפטים עליהם.
- 4 וכל מן עמד פניכם ואומיר אתכם בכל דבר תצוהו בו אני אדרש מעמו.
- 5 ובקרוב אהלין האנשים השבעה קעם בבא רבה ארבע אנשים מהם מראים עליהם.
- 6 ולא היה זה היתרוב בימי הרצון רק היה בימי הרצון שבעים זקן מתבחרים על הקהל ואתם שנים עשר והם בשיאי השבטים ואחד מן האלין הפנים עשר נשיא עליהם.
- 7 ישתמה גדול השבטים יעזר לגדול במשפט רק לא היה לו משלה על הכהנים ולא ישפט עליהם לא בחטא ולא במשפט.
- 8 רק היה דברון מושבו לכהן הגדול המתמשיח לכהנה הגדלה או המתפקיד תחתיו מן הכהנים הגדולים אחד מן זרע פיבחס.
- 9 ומיתובית לא הות תבחל מן אב לבנו ולא מן הבן לאביו,
- 10 רק אן מת אחת יתחזה תחתיו מן הידועים והבבובים במראה הכהן הגדול והזקנים.
- 11 וזה היה היתרוב בימי הרצון.

- 1 בעת ההיא היה בתוך בני ישראל משפחה ושמה משפחת השבעים.
- 2 ואנשי המשפחה הזאת לא אבו לשמע אל הכהן בבא רבה בגלל היתוב הזה אשר יתבו ואשר בחר בו ולא באו תחת משפט החכמים אשר הפקידם על כל קהל ישראל השמרים הכהן בבא רבה הזוכיר.
- 3 רק הם אקימו להם במקומותם ובכל עריהם אשר היא תחת אחזתם כהנים בני לוי ישפטו בהם.
- 4 ושבעת החכמים אשר בחר בהם הכהן בבא רבה הזוכירים מטרים היו יסובבו בסביב כל הערים או ישלחו פקידים בעלי מדע וחכמה ובינה עד יראו בכל מקום.
- 5 וכי ימצא כהן היתה ממנו שגגה בחקות התורה או במשפט או בדין מן כהני משפחת השבעים אשר אתקדם להם הזכרון
- 6 ימהרו ויגישו את דבריהם אל הכהן הגדול אשר להם ויהיו אלה השביעים מסעדים את הכהן בבא רבה בכל מלחמה וישאו לו את המשביר ויתנו לו מתנות גדולות לא תמני במספר עד כי חדל לספר וגם יגישו לו את כל מחסורו.
- 1 ובהלך ישראל השמרים אשר הם השמירים עמה יתקרו.
- 2 ואהלין הזוכירים לא קבלו מן בבא רבה זה היתוב ולא שמעו למן להם בחר ולא באו בשמיע השופטים דיתבון בבא רבה.
- 3 רק היו ישפטו במכרתיהם ועריהם הכהנים דמבני קהת.
- 4 והחכומים השבעה דהגישם בבא רבה היו ילכו לכל הקריות או ישלחו תחתיהם אנשים ידועים ובוזבים ויגלו בכל מכוון.
- 5 ואן מצאו כהן עשה שגגה בתורת או בחקות או במשפט מן הכהנים השביעים דאתקדם זכרונם.
- 6 יגישו דבריו לכהן הגדול דלהם והיו אהלין השבעה יעזרו בבא רבה בכל מלחמה וישאו לו הטמונים וישיגו אתו במתנות הפחרות ובכל מה ימך עליו.

- 1 והחכמים אשר בחר בהם הכהן בבא רבה ויפקדו על כל קהל בני ישראל השמרים על האמת אשר היה בכל עת יצוה אתם לאמר.
- 2 ראו והביטו ושמרו והבינו את כל אשר תעשון וגם שמרו את כל אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם בזה.
- 1/2 והשופטים דקעם אתם בבא רבה היה יצוה אתם ממך יהיו שמעין מסתכלים מתבוננים בכל מה הם ידעים לו וישמרו מן השגגות והמגרעות...

... ולא תעשון את כל חפצותי ומן כלילה משמר מקרת התורה הקדושה על מקרת העשרה כי זה הוא הדבר הראש הגדול אשר אני דרוש מכם.

3 ובכל עת שימו זכרון ביבכם ובין המלמדים ובסיתם את התלמודים עד תעמדו על האמת דבר בעבור מקרת התורה הקדושה על מקרת העשרה אשר אתעתקת מאת השבעים זקני קהל ישראל ועל הכהנים אשר היו בימי אדון הנביאים הנבי הגדול משה בן עמרם עליו השלום התם.

4 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה ויבן הכהן בבא רבה בגבול המקום המבחר הר גרזים בית אל הה הנחלה והשכינה מקוה מים לטהרה כי הו יטהרו בו לעת עתות כל צלות לאשר ידרש מעדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת יצלי על ההר הזה.

5 והם שתי צלות תחת קרבן התמיד; הראשית היא צלות ערב מאז תבוא השמש והשנית היא צלות בקר מאז עלות השחר עד הן תזרח השמש על הארץ.

6 ויבן עוד בקצה המקום המבחר הר גרזים בית אל בית כבשה עד יצלו בו העם מול זה הר הקדש.

7 וישארו זה המקוה וזה בית הכבשה עד הן מלכו (הפרנג); ובית הכבשה אשר בבאו הכהן בבא רבה על מדי הבית אשר בבאו אתו בעיר (בצרה) בימי הרצון.

8 וישימהו על תבנתו וישם את ארצו מעפר כאשר ראה בעיר (בצרה) ויקח בבא רבה אבנים מאבנים (ההיכל) אשר הריסו אתו אנשי שאול בימי שאול מלך בני ישראל בעתו מלבד עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת

.. ויהיו ממן בפקודות מקרא התורה הקדושה קדוש כל התורות כי זה הוא רב דבר.

3 ויזכרו היעדים בכך עד יהיה בטב פג מהם במשמר התורה הקדושה על העשרות האקרים אשר היא מתעתקה מן השבעים הזקינים המתוקרים ומן הכהנים אשר היו בימי אדונן משה בן עמרם דמע הספרים של 'יה' על'.

4 ובנה בבא רבה בגבול ההר הקדש מקוה מים לטהרה בזבני הצלואן למן יבקש הצלות עליו.

5 והם צלות הערב אשר היא מן מובא השמש והשנית צלות הבקר והיא מן עלות הבקר למזרח השמש.

6 וככך בנה בתחתית ההר מקום לצלות עד יצלו בו המתעבדים ממול ההר הקדש.

7 ובשארו המקוה והמעבד לעת מלכו הריפתים; ובית המעבד דבנה אתו בבא רבה על מדד בית הצלות אשר קעמו אתו בבצרה.

8 ולקח בבא רבה אבנים מאבני המשכן דאבדו אתו אנשי שאול.

9 וישם את שבעת האבנים האלה שבעה מיתובים
לחכמים השבעה וגם לקח אבן אחד גדול
לבפשו עד ישב עליו.

10 ויבן גם הכהן בבא רבה בתי כבשיות שבעה
בשבעה קריתים וישם את ארצות כלם עפר.

11 ואלה שמותם:—

הראשית

כבשת קרית כופר עמרתה הנקברים בה הכהנים
הגדולים בני אהרן הכהן והם אלעזר ואחיו
איתמר ופינחס בן אלעזר עליהם השלום ואת
שבעים הזקנים וגם כהבים גדולים רבים
והיא ממזרח עיר שכם.

12 השנית

כבשת בית במרה.

13 השלישית

כבשת קרית חגה והיא בגללאה עד היום הזה
לא בפלאה והיא מפאת בגבה אשר היא לעמת
קרית (עסכור); ואולם קרית (עסכור) אשר
היא בית ההיא חרבה רק את מקומותם ואת
הברכה במצאים עד היום הזה.

14 הרביעית

כבשת קרית (טירה) והקריה הזוכירה היא
עד היום הזה.

15 החמישית

כבשת (צבארין) והקריה הזוכירה שוכנה
עד היום הזה והיא בערי השפלה.

16 הששית

כבשת קרית (שלם) והקריה הזוכירה שוכנה
עד היום הזה והיא באצל שכם מפאת קדמה
וגם היא מול המקום המבחר הר גרזים בית
אל ממזרחת לפאת צפונה.

17 השביעית

כבשת קרית (בית דגן) והקריה הזוכירה
שוכנה עד היום הזה וגם היא מקדם המקום
המבחר הר גרזים בית אל לפאת צפונה.

9 וישם אתם מיתובות לשבעת
השופטים וככך לקח אבן גדול
וישם אתו לבפשו למען ישב
עליו.

10 וגם בבא רבה שמנה

כבשנות בשמנה קריות וישם
כל ארצם עפר.

11 ואלה שמותם:—

הראשונה

כבשת קרית עבורתה היא

הקריה המטמונים בה הכהנים

הגדולים אדוניבן אלעזר

ואיתמר ופינחס עליהם

השלום וככך השבעים הזקנים

ורב מן הכהנים רצון יה'

עליהם.

12 והכנשה השנית

בבית במארה.

13 השלישית

בקריית חגה והיא מתגליה

עד עתה מנגב שכם לפאת

צפונה המיתגרה למחבים;

ומחבים עתה חרבה וצרבותה

וצרבת מקוה מימותה

במצאים עד עתה.

14 הרביעית

כבשת קרית אלטירה והקריה

מתכוננה עד עתה.

15 החמישית

כבשת צבארין והקריה

הזוכירה מתכוננה עד עתה.

16 הששית

כבשת שלם והקריה הזוכירה

מתכוננה עד עתה והיא

מקדם ההר הקדש לפאת צפונה.

17 השביעית

כבשת קרית בית דגן והיא

מקדם ההר הקדש לפאת צפונה.

השמינית

18

לא ידענו מקומה ולא מצאנו לו
זכרון בספר הימים רק יאמר הן
היא כנשת אנבתה אשר היא היתה
בין אלון מורא ובין הרגרזים
בית אל אשר בנה בה שלש מאות
וששים חדרה על מספר יום השנה
ומקומה מתודע עד היום הזה אשר
הוא מבגב קבר אדונינו יוסף
הצדיק עליו השלום.

אלה הם שמות הכנשיות

19

דבנה אתם בבא רבה בל כנשה
מהם בבניאן אבן אין בהם
עץ.

השמינית

18

לא ידענו מקומה ולא מצאנו לו
זכרון בספר הימים רק יאמר הן
היא כנשת אנבתה אשר היא היתה
בין אלון מורא ובין הרגרזים
בית אל אשר בנה בה שלש מאות
וששים חדרה על מספר יום השנה
ומקומה מתודע עד היום הזה אשר
הוא מבגב קבר אדונינו יוסף
הצדיק עליו השלום.

אלה הם את שמנה הכנשיות

19

אשר בנה אתם הכהן בבא רבה
כלם בבא אתם באבן אין באחת
מהם עץ.

§9

1 וגם בנה מקוה רחב ושמו
במחוקק המקרא והמפתר
ומשמע השאלות.

2 וקעם אתו ממול בית הצלות
דקעמו בתחתית ההר הקדש
עד כל מן היה לו שיאלה
יבוא שם ויעלים שיאלתו
על החכמים ויגידו לו על
דבר משפטה הקשים.

3 והיה כל מן אתריח כי יקרי
חכום יביאו אתו בימי המועדים
ובזבני ראש החד' ויעמידו
אתו פני הכהן הגדול והשופטים.

4 וינסו אתו אן מצאהו בבון
וידעיו יקרא אתו חכום.

1 ויבן עוד הכהן בבא רבה מקוה
רחב וישמו מקוה המקרא והפתרון
ולשמע את כל שיאל.

2 ויקמו מנכח בית הצלות אשר בנה
אתו בתחתית המקום המבחר הר
הברכה מקום הקדשה הר הנחלה
והשכינה הר גרזים בית אל למען
כל איש מבני ישראל השמרים לו
שיאל יבוא שמה וישאל בשיאלו
את החכמים אשר היו שם ויגידו
לו את פתרון שיאלו על דבר האמת.

3 ולמען כל איש מהם יקרא את בפשו
חכום בעת ההיא יביאו אתו בראש
החדשים או בימי המועדים ויציגו
אתו לפני המלך (הכהן) הגדול בעת
ההיא ולפני החכמים לנסותו.

4 ויתן את הנסות לפני הכהן הגדול
ולפני החכמים וכי ימצאו אתו בעל
חכמה ומדע ובינה יקראו את בקיבו
חכם.

- 5 והגלל ליתוב הכהן בבא רבה היתוב
הזה ולבנות את בתי הכבשיות ואת
מקוה החכמה עד לא יאמרו מלכי הארץ
עליו לאמר הכהן בבא רבה לא פנה
פניו לדבר מדברי המלכים אשר ישמו
את עצמם במלאכות תרחקם מן תהללות
שם יי' הקדוש יתקדש שמו ואת עשות
מצותיו וחקותו לעשות התועבות.
- 6 ויחלק הכהן בבא רבה את הכהנים
על כל עמו עדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת ויתן להם נחלה.
- 7 ואלה שמותם כאשר מצאנו אתם כתובים
בתולידה והם אנשי עם בני ישראל
השמרים ובשיאי בתי אבותם אשר היו
פקידים עליהם על פי הכהן בבא
רבה הזוכיר.
- 8 הראש
הבקרא שמו ישמעאל נתן לו הכהן בבא
רבה ולכל אנשי משפחתו אחזת נחלה
מן עיר לוצה עד מקום (הגליל) אשר
על הים וישם עמו הכהן נערה.
- 9 השני
הבקרא שמו יעקב מקרית (עסכור) נתן
לו הכהן בבא רבה ולכל אנשי משפחתו
אחזת נחלה (מעסכור) אל (טרבלוס)
והאמת (מעסכור) לטבריה וישם עמו
הכהן נתן אל.
- 10 השלישי
הבקרא שמו זית בן תהם נתן לו הכהן
בבא רבה אחזת נחלה מקדם המקום
המבחר הר הקדש הר גרזים בית אל
עד הירדן ויתן עמו כהן אלעזר
בן פלח.
- 11 הרביעי
יהושע בן ברק בן עדן נתן לו אחזת
נחלה (מכופר חלול לבית השבט) וישם
עמו כהן עמרם בן סרד והיה בקיב
שמו (טוטה).
- 5 והגלל ביתוב בבא רבה
זה היתוב ובביאנו
הכבשות ומקוה המדע
למען לא יתורו מלכי
הארץ כי הוא אתפני
למאום מן הערדות עלמה
והודות המלכים אשר היו
יתפנו לה ויעזבו עבדת אלה.
- 6 ופלג בבא רבה
הכהנים על עמו דמצא אתם
ונתן להם נחלה.
- 7 ואלה שמותם הר מה מצאנו
אתם מתכתבים בתולידה והם
אנשי העם השמרים ובשיאי
משפחתם אשר היו מתפקדים
על כרבי הדת העברים החסדים.
- 8 הראישון
יתקרי ישמעאל נתן לו בבא
רבה ואל משפחתו אחזת לוצה
אל הגלגל אשר על הים ושם
אתו הכהן נענה.
- 9 השני
יתקרי יעקב מן מחנים נתן
לו ואל משפחתו אחזת מחנים
ואל כנרת ושם אתו הכהן
בתנאל.
- 10 השלישי
זית בן תהם נתן לו אחזה
מקדם הר הקדש אל הירדן
ושם אתו הכהן אלעזר בן
פלח.
- 11 הרביעי
יהושע בן ברק בן עדן נתן
לו אחזה מן כפר חלול לבית
שבט ושם אתו הכהן עמרם בן
סרד המתקב בשם טוטה.

- 12 ויאמר כי זה הוא אבי הכהן מרקה
החכם הגדול בעל החכמה ומיתב
דברי על מדע ובינה רצון יי'
וסליחתו עליו אמן.
- 13 החמישי
הנקרא שמו אברהם בן שמעלעימה
בן אור בן פרת בתן לו אחזה
בחלה מגבול ים ויין לפלשתים
ויתן עמו כהן חכמה.
- 14 הששי
ישראל בן מכיר בתן לו אחזה
בחלה מעיר עזה עד בהר מצרים
ואת הכהן שלום נתן עמו.
- 15 השביעי
הנקרא שמו יוסף בן שותלח
בתן לו אחזה בחלה מן גבול
הר הנחלה והשכינה הר הנכרה
הרגרזים בית אל (לקיסיריה)
וישם עמו כהן את אהרן בן זהר.
- 16 השמיני
הנקרא שמו לאל בן בכר בתן לו אחזה
בחלה מגבול מקדם הכרמים אל
עיר (עכה) וישם עמו כהן את
יוסף בן צניבה.
- 17 התשיעי
הנקרא שמו בכר בן אור אשר
שם את גבולו מהר (נקורה) עד
(צור) וזאת (צור) אשר בנה
אדוניו ירד בן מהלאלל וישב
בה וימת (בכופר מרואן) וישם
עמו כהן את אהרן בן זבד.
- 18 העשירי
הנקרא שמו שפט בן צנו בן
מכיר בתן לו אחזה בחלה מבחל
(ליטה); ויאמר כי הוא בחל
(טבריה) וממנו אל (צידון)
סביב וישם עמו כהן את זריז
בן מציר אשר היה בעל חכמה
ודעת בינה עד מאד.
- 12 והוא בקשט אבי הכהן מרקה
החכם הגדול בעל החכמה
ומיתב החכמות רצון יהוה
על רוחו הקדושה.
- 13 החמישי
אברהם בן שמטעימה בן אור
בן פרת בתן לו אחזה מים
דין לפלשתים ושם אתו הכהן
הכומה.
- 14 הששי
ישראל בן מכיר בתן לו אחזה
מן עזה לבהר מצרים ושם אתו
הכהן שלום.
- 15 השביעי
יוסף בן שותלח בתן לו אחזה
מן הרגרזים טורה טבה לקיסאריה
ושם אתו כהן אהרן בן זהר.
- 16 השמיני
לא ל בן בכר בתן לו אחזה מן
תהוות הכרמל אל עכה ואתו
כהן יוסף בן צפינה.
- 17 התשיעי
בכר בן אור שם גבולו מן טור
אלנאקורה אל צור; וזאת העיר
דבנה אתה ירד ושכן בה ומת
בכפר מרואן. ושם אתו כהן אהרן
בן זבד.
- 18 העשירי
שפט בן צפו בן מכיר בתן לו
אחזה מן בהר כנרת מבה לצידון
סביב; והוא היה בנון וחכום.
ושם אתו כהן זריז בן מביר.

אחד עשר

19

הנקרא שמו ברד בן שריאן בן עמד
בתן לו אחזת בחלה מהר גליל עד
הנחל עד לבנון ואת כל בנתיה אשר
סביבתיה מן ההרים ושפילים וישם
עמו כהן את זית בן לוי אשר היה
איש יקיר ומגידו נשמע בכל מקום
מלבין כל הכהנים כי היה ראשון
לכל חכמה ובינה ומדע ודעת ופתרון
רצון יי' וסליחתו עליו אמן.

העשתי עשר

19

ברד בן שריאן בן עמד נתן לו
אחזה מן טור גליל לבהר לבנון
וכל כפורה אשר סביבותיה מן
ההרים וככרות ושם אתו כהן
זית בן לוי; וזה לוי היה
מתודע בין הכהנים בעל מימרים
טבים.

§10

אלה הם ראשי עדת בני ישראל

1

השמרים על האמת אשר מצא אתם הכהן
הנכבד בבא רבה ויחלק עליהם את כל
ארץ כנען כל הערים אשר היו יושבים
בה כל עדת בני ישראל השמרים.

ובבא רבה הזוכיר בגלא בין עמו

2

לעשות את כל המעשים האלה בשבת
ארבע אלפים ושש מאות לבראית העולם
אשר היא שבת אלף ושמנה מאות ושש
שנים לעבר בני ישראל ארץ כנען.

אשר היא שבת אלף וחמש מאות וחמשה

3

וארבעים שנה למן נסתר המשכן הקדש
אשר עשו אתו במדבר כאשר צוה יי'
את משה.

אשר היא שבת אחד אלף ושלשה מאות

4

וששה ועשרים שנה לבנות את שלמה
בן דוד המלך בית מקדש בעיר ירושלים
במקום אשר קנהו את אביו מן היבוסים
והוא מקום הגרן.

אשר היא שבת אחת אלף וחמשים שנה

5

לגלות בני ישראל אשורה בימי כהנת
הכהן הגדול עקביה.

אשר היא שבת אחת אלף שנה וחמש שנים

6

אלה הם נשיאי בני ישראל

1

השמרים דאמצאם בבא רבה ופלג
להם ארץ כנען וזה היה על פיהו.

והוא בגלי בשבת ארבע אלפים

2

וששה מאות לבריאית עלמה
היא שבת אלף ושמנה מאות
וששה וששים למובא בני ישראל
ארץ כנען.

היא שבת אלף וחמשה מאות וחמשה

3

וארבעים שנה להסתרות המשכן.

היא שבת אלף וחמש שנים למובא

6

בני ישראל השמרים מן הנסחת
הראשונה.

וזאת הנסחת היא נסחת בבוך

דנצר היא שבת שבע מאות וחמש
ותשעים שנה למובא בני ישראל
מן הנסחת השנית; וזאת הנסחת
היא נסחת מלך תובל.

למובא בני ישראל השמרים על האמת
מן הגלות הראשונה בימי כהנת
הכהן הגדול שריה; וזאת הגלות
היא גלות נבוכדנצר.

7 אשר היא שנת שבע מאות וחמשה
ותשעים שנה למובא בני ישראל
השמרים על האמת מן גלות השבית;
וזאת הגלות היא גלות מלך היוונים
אשר מובאם בימי כהנת הכהן הגדול
עבדאל בן הכהן הגדול עזריה בשנת
חמשה ושלשים שנה לכהנתו.
8 אשר היא שנת חמשה וחמשים שנה
ושבע מאות שנה לעמיר את עדת
יהודים את בית מקדשם בעיר ירושלים
שבית על יד זרובבל ונחמיה ועזרא
הכהן; כי הביאו להם צו מן מלך
בבל ויעמירו את (ההיכל) ואת העיר.

9 אשר היא שנת חמשה וחמשים ושש
מאות למלך אסכנדר אשר מלך את כל
הגוים.

10 אשר היא שנה ושלש מאות שנה
אחרי נגלאות ישו בן מרים אשת
יוסף החרש עץ אשר מזרע דוד
המלך אשר קם מן היהודים ויצלבו
אתו.

11 ויהי בימי הטובים ההם
המצא יי' יתקדש שמו את האיש
הגדול הזה וימלך על כל עדת בני
ישראל השמרים הארץ כנען ארבעים
שנה.

12 גם עדת בני יהודה היו תחת משפטו
ויגלי את אימנות ישראל ויבן את
בתי הכבשיות ויתן את מאדו בתלמוד
עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת
את מקרת התורה הקדושה בתקון מקרא
על האמת המתעתק בין דורות ישראל
מן השבעים הזקנים זקבי ישראל

9 היא שנת ששה מאות וחמשה
וחמשים שנה לגלות המלך
אסכנדר דמלך על כל עלמה.
10 היא שנת שלשה מאות ושמה
שנה לגלות ישוע בן מרים
אשת יוסף החרש דקעם מן
היהודאים.

11 בזה הספר אמצא יהוה זה
האיש הרם ומלך ארבעים
שנה.

12 ואגלי האימן המתקומם
ובנה הכבשנות ובמאדו
דאג בתלמוד מקרא התורה
הקדושה על המתעתק הקשם
המתעתק בין דרי ישראל
השמירים מן השבעים הזקנים

אשר היו בזר אדון הנביאים משה בן
עמרם עליו השלום.

13 ויכן את בתי המקוה בטב יתוב וישיב
את כל בני ישראל איש למקומו.

14 ויחלק את הכהנים בני אהרן עליו
השלום על כל ערי עדת בני ישראל
השמירים ומהם הכהנים החבתים והם
אשר מזרע אדונינו איתמר עליו
השלום.

15 ואלה שמותם הנכבד עבדי

השני מלך

השלישי צדקאל

הרביעי שבע

החמישי אור

הששי עז.

16 אלה הם אשר פרו וישרצו וירבו
ויעצמו בארץ כנען.

17 ויהי כאשר חלק הכהן הנכבד בבא
רבה את ארץ כנען על משפחות עדת
בני ישראל השמרים ויחלק עליהם
את הכהנים ויאמר אליהם לכו לשלום
חזקו ואמצו אל תיראו ואל תערצו
מפני איש כל ימי חיי.

18 פחדכם ומראכם יתן יי' אלהיכם על
כל העמים אשר סביבותיכם ואתם אל
תיראו בלתי מיי' אלהיכם ואלהי
אבותיכם אשר הוציא להם מכור
הברזל.

19 וחנו את כל מאדכם לשמר משמרתו
חקותיו ומצותיו ומשפטיו כל הימים
למען תחיו.

20 ויצאו חכמי בני ישראל וראשיהם
והכהנים מפני הכהן הנכבד בבא רבה
בקהל בני ישראל השמרים בכח גדול
ובשמח יתר.

21 בעת ההיא מצאו עדת בני ישראל השמה
על האמת חן בעיני יי' אלהיהם וירבי

ומן הכהנים הקדושים דאמצאו
בימי אדון הראישובים והאחרונים.

13 ויטיב בתי המדרשות והשיב

עדתו בני ישראל כל איש למכונו.

14 ופלג הכהנים בני אדון אהרן

עליו השלום על השמרים

בקריהתם והיו הכהנים החבתה

הם המתשלשלים מן אדון

איתמר עליו השלום.

15 ובניו היו ששה הנכבד עבדי

והשני מלך

והשלישי צדקאל

והרביעי שבע

והחמישי אור

והששי עז.

16 אהליו פרו ורבו ואתרבת

פרותון בארץ כנען.

17 וכד פלג בבא רבה ארץ כנען

על משפחות בני ישראל השמרים

ופלג עליהם הכהנים

ואמר להם לכו בשלום

וחזקו ואמצו ואל תיראו

מן אחד.

18 מלבד דברא לכם אלהיכם ואלהי

אבותיכם.

19 ושמרו על קעמות החקים

והמשפטים דבתורותו

דהסגיל בה לכם למען תחיו

בשני עלמות בפשותיכם.

20 ויצאו השופטים והאנשיאים

והכהנים בהעם ישראל השמירים

מן בין ידי בבא רבה בגאות

גדלה ושמח רב עדף.

- השמח בביניהם ויפרק עול הברזל מעל
צואריהם וישבר את מסות עולם
ויוליכם קוממית.
- 21 ויהיה בתן להם בצענות אחר
עקות ולחצות.
- 22 וכד באו השופטים לערות
עפלו שכוכי הקריות בשמחות
וקולות התשבחות והתהללות
אל אלהי הרוח' וגלו בקעמות
הדת.
- 23 ויעשו בני ישראל השמירים
כן על פי מצות השופטים
כפי מצות בבא רבה.
- 24 ואוסיפו מן השמחות ובשאו
עמודי הדת בטב בשאות על
כעסות מן אלהותם בלאות.
- 22 ויהי כאשר באו החכמים אל הערים
אשר חלק הכהן הנכבד בבא רבה אליהם
עפלו ישבי הערים לבגלאות השמחות
ולהרים הקולות בשירות ותהללות
ורוממות אלהיהם ואלהי אבותיהם
אשר מליין כל הגוים בחר בהם ומזאת
הצרעה הציל אתם.
- 23 ויעשו בני ישראל השמירים על האמת
את כל זה המעשה על פי החכמים
והזקנים על פי המלך הנכבד הכהן
בבא רבה רצון יי' וסליחתו עליו אמן.
- 24 ויוסיפו מן השמחות ויגלו את
אימנות דת משה בן עמרם עליו השלום.

§11

- 1 ויבאו הראשים אשר היו פקדים עליהם
מאת מלכי הגוים הבכרים למנע אתם
מעשות את חקות התורה הקדשה כאשר
היו ימנעו להם מתמול.
- 2 ויקמו כל אנשי עדת בני ישראל
השמירים עליהם וימהרו להרגם וישרפו
אתם באש בכל עיר ובכל קריה ובכל
מקום עת אחד.
- 3 היה זה המעשה לכל ראשי הגוים
הנכבדים בכל ערי עדת בני ישראל
והוא לילת תמול ראש חדש השביעי
וישמו בני ישראל השמירים זכרון
למודע הזה.
- 1 רבאו פוקדי הרפתים עליהם
עד ימנעו אתם מן מעשה
מצות הדת הך די אמנותם.
- 2 וקעמו אנשי השמירים וחליצו
להם והכו אתם ושרפום באש
ומחו צרבותם.
- 3 וזה היה בלילת ראש החדש
השביעי וקעמו זכרון לזה
המעשה.
- 3a (ופרט יאמר כי מן כליל
המעשה דיעשו אתו בני ישראל
השמירים לזאת העודה כי
הילדים ישרפו מן סף דיעשו
אתו סכות בלילת מפוק מועד
השמיני.

3b וגם אחאמר כי זה זכרון

לזאת העודה ובשאר זה

ליומינו בלילת מפוק

המועד הזוכיר יעבירו

מן אש טף הסכות

3c ואנחנו נאמר זאת אמנותה

חייב עשותה בעדנה חייב

עשותה על אביה ובניה

וילדתה מן סדר עדתה

דמבני השמרים דהלכים על

טף אימנותה ביהוה ובמשה

ובתורה והרגריזים וביום

דבו יבאו לגבתה.

4 ונשוב למה ההינו בו (

ונאמר כד השמרים הכו

הפוקדים אשר היו מתפקדים

עליהם מן הרפיתים ושרפו אתם

באש ושמעו בגישי המלך כי

בגישי ישראל השמירים הכו

המחוקקים אשר היו מתפקדים

עליהם.

5 ושלחו יקמצו על בגישי בני

ישראל.

6 אתשיג הדבר אל בבא רבה צא

לקראתם והכה אנשים רבים

מהם והניס הנשארים.

7 וישבו למלכיהם ברעות עדפה

והגידו להם מה קם עליהם

מן המכות והמריבה ואיך

הכה הרב מהם בבא רבה.

8 ובבא רבה היה מתיקץ למה

עשהו ומה יתשפע מן מעשהו

ואתחכם כי המלכים אלא עליו

יצבאו ויבאו ובמלחמה לו ימכאו.

4 ויהי כי הרגו אנשי עדת בני ישראל

השמרים על האמת את הראשים אשר היו

עליהם מאת מלך אדום וישרפו אתם

באש וישמעו בגישי המלך ושוטריו

בדבר הזה.

5 וישלחו מאתם מלאכים עד יתפשו

על כל בגישי עדת בני ישראל

ללכת בהם אל מלך אדום.

6 וישמע המלך הנכבד הכהן בבא רבה

בדבר הזה ויצא לקראתם הוא והאנשים

אשר היו עמו ויך מהם אנשים רבים

על המספר והנשארים מהם הלכו אחור.

7 וינסו מפניהם אל מלכיהם ברע דבר

ויספדו להם את כל אשר יעשה להם

ואיך הכהן הנכבד בבא רבה אשר

הקים אשר הקימו אתו עדת בני

ישראל השמרים מלך חדש עליהם

הכה מספר רב מהם.

8 והכהן הנכבד בבא רבה אתיקץ לכל

אשר עשה עם בגישי המלכים וידע

את כל אשר יתחדש עליו מאת המלכים

וכי יאספו להם מחנה רב ויבאו למלחמתו.

- 9 ויבחר לו אנשים מבחורי אנשי עמו עדת בני ישראל השמרים אנשי מלחמה ויכן אתם לקראת ולמלחמות את מלכי הגוים.
- 10 ויהי כאשר שמעו מלכי הגוים במעשה המלך בבא רבה אשה עשה בנגשים ויאספו אנשים רבים מן מחניהם וישלחו אתם למלחמות המלך בבא רבה ביד חזקה.
- 11 ויצא בבא רבה לקראתם ביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה ויתן יי' את המחנה הזה ביד המלך בבא רבה ויך מהם אנשים רבים על המספר ודכה אתם במדכה.
- 12 וימלא את כל הר (עסכר) אשר מול הר הקדש הר הברכה הר גרזים בית אל מן בבילותם והנשארים מהם נטו.
- 13 וימהרו ויבאו על מלכיהם ויגדו להם באשר עשה עמהם המלך הנכבד בבא רבה הוא ועמו ואיך שחטו את רב אנשיהם ויתן יי' אתם בידו וביד עדת בני ישראל השמרים עמו.
- 14 ויהי כאשר שמעו המלכים את הדברים האלה ויחר להם מאד ויקצפו על המלך הנכבד בבא רבה ועל כל השמרים עמו.
- 15 ויקם מלך (קסטנטיניה) ויסף אנשים רבים עד מאד אלפים ורבבות לשלח אתם למלחמה את בבא רבה ואת כל עמו.
- 16 ויגד לבבא רבה את הדבר הזה וישלח לכל מקומות בני ישראל השמרים על האמת יביאו אליו את כל אנשי המלחמה.
- 17 ויבאו אליו מכל פא מכל ההר וככר ומחוף הים ומכל אלון עשרת אלפים איש מלחמה בכלי מלחמתם בחקחים ובחצים וברחמים נכבזים לקראת איביהם בחזקת לב.
- 18 וירא המלך הנכבד הכהן בבא רבה כי מספר אנשי הצוה רב וכי יצרכו למזון רב ויצא ביד החזקה ובזרועה נטויה.
- 9 נבחר לו אנשים מן אנשי עמו בני ישראל השמירים אנשי שם רגלאים למלחמה חמישים ואתכיון לקראת ומלחמות מלכי התרפים אשר להשמידו מבקשים.
- 10 כי כד שמעו במה עשהו בקשו מלחמתו בלבבים קשים.
- 11 וצא לקראתם ובתן לו יהוה בצען עליהם והכה אנשים רבים מהם.
- 12 ואמלא ההר מחנים דאצל ההר הקדש מן בבלותם ואשר בשארו נסו למלכיהם.
- 13 והגידו להם מה היה עליהם ואיך הוא חלש אתם וכחשם.
- 14 ואתגדלו המלכים ואתגברו ואתחזקו ואתאמצו ואתפוררו ואתחילו.
- 15 ואתאמץ מלך אלקסטנטיניה אפו על המלך הצדיק בבא רבה ואסף עליו עסכרים רבים.
- 16 וכד אתשיג הדבר אל בבא רבה שלח לבני ישראל השמרים הנמצאים בכל האתרים ישלחו לו אנשי מלחמה.
- 17 ובאו עליו מכל פאת מן שפעת הים וההרים והככרים עשרת אלף מן הגברים בכלי המלחמה מחגרים.
- 18 ובעת עמה בבא רבה רבות העסכרים אתכיר כי ימך לסגי המדלים וצא ביד חזקה.

- 19 ויכרש אכתל הנכרים מן הערים אשר סביבו כי אויבי עדת בני ישראל השמרים וירשו אתם מהם.
- 20 ויהי כי נה המגיד למלך הצדיק בבא רבה הכה מצון אנשים רבים והנשארים מהם נצו מפני בבא רבה וידגד את הערים האלה וירשים וישכן בהם את אנשי הצבה אשר הקלו אליו למלחמות את אויבו.
- 21 ויקח מעדת בני ישראל השמרים את המוס אשר היו יתבו אתו למלכי אדום ויקבא בו וכלי מלחמה לאנשי הצבא ויתן לאנשי הצבא כל אשר יצרכו אליו יום ביומ(יו) .
- 22 ויצו המלך הצדיק בבא רבה ויעבירו ... בכל ערי עדת בני ישראל השמרים לא יתבו מיום והלאה מומס למלכי אדום ולא .. ולא לחם למלכי אדום כאשר היו מית... עליהם למחניהם.
- 23 ויכרת את אלה למב.....הזה והלאה כי היה יקחו לצב...ישראל השמרים.
- 24 וישם המלך הצי . ב. רבה את מקום מושבו בעיר עמרתה בה אדונינו ארשי הכהנים הגדולים אלעזר לאיתמר ופינחס עליהם השלום לעולם.
- 25 וכן יש בה קברים רבים לבביאים ולזקבים ולזכאים ולצדקים רבים.
- 26 ובגלל הדבר הזה נקרא שמה קרית עמרתה כי אתעמרת בקברי אלה הצדקים הנכבדים; וישם המלך הצדיק בבא רבה את מחנהו בתוכה..
- 19/20 וגרש הנכרים דמקדם בקריות שרים והכה מהם אנשים רבים ואשר נותרו בס כל מצון מן מישרו ולקח זאת הקריות והביאו העסכרים דבאו לעזרותו בה.
- 21 ולקח מן עדתו מה היו יביאו ל. כראותו וגאה בו גאות האנשים דקבאו בקנאתו.
- 22 וצוה לא אחד יתן המוס מן עדתו אל הרפתים דהורו יביאו אתו מכל הפאתים.
- 24 ואחר כן שם בקריאת עבורתה מקוהו אשר היא קברת אנהתיו דבכהבים ידיהם אמלאו אלעזר ואיתמר ופינחס דבשמן המשחה אמשחו עליהם השלום.

- 1 ויהי אחרי כן ויבא המגיד אל המלך
הצדיק בנא רבה ויגד לו לאמר.
2 אויביו באו במספר רב עד מאד עד
כי חדל לספר כי אין מספר.
3 ויעמדו בנא רבה וכל חכמי עם
השמרים בין ידי יי' אלהיהם
ולשתחוו על פניהם ארצה ואמרו
לאמר.
4 הי' אל ..חק את פניו ממנו אל
תעלים לעת הצוק בגאון ..
..... יעבדו בני ..
..... תרח .. בעבי ..
.....
את אלהיו בלבו לא תדרש ...
כעסנו תביט לתת בידך את
דבריהם.
5 אתה ההית מגן ועזר לעמך שבה
זרוע הדשעים וכל רע ידרש ולא
ימצא.
6 יי' מלך עולם ועד אבדו גוים
בכרים מארצו תאות עבדים שמעת
יי' תכן לבם תתן אזנך לשמע את
שיאלם לא יוסף עוד יערצם אנוש
מן הארץ.
7 הושיע יי' את עמך כי בשמדו
חסידים כי ספו אמונים מבני אדם.
8 עד אנה יי' תשכחנו עד מתי תסיר
פניו ממנו עד אנה נשית עצות
בנפשנו ויגזון כל יום בלבבינו
עד מתי ירום אויבינו עלינו.
9 ראה ועבדו יי' אלינו אניר את
עינינו פן נישון למות פן יאמרו
אויבינו יוכלנו עליהם פן יאמרו
כי במוט ואנחנו בחסדך בטחנו
בשיר לשמך לטוב לנו.
10 ויהי כאשר כלו בנא רבה ואת
כל זקני העם מתפללותם זאת ויתקעו
- 1 ואחר כן אתת אל בנא רבה
המגידים במוכא שבאיו
ברב עסכרון ומה לון
מן הקדקדים ובכלי
המלחמה מתיסדים.
3 שם עמד בנא רבה הוא ועמו
בין יחי יהוה וקולותם ארימו
בתפלה בטהרות הלב ובנצירות
יצר לית כמו.

בחצרות תרועה לזכרון ולעשות את
מצות יי' אשר צוה על יד אדון
הבניאים עבדו משה בן עמרם עליו
השלום לעולם.

בשופרים בתרועה וכן זכרון
השבועה דנשבע בה ישתבח שמו
בתורתו הקדושה כמימרו..

11.. כי תבוא מלחמה בארצכם על הצר
הצרר אתכם והרעתם בחצרות
ונזכרתם לפני יהוה אלהיכם
ונושעתם מאיביכם.

11 וכי תבאו מלחמה בארצכם על הצר
הצרר אתכם והרעתם בחצרות
ונזכרתם לפני יי' לפני יי'
אלהיכם ונושעתם מאיביכם

12 וצעקו צעקה גדלה בקול אחד
אמרים השקף ממעון קדשך מן
השמים והציל את עמך את
ישראל מידי דבניהם.

12 ויצעקו צעקה גדלה עד מאד קול
אחד לאמר השקף ממעון קדשך מן
השמים והציל את עמך את ישראל
מידי איביהם.

13 ויהי ככלותם זאת תפלותם יהוה
ביכלותו שמע אליהם ומן זאת
הצרעה נפש להם ונצען אתם על
איביהם ועל פי חרב השמידו אתם
ונפלת זאת המלחמה בגלגל דממול
שכם.

13 וישמע יי' את קול צעקותם
ביום ההוא ויתן את אויביהם בידיהם
ויכו את עדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת מספר רב מן אויביהם
והמלחמה הזאת היתה בהר אשר
הוא נכח עיר שכם הקדשה ויזרקו
בני ישראל את דם אויב במקום ההוא.

14 ואטמא המכון ואשתמי אבן
הטמא עד היום הזה מרב
הדם דנשפך מן שנאיהם בו.

14 וירד הדם מן ההר ההו וילך הן
המים ויקרא את שם המקום ההוא
דרך דם הטמאה עד היום הזה.

1 ויהי אחרי כן ויבאו את המלך הצדיק בבא הבה
ואת כל זקני העם וישתחוו ארצה לפני יי'
אלהיהם ויאמרו לאמר.

2 נודך יי' בכל כוחינו צור ישוענו ומגבר
ומפלטנו.

3 מהללים נקרא את יי' ומאבינו נושע.

4 אפפו אתנו חבלי מות ובחלי בליעל
ינעתונו.

5 חבלי שאול סבבו לנו מוקשי המות תפשו בנו.

- 6 בצר לנו קראנו ליי' ואל אלהינו צעקנו וישמע יי' את קולנו ואת קול צעקותינו.
- 7 ותחרד הארץ ומוסדי ההרים ירגזו ויחרדו כי חרה לו.
- 8 כי אש קדחה אוקדת באפו ויט שמים וירד וישלח חציו על צרינו ויפצם וגם ברקים רבים ויחרדם.
- 9 מאיבינו הצלינו ומשנאינו כי אמצו ממנו ואל מרחב הוציאנו ויחלצנו כי חפץ בנו.
- 10 יגמלנו יי' חסד כגדל חסדו ונהיה תמים עמו ובשתמר מעובינו.
- 11 כי הוא עם חסיד יתחסד ועם התמים יתמם עם טהור יתטהר ועם עקש יתפתל ועם עבי יושיע ועיביהם רמות ישפיל.
- 12 הוא יאיר נורותינו ויגל את חשכותינו.
- 13 כי בך רעצנו צבא ושור דלגנו.
- 14 דרכי יי' תמימה ואמירתו צדיקה מגן הוא לכל הבטחים בו.
- 15 כי מי הוא האל מבלעדי יי' ומי הוא צור זולתי אלהינו.
- 16 נפרד אויבינו ונשיגם ולא בשוב עד כלותם.
- 17 יצעקו ואין מושיע יושיעם ובשחקם מעפר על פני רוח כחרש חוצות בשליכם.
- 18 תפלטנו מריב העמים תשימנו עליובים לכל הגוים גוים לא ידענו יעבדו לנו.
- 19 לשמע אזן ישמעו אלינו בני בכר יכחשו אלינו בני זרים יפלו ויחרגו מחדריהם.
- 20 חי הוא אלהינו יי' ומברך צורנו וחס אל ישענו.
- 21 האל הנותן בקמות בגללנו ויכחשו העמים לנו ועל במתם בדרך אנחנו.
- 22 תפלטנו מאיבינו אף מן הקמים עלינו מאנשי חמס מגאלנו.
- 23 לכן נודך בין הגוים אלהינו ולשמך נדנן בכל כוחינו.
- 24 מגדל ישועה לנו ועשה חסד לבן אהביו.

H2

ושם יהוה ישתבח שמו
 בזה היום בפוש רב.
 והכירו כי יכלות יהוה
 דבצעתם ומיד איביהם
 הצילת אתם כי היו
 מתכוננים מן עסכרים
 וכלי מלחמה לא תזכר

בממול העסכרים וכלי
מלחמות עבודי אלהי
נכר.

ואוסילו מן התשבחן
והמודאה והתהללות
והרבואן והורמת
השמחות ביניהם
ונתנו ליהוה שכר.

§ 14

- 1 בעת ההיא שם יהוה ישתבח שמו
בפש המלך אשור כי ילחם
אלאסכנדרה לחמו ולקח הערים
מנו והורמת המלחמה ואתחזק
עם אלאסכנדרה ועזב מלחמות
גדלות בבא רבה.
- 2 ושם יהוה ככן בזאת הימים
בפשות הערבים הישמעאליה
המובא לארץ כנען ובזותה
וחרבותה.
- 3 כי הות ערים מתכוננה ורחבה
ורב שכוניה מבני ישראל השמירים.
- 4 ושמע בבא רבה במובאם וצא
ולחם אתם וירדפם אל ערבת
הירדן.
- 5 ושבנם והכה אנשים רבים מהם
ובזו השמרים טובות רבות
מצאן ובקר ובהמה ובגדים
וכסף וזהב ומה מדמי לזה
מקנה לא יספר.
- 6 וכד שמעו פרט המלכים כי יצא
בבא רבה לקראת הישמעאליים
ולחמם ושבם אתם במה הם
ככן היו באזים וכרתים
הדרך וזודים על הכל כי הות
קוצותם גאות ושמחו המלכים
בכך שמח תמים.

§ 14

- 1 בעת ההיא קם בפני מלך כשדים עשות
מלחמה עם מלך (אסכנדרה) ויעש עמו
מלחמה ביניהם ויקח מלך כשדים את
הערים מן המלך (אסכנדרה) ויהי כן
גלל למנע אתו מן מלחמות המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה.
- 2 ויהי בימים ההם ויבאו הערבים
בני ישמעאל אל עיר (דאריה) ויבזו
אתה ויהרסו לה.
- 3 כי עיר גדלה היתה זאת העיר ואנשים
רבים מעדת בני ישראל השמרים היו
ישבים בה.
- 4 וישמע המלך הצדיק בבא רבה במובאם
ויצא לקראתם ויכם וישברם וירדפם
עד מעבר הירדן.
- 5 ויהרג מהם אנשים רבים על המספר
ויבזו בני ישראל השמרים על האמת
מן הערבים מקנה צאן ומקנה בקר
ובהם השמלות וכסף וזהב וכלי מלחמה
רבים עד מאד לא ימנו במספר.
- 6 וישמעו המלכים במוצא המלך הצדיק
הכהן בבא רבה לקראת הערבים בני
ישמעאל ויעש עמהם מלחמה ויכם וישברם
וירדפם עד מעבר הירדן גונבים נחשים
עלי דרך שפון ועלי ארץ נושכים עקבי
סוס זידנים יכלים על הכל וממשלם
היתה בעת ההיא חזקה, ויחד כל המלכים
בגלל הדבר הזה וישמחו שמח גדול.

- 7 וישלחו למלך הצדיק בבא רבה לחם ומזון 7 וישלחו אל בבא רבה
היה דים לעשרת אלפים אנשי צבאו וגם מטעמים יכלכל לעשרת
שלחו אליו כסף וזהב ושמלות וידברו אלף פרש ושלחו לו מדל
עמו ויהללו אתו בגלל זה המעשה אשר רב ושמלות טובות ודברו
עשה בהערבים. אתו ושכרו לו על זה המעשה.
- 8 אז ישיר המלך הצדיק בבא רבה את השירה הזאת ל'י' ויאמר לאמר.
9 אשירך יי' אלהי עזי וזמירתי אנוהיך וארוממך.
10 יי' גיבור במלחמה יי' שמו.
11 יי' בגאותך ישמח הזלך ואיך בישועתך לא יחד.
12 ימינך יי' באדרי בכח ימינך יי' תרעץ אויב.
13 תאות לבי בתתה לי כל מבטא שפתי לא מאבת ממני.
14 כי תקדמני ברכות טוב תשית על ראשי בצר חסד.
15 מי כמוך באילים יי' מי כמוך באדרי בקדש בורא תהלת עשה פלאה.
16 גדל כבודי בישועתך הוד והדר שמת עלי.
17 כי המלך בטח ביי' ובחסד אל עליון לא ימוט.
18 תמצא ירך לכל איביך תרעץ לכל שנאיך.
19 פריהם מארץ תאבד וזרעם מבני אדם.
20 רומה יי' בעזך בשירה ונהלל וברומם גבורתך.
- 21 וישלח המלך הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה לקרת 21 ואודה בבא רבה יהוה
לזקני העם ולראשיו ולשטרינו ויבאה על כן ואמר.
לפניו ויאמר אליהם לאמר.
- 22 עתה חייב עלינו כלנו בתן רב שירות 22 עתה חייב עלינו בתן
ותהללות ואודות לאלהינו ואלהי ליהוה אודות כי
אבותינו אשר צדק ברחמיו היתרה עתה הטיב לנו מן
עלינו ואושיענו בזאת הישועה ובתן טבתו דלא תספר
את אויבינו בידנו וירעץ אלה אשר והציל אתנו מיד איבינו
באו בגלל לקחתנו ובגלל לקחות את ובתכם בידנו וחלש
בנינו ולשביות את בשינו ויתכם יי' אהליו דבאו עד יקחו
בידנו ונקח את כל מקביהם ואת כל רכושם. אתנו ובנינו ובשינו
23 עתה ידעו אויבינו כי מאת יי' אלהינו וישבו לנו וביכלותו
היה זה המצליח לנו כי להם רעצנו ובגלל לקחנו אתם ואת מקביהם
הדבר הזה שלחנו מבחנה טובה לנו ויקרו ואת רכושם.
את נפשותינו בכבוד הזה. 23/24 ועתה אויבינו כד אכירו
24 אין זה כי אם מחסד אלהינו ומכוננו בצענו על מן לחמו אתנו
ואדונינו עלינו אשר כחש את שנאינו שלחו מבחנה לנו

אחר מה ההיבד מתחלשים
מן שבאי.

25 דבחר וחסק באבותינו וקומם
לנו מה ביאר בספרו דבא
משה בו בימינו והוא
מימרו המתברך ויכחשו
איביר לך ואתה על במתם תדרך.

אליבו וישלחו בזה היקר הרב אליבו
מאחרי כי היינו בלאים לקום פניהם
יראים מחמסם אבדים מגברותם.

25 ויקם אליבו לבו את אשר בארו על
יד אדון הבניאים בן עמרם רבנו
בקדוש התורה ספרינו ויכחשו איביר
לך ואתה על במתם תדרך.

§15

1 ואחר כן אתאסף בבא רבה עם עמו
ואיטיב להם ואמר אליהם.

2 עתה הלכו אל ארצכם ומקומיכם
בבטח כל איש למכונו עד כי
אתצריך לכם.

3 רק חיב ישאר אתי שלשת אלף
איש יהיו קרובים מני בכל
עת אמצאון.

4 ואשימם באלכפור אשר הם סביב
כפר עמרתה אשר אני שכן בה
עד יהיו תחת דברי לבר יחדש.

5 וראו כל זקיני בני ישראל
השמירים כי זה הדבר חסיד.

6 ועשו כאשר דבר אליהם וקעמו
שלשת אלף איש פרש בקריות
דקרובים לקרית עבורתה.

7 וגדלות בבא רבה קרא לעמו
וברך אתם ונסק להם וישבו
למכוניהם שלשים בשמח וזהו
ושש וכל איש הלך למקומו.

1 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה הקהל המלך
הגכבד הכהן בבא רבה את כל עמו
לפניו ויאמר אליהם לאמר.

2 לכו עתה בשלום כל איש אל עירו
ואל מקומו והיה כי יש לי צריכה
אליכם אשלח ואקרא אתכם.

3 אך יעמד מכם אצלי שלשת אלפים איש
לי היה מושבם קרוב מפני בכל עת
אמצא אתם עמדים נכחי.

4 את אלה ישבו בחצרים אשר הם סביב
קרית עמרתה אשר אני שכן בה אין
להם רחיקה מעלי.

5 וייטב הדבר בעיני זקני עם בני
ישראל השמרים וראשו ושמריו
ויעבו ויאמרו טוב הדבר אשר דבחת
לעשות.

6 ויעשו כן כאשר צום ויקמו שלשת
אלפים איש צבא בחצרים אשר הם
מסביב לקרית עמרתה.

7 ויברך המלך הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה
את כל עמו וישבו ברב שמח ושלום
איש למקומו מהללים משירים את
ני' אלהיהם יתקדש שמו הגדול.

- 8 ויהיו זקבי עדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת בכל לילת חדה ראש כל
שבוע יבאו מן הקריתים הקרובים
לעיר שכם הקדושה ויקהלו בזקבי
העיר ההיא וילכו יחדו אל קרית
עמרתה למען יקהלו במלך הצדיק
בבא רבה רצון יי' וסליחתו עליו אמן.
- 9 בעת ההיא היה וכל עדת בני
ישראל השמרים על האמת בכבוד ואיקר
ועז יתר שמחים בנגלאות אימנותם
ששובים כי יי' יתברך שמו הסיר את חמס
אויביהם מעליהם והורו יחנו איש את
רעהו ויהיו עדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת בכל לילת חדה יקהלו
במקוה בשמח יתר; וישאר זה המעשה
ביניהם עד היום הזה.
- 10 והמלך הצדיק בבא רבה רצון יי' עליו
אמן המקום אשר על שמו לא היה יפתחו
כי אם על פי הכהנים וישאר על כן
אחד ימים.
- 11 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה מת המלך
(אסכנדרה) והמלך הזוכיר באחר ימיו
לא יכל יצא על עדת בני ישראל השמרים
להלחם אתם כי פחדם ויראתם נתן יי'
יתברך שמו.
- 12 והמלכים אז בלאו לקחת המוס מעדת
בני ישראל השמרים ולא יכלו לעשות
עמם מלחמה שלחו לקרא את זקבי ושטרי
עדת היהודים אליהם לאמר.
- 13 כי תוכלו על הכות המלך הצדיק בבא
רבה והכיתם אתו נתן לכם צו לבנות
את בית מקדשכם אשר בעיר ירושלים.
- 14 ויאספו אחרי כן זקבי עדת היהודים
ויאמרו איש אל רעהו איך נעשה למלך
בבא רבה עד נוכל על הכותו ובבני את
בית מקדשנו.
- 8 והיו בגישי בני ישראל
השמירים הקרובים אל
שכם בכל לילת חדה
יתאספו וכהלון ילכו
לקרית עמרתה למען
יתקבצו עם בבא רבה.
- 9 והם היו בזאת הימים
בטוב רב ועז וכח זהים
בנצטן הדת ואנשמה מן
חמס טרחון מעליהם האבדת
והם תמיד כל איש יחבי
לחברה בחסדות דבועדת.
- 10 ובבא רבה לא היה ילכו
בכל עת המכוון דחתוקק
לו וככן לא היה ילכו
אלא על פי הכהנים ואמצא
זה ימים מן השנים.
- 11 ואחר כן מת המלך אסכנדרה
ולא ישב יוכל יצא לבני
ישראל השמרים בארך יומי
חיינו למען ילחם אתם כי
פחדתם נפלה יהיה בלבה.
- 12 וכד בלאו המלכים בלקחתם
המוס מבני ישראל השמרים
ולא שבו יוכלו למלחמותם
ואמרו אל עדת היהודאים.
- 13 אן יכלתם על בבא רבה
והכיתו אתו בטשנו אתכם
בבניאן מקדשכם.
- 14 ובפל בנפש היהוד' למבקשון
בבניאן מקדשון.

15 ויעשו אנשים מהם לאמר למה בשלם

בבא רבה רעה תחת טובה כי מאז

הגדלת ממלכת בבא רבה הנשאת

מעלינו את כל משאי וטרחי המלכים

האלה ולא יוכלו לעשות עמנו רעה.

16 ועתה כי נעשה דבר עם המלך בבא רבה

ולא נשיג למדרשנו נהיה עשינו גלל

להביא עלינו רעות רבות מאת בבא

רבה ומאת כל עמו עדת בני ישראל

השמרים וגם נהיה שנאים למלך בבא

רבה ולכל מלכי הגוים.

17 ואנשים אחרים מהם אמרו כי בוכל על

עשות רעה עם המלך בבא רבה להכות

אתו נכהו ולא נחדל מעשות הדבר הזה

אולי בבני את בית מקדשנו; הלוא

ידעתם אחינו כי המלך בבא רבה וכל

עמו עדת בני ישראל ימנעו אתנו

מלבנות את בית מקדשנו ויאמרו אלינו

כי עיר ירושלם איננה עיר הקדש ולא

המקום המבחר, אך יאמרו המקום המבחר

הוא הרגריזים בית אל.

18 והמלך הצדיק בבא רבה לא היה מחשבו

בדברים כאלה רק היתה כל מחשבות לבו

בגלאות אימנות דת משה הקדושה ולרב

את השירות והתהללות לאלהי השמים

והארץ יתברך שמו הקדוש ולתקין

מקרת התורה הקדושה ולעשות את חקותה

ומצותה על האמת.

19 ויהי בעת ההיא ואנשים רבים מעדת

היהודים היו יושבים בקרית (במרה)

ויבאו אנשים מזקבי היהודים לקריה

ההיא ויעשו עיצות כסות ביביהם

ויתנו לו למלך הצדיק בבא רבה להמיתו

בצע מהם הן ישיגו מן המלכים הנכרים

לקחת מהם צו לבנות את בית מקדשם

בעיר ירושלם.

× ובבא רבה כד נצטנה

יהיה על המלכים שאו

חמסם אשר היה על

היהודאים במשפטים

ובלעדה עד לא יבאו

תחת משפט בבא רבה..

18 וגדלות בבא רבה איננו

מבקש כן ומבקשו היה

פשאת הדת הקשט ובגלאות

הצלואן והתה' והרוממות

וגם בגלאות התורה.

19 ובימים ההם היה יהודאים

רבים שכובים בקרית במארה

ועבדו להם בכליה ובכלו בה;

וזה היה ברז ביניהם בצע

עד יתשגו למדרשון.

- 1 ויהי בימים ההם וילך המלך הצדיק
הכהן בבא רבה לקרית (במרה) הזוכירה
והלכותו אליה היתה ביום הששי מן
השבוע עד יעשה השבת בקריה ההיא כפי
הסכנתו.
- 2 וישבת בכנשתה כי בכל מקום היה בבא
רבה יבוא לילת השבת בבית הכנשה ולא
יצא ממנו עד כלות השבת.
- 3 והיהודים דרשו יבאו על המלך הצדיק
בבא רבה ועל כל אנשיו בלילת השבת
כי בעת ההיא לא יוכלו עדת בני ישראל
השמרים לשאת את כלי מלחמה והם יבאו
עליהם בתוך בית הכנשה והם קעצים
בצלוחתם ויכו אתם שם.
- 4 ולא אבה יי' יתברך שמו ישיגם למדרשם
כי אם בחכמתו גלא את כסות עיצתם
מיום החמישי מפני מובא המלך בבא רבה
לקרית (במרה).
- 5 היה ביום השביעי מן השבוע ויי'
יתקדש שמו גלא את כסות עיצת עדת
היהודים לעדת בני ישראל השמרים על
האמת ביום החמישי מן השבוע.
- 6 וגלא בגלאות זה הדבר כי אשה מעדת
היהודים לה חברה מבני עדת בני ישראל
השמרים ומאהבה גדלה היתה בין האשה
הישראלית ובין האשה היהודית ויהי
ביום החמישי מימי השבוע ותאמר האשה
היהודית לאחותה האשה הישראלית אחותי
אדרש אני ממניך לא תלכי לילת השבת
לבית הכנשה.
- 7 ותען האשה הישראלית את אחותה היהודית
לאמר מדוע אחותי תמנעי אתי מלכתי
לבית הכנשה ומה הגלל.
- 8 ותען האשה היהודית למה תפצרי בי
להגיד לך עתה את הגלל ואנכי אירא
מאד כי אז אגלי לך את הגלל תגידי
בו על לשני ואהיה אני הגלל לבפל את
נפשי בלחץ רב ובמגפה גדלה.
- 1 וּבִפְרֹט הַיָּמִים הַלֵּךְ בָּבֵא רַבָּה
לְקָרִית כִּפּוּר בַּמֶּאֱרָה וְזֶה הָיָה
בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי לִמְעַן יַעֲשֶׂה הַשַּׁבָּת
בְּכַנְשַׁת הַקָּרִיָּה הַזּוֹכִירָה כִּפּוּי
אֲמֻנָתוֹ.
- 2 וְהוּא בַּיּוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת לֹא יֵצֵא
מִן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ דִּישְׁבַּת בּוֹ.
- 3 וְאֶתְכַלֵּה הַיְּהוּדָאִים לִמְעַן
יָבֹאוּ עֲלָיו וְעַל אֶתְיוֹ
בְּלִילַת הַשַּׁבָּת וַיִּכּוּ אֹתָם הָהֶם
קַעֲמִים בַּצְּלוֹת כִּי שֵׁם לֹא יִכְלוּ
עַל שֹׂאת כְּלֵי מִלְחָמָה עַד יִבְשֹׂאוּ
עַל נַפְשֹׁתָם בָּהּ.
- 4 וְחִכְמַת יְהוָה לֹא בִטְשָׁת אֹתָם עַל
הַתִּלְתָּם רַק חֲזַן בְּרַחֲמוֹתָיו וְאֶגְלִי
מַיּוֹם הַשְּׁשִׁי בְּכֻלּוֹתָם וְאֶתְאָמַר
מַיּוֹם הַחֲמִישִׁי הָיָה מוֹבֵא בָּבֵא רַבָּה
לְכַפֵּר בַּמֶּאֱרָה.
- 6 וְגַלֵּל זֶה כִּי אִשָּׁה מִן הַיְּהוּדָאִים
הָיְתָה לָּהּ אִשָּׁה תֹּאֲהָבָה מִן הָאֲנָשִׁים
הַשְּׁמִירֹת וְהִיא חֲבֵרוֹתָהּ וְאָמְרָת
לָּהּ אַחֲמַד מִבֶּיֶן אֵהָ אַחֹתִי
כִּי לֹא תִבְאִי לְכַנְשָׁה בְּלִילַת
הַשַּׁבָּת אִתִּי.
- 7 וְעֲנָתָהּ וְאָמְרָת לָּהּ לְמָה תִּמְנָעִי
אִתִּי אֵהָ מִן בֶּיֶן דְּבִיקָה
מֵאֲהָבוֹתִי וְמָה הַגִּלְל כִּי לֹא
אֲבֹא לְכַנְשָׁה עַד אֲצִלִּי צְלוֹתִי.
- 8 וְאָמְרָת לָּהּ הַיְּהוּדָאִיָּה אֵן לִיךְ
יִדְעָתִי הַדְּבַר אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַעְתִּי אִירָא
אֵהִיָּה לְרַעָה לְנַפְשִׁי בְּקִשְׁתִּי.

9 ותען האשה הישראלית לאמר כי תגלי
בא לי את הגלל לא אדבר בו לאחד
מבני אדם על פיך אחותי.
10 ותאמר אליה היהודית לאמר דעי בא
אחותי.

11 ותאמר אליה היהוד' עשו בינם עיצות ע
על הכות את המלך בבא רבה ואת כל אנשיו
בלילת השבת והם עמדים בצלות יבאו
עליהם בכסי ויכו אתם שם.

12 הנה בא הגדתי לך כסי את הדבר
הזה ולא תדברי בו.

13 ויהי כאשר שמעת האשה הישראלית אשר
מעדת בני ישראל השמרים את הדבר הזה

מחברתה היהודית ויקם גיד הקבאה בפניה.
14 ותמהר ותלך אל המלך הצדיק בבא רבה

ותגיד לו בדבר הזה ואת שם האשה היהוד'
לא זכרת לו כאשר אמרת אליה.

15 ויהי כאשר שמע המלך הצדיק בבא רבה
את הדברים האלה יחר אפו על עדת
היהודים.

16 ויגלי אליהם כי ילין לילת השבת
בבית הכנשה מיום הששי.

17 ויהי בערב ויבא המלך בבא רבה לבית 16/15 וכד שמע בבא רבה זה
הכנשה והוא לבוש בגדים בדים ויהי
הטמש באה ועלטה היה ויפשיט המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה את בגדי הבר אשר עליו
אשר היא מלבש השבת הקדש ויצא מבית
הכנשה ולא ידע איש במוצאו.

18 ויהי השמש לאביו ויאספו אנשים
רבים מעדת היהודים לא ימנו במספר
ויבאו אל בית הכנשה וימששו שם על
המלך הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה כי הוא
מדרשם.

19 ויסגרו את הדלתים ויביערו כי
ידעים הם הן המלך בבא רבה יש בבית
הכנשה.

9 ואשבעת לה האשה אמרה
אה אחותי מה תאמרי לי
עליו לא אדברו אל אחד
במוצא שפתי.

10/11 וענת לה ואמרת כי

היהודאים שנאות בבא
רבה ואחיו בלבביהם צכמרת
וחרוצים בלילת השבת והם
קעמים בצלות יעברו עליהם
ויכו אתם למען זכרון וכדת.

12 ועתה הגדתי אליך מה אלי
בודע הסתירי דברי עד לא
תמושני חרדה.

13 שם פשת הקבאה קנאת הדת
בלב האשה השמרה.

14 והלכת אל האדון בבא רבה
והגידת לו במהרה על מה
שמעת אתו מן היהודיה עד
לא יפל הוא ואחיו בצררה
ולא הגידת לו על שם היהודא'ה
ולא על אקרה הך מה אשבעת
לה בטהרות יצרה.

15/16 וכד שמע בבא רבה זה
הדבר אתבצר ואגלי כי הוא
משבתן בכנשה מיום הששי.
17 והוא היה במובאו לכנשה
לבוש בגדים בד המתכוננה
לשבת דמקדם לה היה עשה;
ויהי במחשכת העין פשט מה
היה עליו מן הבגדים דלה
זכרנו וצא מן הכנשה ולא
אחד ידע במה היה ממנו.

18 והיהודים כד בא הליל
הקהל כל מזון דלקדשות
השבת מחלל ובאו לחצר
הכנשה ועברו בקשות לב
ופשע ואחפשו על בבא רבה

- 29 והסגירו התורחים והבעירו
האש אהלין הרעים כי היו
מסתכלים בבא רבה בכנשה קעם.
20 וכד עמה בבא רבה מבון זה
המעשה צעק עליהם הוא ועדתו
בקול רב עד מאד לא שמעו
כותר.
- 21 וכד שמעו קולו אתשברת צלעם
ונבהלו והשליכו כלי מלחמותם
ונסו ואתעורת עיביהם ואתכשלו.
- 22 ומבון מן באו אליו ותכו
לרגלו ועמדו הך עבדים ממלו,
בצע בנחמו דיהוה הנחילו.
- 23 ואמרו לו אנחנו עבדיך
וחטאינו בכמרת ועתה באנו
בין ידיך וגדלך לא ארע בנו
ובקשנו דמך מרעות עמלינו
ואתה כל חסד עשית עמנו ונשאת
חמס עבודי הבעלים מעלינו
ומן ערינו ומה ייטב בעיניך
אעשה לנו.

- 20 ויהי כי ראה המלך בבא רבה רצון יי'
וסליחתו עליו אמן מעדת היהודים את
המעשה הזה ויצעק עליהם בקול גדול
ויצעקו גם כל אנשיו קול אחד על
היהודים אוי מזה באתו ואנה תלכו.
21 ויבהלו אנשי היהודים מקול צעקותם
כי היה גדול מאד ותפל עליהם אימה
ונפחד וירגזו ויאחזמם רעד ונמגו את
לבניהם וישליכו את כלי המלחמה
מידיהם וינסו מפני המלך הצדיק בבא
רבה ומפני כל אנשיו.
- 22 ויצאו בבא רבה וכל אנשיו וירדפו
אחריהם וישיגום וישיבום אל המלך
הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה ויגשו אנשים
מהם ויפלו לפניו ארצה.
- 23 ויאמרו לו בי אדני אנחנו עבדיך
חטאינו ליי' אלהיך ולך כי דרשנו
את דמך ואתה לא עשית עמנו רעה כי
אם כל טוב עשית לנו וגם כי אתה
הוא הגלל להסיר את עול הברזל אשר
מעם המלכים הזכרים מעלינו.
- 24 ויצו המלך הצדיק בבא רבה את אנשיו
ויתפשו את כלם ויאמר אליהם למה
שלמתם רעה תחת טובה הלוא ידעתם
כי אנכי כל מדרשי לחזק את אימנות
דת ישראל ולהסיר את חמס כל המלכים
מעליהם ועשית עמם מלחמות גדולות.
- 25 ויתן יי' את כלם בידי והוצאתי את
כל שבטי בני ישראל מתחת ידם עד
יגלו את אימנות ישראל ויהללו
וישירו את יי' אלהיהם ויצלו ויקרו
בספר תורת משה הקדושה בקול גדול
ואין מי ימנע אתם אחרי לא יוכלו
לעשות דבר מאלה.
- 26 בגלל הדבר הזה באתם אלי לשפך את
דמי ולשרף אתי ואת כל אחי באש.
- 27 אוי לכם אוי לכם הלוא ידעתם כי יי'
יתן אתכם בידי ועתה אין לכם ישועה.

28 ויצו המלך בבא רבה ויוציאו את אנשי היהודים מעלי ויביחו אתם במשמר עד מחרת יום השבת ויציגום לפניו לשפט עליהם משפט צדק.

29 ויאמר בבא רבה עתי אין חייב תשארו חיים אחרי מדרשכם את בפשי ואת בפש אנשי להמיתן בלילת השבת הקדוש ואנחנו עמדים בצלי ובהלל ובגדל ונרומם ליי' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו. 30 ויהרגם וישרפם באש ויעש להם כאשר אמר יי' בתורותיו הקדושה ועשית לו כאשר זמם לעשות לאחיו ויקח גם מן היהודים את הגבעה אשר היא מול המגדל ויהרג את יושביה.

31 ולא נשאר מהם איש או אשה בלעדי האשה אשר הגידת לחבירתה הישראלית בדבר הזה כי באת תחת קורת חברתה הישראלית הזוכירה ותבוא בעדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת כי יראת על נפשה מעדת היהודים.

32 וישלח המלך הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה לקרא את האשה זאת מתוך חברתה וייטב לה.

§17

1 ויהי אחרי כן וישמעו כל בני יהודה את כל אשר עשה המלך הצדיק בבא רבה לאחיהם היהודים ישבי קרית (נמרה) ויבאו אנשים מהם וישרפו את כל זרע עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת אשר בשדה.

2 ויטמע המלך בבא רבה ויצא אחריהם הוא וכל אנשיו ויכום ולא נשאר מהם כי אם מספר מעט.

3 ויהי כאשר שמע המלך (גורדיאנוס) במעשה אשר עשו לעדת בני ישראל השמרים

28 ותמכם כהלון אחרי רזפו עדתו מן ברחו ואשיגו אתם ולפניו בהם באה ואסרם בבית הסחר ואחר אזלת שבתה עמד אתם תחת המשפט.

29 ואמר להם לא יישר השיר אתכם בשמת חיים בכם אחר מה בקשתם תשמידו אתי בכלי מלחמותיכם ולו בו תמכם אתי הכיתם ולמלכים פגרי שלמתם ובזה אשבעו לכם ינטשו לכם בבניאן בית מקדשכם.

30 שם שפט עליהם והכו אתם ושרפום ולקח הגבעה דממול המגדל מידיהם; וקדם הזה לא היה ישטבם.

31/ 32 והנה לקחתו אתה אחר הכותו שכוניה ולא נשאר מהם מלבד האשה אשר בכן הגידת להם; ולקח אתה אחר מובאה תחת קורת האשה השמרה חברתה; ואיטיב לה והביאה בדת כי נשארת היא יראה על נפשה מן היהודאים.

1 ואחר כן באו עדת היהודאים כדי ידעו במה עשהו בבא רבה באחיהם ושרפו התבואותם דלשמרים בשדה.

2 וצא עליהם בבא רבה והכה אתם ולא נשאר אלא מעט מהם.

3/4 וכדבא ארשות ליהודאים מן המלך גורדיאנוס בבניאן

- על האמת ולכהן בבא רבה וישלח להם
 צו לבנות את בית מקדשם בעיר ירושלם
 כי דרש בכך לגדלות השנאה בין עדת
 היהודים ובין עדת בני ישראל השמרים
 על האמת ועד תהיה מריבות ביניהם.
 4 והמלך הצדיק בבא רבה לא מנע את
 היהודים מלבנות את בית מקדשם בעיר
 ירושלם; ויאספו עדת היהודים את
 צריכות הבית בגלל בביאבו ולעת
 דרשו יחלו ויעש יי' בעת ההיא מופת
 גדול מן השמים.
- 5 וזה המופת הוא סופה גדלה עד מאד 5
 בשאת את כל אשר הכינו ואת כל אשר
 אספו עדת היהודים לביאן ותזרע
 אתו על פני כל הארץ.
 6 ויחדלו עדת בני יהודה מלבנות את
 בית מקדשם ואחרי כן יצא את הבית
 הזה מיד היהודים עד היום הזה ולא
 יכלו לבנות אתו.
- 7 אז ישר בבא רבה ובני ישראל השמרים
 על האמת את הסירה הזאת ליי' ויאמר לאמר:-
 8 אליך יי' ברים את ידינו בך בטחנו אלהינו לא נבושה.
 9 ואל יעלצו איבינו בנו כי קוין לא יטרף כי אם
 יטרפו הבוגדים לבו.
 10 דרכים אלהינו אודיענו ארחיך חכמנו.
 11 הדרכינו באמתך ולמדנו כי אתה אל ישוענו.
 12 רחמיך וחסדיך מעולם המה זכרם עתה לבנו.
 13 אל תפן אל קשהנו ואל דשענו למען טובך יי'
 כחסדך זכר לבנו.
 14 צדיק וישר אתה ועשוי החטאים אנחנו.
 15 כל ארחות יי' חסד ואמת לשמרי חקותיו ומצותיו.
 16 למען קדוש שמך הקדוש יי' כפר את עובינו.
 17 מי הוא האבש הירא מיי' עד הדרך אשר בחר יוריבו.
 18 נפשו תלין בטוב וזרעו את הארץ יירשו.
 19 טוד יי' ליראיו ובריתו לשמורי אמת ספר קדשו.
- מקדשם קבצו כלים הנביאן
 וארסו יעפלו בבניאן משכן
 מקדשם גלה יהוה ישתבח
 שמו מופת מן השמים.
- והיא רוחות מנשבה גדלה
 בשאת כל מה הקהלו אתו
 לבניאן ונדחתו והפיצתו.
- ולכן שבתו מן בביאן
 מקדשם באורשלים ולזה
 היום לא ישבו יעלימו
 לבביאנו.

- 20 שירו ליי' בנים אתם ליי' והבו כבוד ועז ליי'
אלהינו והבו גדל ליי' אלהינו.
- 21 השתחוו ליי' בהר גריזי הר קדשו ולבלעדיו לא
תתפנו.
- 22 הי' יתן עז לשמרים עמו יי' יברך את עמו
השמרים בשלום.

§18

1 ובמצא בספר הימים דלארשיבו

אשר הוא בכיר העברי
הקדש יזכר בו דברא עודה
על גדלות המלך בבא רבה
ארשבו בספר אתו בזה
הספר והיא כי בבא רבה
רצון יהוה עליו אמר
לעדתו השמרים עתה ראיתי
שלח לדבר אשר עתה העודה
מימכה עליו והיא כי
אשלח בן אחי לוי לערי
האדום בבקוש במעשהו
באימנותו ויתלמד כל
יסידותו.

3 וישוב לאנה בדמית קסם
ולא ידעו אקרה ומה הוא
למען יסק להר הקדש
הרגרזים בדמות קסם ויבא
לכבשה אשר אל האדום
ויתככל על שברות זה
העוף דעשו אתו בבחשם
הנמצא שם.

4 ואן עשה כן בבטש לעלות
ההר הקדש ונבקש מיהוה
עליו אולי ישים לבו
בצען עליהם.

5/6 כי היה על ההר הקדש עוף
מטלסם מן עשות האדומים

1 ויהי כי חזקת יד מלכי אדום על הכהן
הצדיק בבא רבה רצון יי' וסליחתו עליו
אמן אסף אליו את כל זקני עמו עדת בני
ישראל השמרים על האמת ויאמר אליהם לאמר.
2 ראו ראיתי לעשות את הדבר הזה אשר אדבר
אליכם עתה לטובה והוא מדרשי אשלח את
לוי בן אחי לערי (הרומים) עד יעבד
ביניהם וישם את נפשו כאחד מהם ויתלמד
את כל מעשה אימן.

3 וישוב לאנה כמו (קסים) לא ידעו את
שרשו ומה הוא למען יעלה על הרגרזים
בית אל המקום המבחר ויתן כל לשבר את
העוף הנמצא שם.

4 וכי יעשה כן נוכל לעלות הרגרזים בית
אל ונדרש את יי' אלהינו יתקדש שמו
עליו אולי יקבלנו ויתן את איבינו
בידו.

5 כי היה נמצא על הר הקדש ההוא הרגרזים
בית אל עוף כמו עוף היונה מעשות
הנחשים והמחשפים אשר מן כושפי (הרומים).

6 והעוף ההוא מן בחשת וכל איש מבני ישראל
היה יעל להר גרזים בית יקרא עליו העוף
ההוא אשר עשו (עבריוס) וכאשר ישמעו
אבשי (הרומים) את קול העוף הזה יקומו
וימששו על האיש הישראלי עד יתפשו בו
וירגוהו וימיחו אתו; ובגלל הדבר הזה לא
יכלו עדת בני ישראל השמרים לעלות הר
גרזים בית אל.

7 ויהי כאשר שמעו זקני העם ושטריו
מן המלך הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה את
הדבר הזה ויעזבו אתו יחדו אדוניבו
כל הישר בעיניך עשה כי כל אשר
תצוו בשמע ובעשה.

8 ויען בבא רבה אתם לאמר אם אתם
תחפצו לעשות את הדבר הזה תבו לי
את מכתב ידיכם כי אחרי מובא בן
אחי משם לא תגעל בפשכם מן מובאו
ולהשיבו אל דתו כיום הזה.
9 ויעשו כאשר צוה אתם ויתבו אליו
את מכתב ידיהם.

10 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה הביא בבא
רבה את לוי בן אחיו לפניו ויאסף
את כל זקני העם וראשיו ושטריו
ויצו את בני אחיו לעיניהם
בדברים האלה.

11 בן אחי דע נא כי צריכים אנחנו
לשלח לערי (הרומים) הכופרים
עבודי הבעלים עשוי התועבות
ההלכים על דע דרך; השמר לך פן
תנקש אחריהם ושים בלך לתלמוד
כל דבר מן מיני אימנותם.

12 בן אחי השמר ושמור את משמרת אימנך
ולא תט מן הדרך הטובה זאת למען
תחיה בה בכל ימי הייך ובאחריתך.

13 בן אחי השמר לך פן תעזב את
מִשְׁרַת התורה הקדושה בכל יום
ובכל לילה.

14 בן אחי אתיקץ לשמר משמרת את כל
חקות ומצות התורה הזאת.

15 בן אחי השמר לך פן יסיתך את
אשר הלך במדרשו כי אם זכל עת
זכר את כל אשר בראך יי' אלהיך
אליו ואת אשר לך בו טוב גדול
בימך ובאחריתך.

16 ויי' יתקדש שמו יסעדך בכל
מעשיך אשר אנחנו דרשים עשותם
מעמך.

במעשה הקסמים וכל מן יעל
אל ההר הקדש מן השמרים
יצעק עליו זה העוף עבריוס;
ויתפשו עליו השבאים ויתפשו
בו ויכו אתו; ומזה הדבר לא
יתנטשו בני ישראל להעלות
ההר הקדש.

7 ובשוב למה ההיבו בו ונאמר
כי כך שמעו העם מן גדלות
בבא רבה זה הדבר עבו אתו
כהלון ואמרו אה אדונן
ודמעינן ומצנפת ראשינן
אעשה כל מה ייטב בעיניך
ואנחנו שמעין לדברך.

8 ואמר להם אן ההיתם עמין
כי חסד זה הדבר דלו עתה
אני לכם בו נחלי תבו לי
מכתב מתכתב בכיר ידיכם
בגלל כן עד אשמרו אשמרו
במקוהי לאחר ישוב משם בן
אחי עד לא תחמד בפשותיכם
מנו ותאמרו כי צפר מן
דרך הקשט תעי.

9 ועשו מה אמר ונתנו לו
מכתב ידיהם ולו שמר.

10 ואחר כן בגש בבא רבה לבן
אחיו לוי והעמידו בין ידיו
וכל בשיא מן העם אתו מתקוי,
ואחל לו יצוה ויוכיח לו
וישמרו.

11 ומן פרט הממלל דמללו לו
והוא אה בן אחי עתה ה' מ' כ'
הדבר לשלחך לערי אדום
הכפורים הבישים עבודי
הצלמים ההלכים אחרי הנחשים;
השמר לך פן תנקש אחריהם
ושים תורותך בתלמוד כל אקרי
אימנותם.

- 17 ויודיענו את המעשה אשר יעשנו שמה; וישלח בבא רבה בן אחיו לוי ואנשים רבים מזקני העם וישובו למקומם וילך לוי דרוש את עיר (קסטבטינה).
- 18 ויהי לוי איש נבון וחכום ידעיו ריטור צדיק בין כל בני דרו וכל אשר הוא עשה יי' מצליח בידו.
- 19 ובגלל הדבר הזה שלחו דרו המלך הצדיק בבא רבה על ארץ בני אדום היא ארץ (הרומים) בלי זולתו.
- 20 ולוי בן שבע עשרה שנה לעת לכתו למדינת (קסטבטינה) ויהי כמובאו לעיר ההיא הסתיר את בפשו ודרש את התלמוד.
- 21 ויתן את כל מאדו בתלמוד את כל הסכנת (הרומים) וישיג את כל מדרשו במספר עשרה שנים עד היה פריד בין אנשי (הרומים) אין ימצא אנש מהם ידעיו בכל הסכנת ובכל דברי (הרומים) כמהו.
- 22 ותעל מתוביתו ביניהם מעט מעט עד הן השיג למיתובה גדלה וירימו את מחנהו וישרתו אתו ויתברכו ממנו ויבטקו כל עת את ידו.
- 23 ולרבות המדעות אשר גלא להם קראו את שמו (אסקף) גדול וישימו אתו בחנות עליובה עד מאד עד היו
- 12 ודבק באימנותך ביהוה ובמשה ובתורותו התמימה כי נזה חיותך בעלמה וביום בקמה.
- 13 ולא תעזב המקרא בתורה בחשך הליל וביום מאז יזרח אורה.
- 15 והשמר כי יסיתך מה את הלך במדרשו אפס בכל זבנג זכור מה אמצאת בגללו דבו טוב לך בעלמה וביום דבו הבוראים יקח כל מבון אגרה מה אדבקת בו בעלמה בפשו.
- 16 ויהוה עבודך דוא יסעוך אן אהבת אתו בכל מאדך.
- 17 והודיע אתו בגלל הלכותו והלך מאתו מבקש אלקסטבט'.
- 18 ולוי היה איש חכום ונבון ידעיו זכי ברוח החכמה מתדכי ולו לא הוא מן אחכמה.
- 19 ממלא היה דודו בלעדיו שלח.
- 20 ובעת הלכותו ללקסטב' היו ימי שני חייו שבע עשר שנה וכד אתשיג לזאת מדינה הזוכיר אסתיר נפשה והואל בטהרה ובקש המדע.
- 21 ובכל מאדו כל יסוד אימנות האדום ידע ובעשרה שנה לא אמצא בין זאת העדה ואתעלי אתם במדע עד היה נבון.
- 22 והיו כל האדומים ישרתו לו.
- 23 ומרב מה אגלי להם מן החכמות קראו שמה הסקף הרב ושמו דרגותו במעלה עד היו כל מלוכי

כל מלכי (הרומים) לא יוכל אחד מהם
ישב על כסא ממלכתו אלא על פיו
והוא אשר היה ילבישם את בזר
הממלכה ואת בגדיה.

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האדום ילכו לדלתו ולא
יוכל אחד מבון יתפקיד
על כסא המלוך אלא
בארשותו ועל פיהו והוא
היה דיצניף המלך בנזר המלוך.

- 1 ויהי מקץ שלשה עשר שנה מלכת
לוי הזוכיר והוא בעת ההיא בן
שלשים שנה ויאמר לגדול מלכי
(הרומים) מדרשי אלך אל ארץ פלשתיים
אל עיר שכם אשר בארץ ההיא להראות
את בתי הכנשיות אשר שם.
- 2 ויכז המלך את כל אנשי הצבא אשר
היו במדינת (קסטבטינה) ללכת עם
לוי וילך לו ויצא מן מדינת (קסטבט').
- 3 וילכו עמו את כל ראשי עם (הרומים)
ואת כל שטריו ומן המלכים ואת כל
אנשי הצבא לשרתו ולעשות את כל אשר
יצוה להם ויצא במספר רב עד מאד לא
ימני.
- 4 ויהי כקרב לוי ואת כל אשר עמו מעיר
שכם הקדושה וישלח המלך הגדול אשר
היה עמו צו מאתו לכל הגוים לאמר
קומו צאו כלכם לקראת את (האסקוף)
הגדול אשר עמי.
- 5 ויהי כאשר שמע המלך הצדיק בבא רבה
את הדבר הזה ויירא מאד ויצר לו
וישלח ויאסף את כל זקני עדת בני
ישראל השמרים על האמת ואת כל
ראשיהם ואת כל שטריהם אליו.
- 6 ויאמר אליהם לאמר לא טוב עשינו
בשלחנו את לוי בן אחי לארץ בני אדום
כי זה שלשה עשר שנה מלכתו עד היום
הזה לא שמענו במגידו ועוד בכל אשר
יעשה לו בארץ ההיא ולא יפג לבי כי
בן אחי הזוכיר מת בארץ בני אדום.
- 7 ואני שמעתי את מגיד (האסקף) הזה כי

- 1 ומקץ שלשה עשר שנה
מן מהלכותו היו ימי שבי
חיייו שלשים שנה ואחר כן
אמר למלך הגדול דמהם עתה
אחמד הלך אנשק הכנשנות
דבשכם.
- 2 ואתכוונת כל העסכרים אשר
היו באלקסטבטיניה.
- 3 והלכו פרט הנביאם ופרט
המלכים אשר אתו וכל
העסכרים בשרתו והלכו
במחנה כבד.
- 4 וכד אתשגו להקרוב מן
שכם שלח המלך דברו את
פרט נעריהם לכל העמים כי
תצא לקראת הסקוף הרם
אשר אתו.
- 5 וכד שמע בבא רבה
בדבר הזה ירא ודחל
וארתת וקבץ דמעי עמו.
- 6 ואמר אליהם אנחנו
ארענו בהחזי בן אחי לוי
דשלחנו אתו ולא שבנו
בשמע לו דבר וזאת שלשה
עשר שנה והוא הלך מעמנו
ובלא פג כי הוא מת.
- 7 וזה הסקוף הרם שמעתי עליו

כי הוא גבור קשה ועתה
בא לעריבו עד ישמידנו
ומכן לא יתבטש לבו אלא
נצא לקראתו ואן עזבנו
כן ולא יצאנו לקראתו
לא באמן על נפשותינו
מן דעותו ויתל בנו ועם
זה כל עסקרי האדום תחת
משל ריחותו אן צוה אתם
להכותנו יכו אתנו ולבו
ימיתו.

8 ואנחנו מה נעשה וליבן
מתכוונים למלחמה ולא
אתנו חיל ולא כלים
תמימה עד נבשא מעלינו
גבורותון בתקומה.

9 וכד שמע העם מן בבא
רבה זה הממלל פחד
ואירא ודחלה בלבו שרא
ואמרו אל בבא רבה
בנצירות לבבה עתה
שמנו רחצונן על יהובה
יצובה דלאבותינו ישבע
ולישועתו קוינו והוא
בחסדו ינחמנו וירא
את ענינו ואת עמלנו
ואת לחצנו.

10 ואחר כן אתשיג לוי
המשתמה בסקוף הרה אל
שכמה וצאו לקראתו כל
עדת השמרים אשר שם,
וגדלות בבא רבה הלון
פניהם.

11 וכד אתקרבנו לה לקראתו
שא עיניו ועמה ענינו
וכל עדתו אשר אתו והכל
מבון מתרפק ובעין עיניו
טטף היראה מטפטף והם

איש חמס הוא וכי בא לארצינו להכיתנו
כלנו ועתה לא נוכל אלא נצא לקראתו
בירא על נפשותינו ממנו פן יקצף
עלינו ומספר רב מצבא הרומים בין
ידינו וכי יצוה אתם להכיתנו יכו
את כלנו.

8 ואנחנו עתה מה נוכל נעשה לו כי
איבנו נכונים למלחמה ולא להכות וגם
אין עמנו כלי מלחמה נדקר בה את
איבינו ונפלט את נפשותינו מהם ועם
זה אנשי צבא רבים עד מאד הם בין
ידינו כי יצוה להם להכיתנו יכו לנו
עד כלנו כי לא ימנו במספר.

9 ויהי כאשר שמעו את כל הזקנים
והראשים והשטרים את הדבר הזה וייראו
העם מאד ויאמרו להמלך הצדיק בבא רבה
אנחנו בטחנו על יי' אלהינו יתקדש
שמו הוא ידבקנו והוא יסעדנו והוא
מזאת הרשעי האלה יצילנו.

10 ואחרי כן השיג לוי בן אחי בבא
רבה הנקרא שמו (אסקוף) לשער עיר שכם
הקדושה ויצאו כל עדת בני ישראל
השמרים לקראתו והמלך הצדיק הכהן בבא
רבה הלך לפניהם.

11 ויהי כי קרבנו ממנו שא את עיניו וירא
והנה דדו הכהן בבא רבה וכל עדת בני
ישראל עמו והיראה בגלאות בפניהם
וטטפות בין עיניהם והם יצעקו ויקראו
לו טוב מקרא בקול גדול עד מאד.

12 ויהי כשמעו את קול צעקותם
ויחמל עליהם.

13 והמלך הצדיק בבא רבה וכל העם לא
הכירהו והוא הכירם כי לעת לכתו
מאצלם אל ארץ בני אדום היה נער אין
שער ולא זקנה בפניו ויטב בעת ההיא
ומספר ימי חייו שלשים שנה והוא בעל
שיבה גדולה ארכה לבש עליו בגדים מכל
שחרים.

- 14 ועם כל זה בא בזאת המיתובה
הגדלה כי לא הביטו בני עדתו
הן ישיג לזאת המיתובה.
- 15 ויען לוי אל המלך אשר היה
הלך אצלו ויאמר לו מי הם את
האנשים האלה אשר לא ראיתי כהם
בכל דרכי.
- 16 ויען המלך ויאמר אליו אדני אלה
עם ממרים ויאמרו אן הם מבני
ישראל השמרים אל האמת והם
בקיבים בעדת השמרים.
- 17 ויען ויאמר לו מה מעבדם ויענו
ויאמרו יעבדו אלהים אשר לא
יוכל אנש לראותו וע' זה יאמרו
אן הות אלהי האלהים ואדון האדונים
אלהי השמים והארץ וכל המתבראים.
- 18 ויאמר לו האסקוף ואיך לא יעבדו
הצלמים והבעלים ויעזבו מאמנם
הזה אשר לא באמר בה אנחנו אה
עדת הרום.
- 19 ויענו המלך ויאמר אה אדוני דברנו
עמך בעבור זה דברים רבים דרשנו
מהם את הדבר הזה מימים ימימה ועד
היום הזה ולא שמעו אלינו ולא עבדו
את הבעלים ולא הצלמים ולא עזבו את
מקראם בעד אלהיהם כי הוא אלהי
האלהים ואדון האדונים אשר ברא כל
המינים.
- 20 ויען (האסקף) את המלך לאמר כי לא
ישמעו אלינו ולא יעשו את אשר אנחנו
בצום ולא יעזבו את אימנם זה ויעבדו
את הבעלים כמונו לא ישארו חיים כלם.
21 והדבר הזה נשמע בין הכל בגלל
עדת בני ישראל השמרים כי דבר (האסקף) אנחנו האדום דגלולים
עליהם.
- 22 ואחרי כן הלך האסקף והוא לוי בן אחי19 אגינו אה אדני מקדם אנחנו
המלך הצדיק בנא רבה ויעל אל המקום
- והם צעקים במקראם ודחלים
מבה לון יבגף שם רדת
הדמעות מן עיניו על
גבות פניו.
- 13 וגדלות ענינו וכרניו אינם
ידעים לה מן גדלות זקניו
כי מקדם עזבו אותו בער
לית בפניו שער ושב עליהם
והות בן שלשים שנה תמימה
ומתחלפה אימתו ובגדיו שחר
בגדותו.
- 14 ואינם מסתכלים משיגותה
לזאת הענינה.
- 15 ואתפני לוי בפניו למלך
אשא אתו ואמר לו בשפתו
אהלין האנשים מה הם ומה
יהיו ומה יתקרא עליהם.
- 16 ויען לו המלך העדה האלה
אה אדני כפודים יקראו כי
הם בני ישראל השמירים
ובדת הקשט מתוקרים.
- 17 ואמר לו מה יעשו ומה יעבדו
אמר לו אלהים לא יראה
יעבדו ולו ישתחוו ויקדו
ויאמרו עליו כי הוא אלהי
האלהים מלוך כל הרוחים
ואדון האדונים אלהי השמים
והארץ וכל מה בעלאי וארעי
מברי ומקבץ.
- 18 ויען אתו ואמר איך לא יעבדו
הגלולים והתמונות וישבקו
עבדת דלא תהזי לה העינות
דלית בתפני לו בכל המכונות
אנחנו האדום דגלולים
במכונינו מתכוונות.

ענינו נפשותינו ולהם צרינו עד
באלהותינו יאמרו ולא אחד מהם
שמע למימרינו.

20 ויענו אותו ואמר אין לא ישמעו
אלינו ויעזבו אלהיהם וישתחוו
ויבדחו לאלהינו הן מה נעשה
אנחנו לא נאשיר בהם בשמת חיים
פן באלהיהם יכעסו אתנו.

21 ונודע זה הדבר לעיני השמרים
ואזדזעת בהם אברים וצפרת
לבביהם משתברים.

22 ואחר כן הלך לוי והמלך בשרתו
להר הקדש הרגרזים הר יהוה
ומכון שבתו.

23 וכד אתשיג לראש ההר צעק העוף
עבריוס כפי אמנותא ומפתרה
עברי אה אדבי.

24 ואמר להם הסקוף הרב מה הוא זה
ואתא מר לו זה עוף בחשת במובא
שמרי לזה ההר יצעק עבריוס.

25 ואמר להם אראה אתו יצעק ולא
יעזב הצעקה ראו פן יהיה ממצא
בזה ההר איש שמרי הכו אתו ואסחו
אתנו מקול זה העוף.

26 ושלחו אנשים יחפשו בהר ובקצתיו
ולא מצאו אחד מן השמרים.

28 ויבא הסקוף הרב לוי אל הכנשה
דבהר אל האדום ושבו כל השופטים
והפוקדים בין ידיו והעוף
הבחשת יצעק בקולות תועבות

המבחר הר גרזים בית אל ויעל
בתשמישותיו המלך.

23 ויהי כבאם לראש ההר ויצעק
עוף הבחשת אשר ההוא ממע'
הנחשים (עבריוס) כהסכבתו
לעת ימצא בהר ההוא איש מעדת
בני ישראל יצעק (עבריוס)
ומפתרה בלשון הקדש עברי
בי אדבי.

24 ויאמר (האסקף) הגדול והוא
לוי מה זה ויאמרו לו זה
עוף מן בחשת ממעשה הנחשים
הניחו אתו במק' הזה אחינו
ראשי (הרומים) על אדות עדת
בני ישראל השמרים כי לעת
ימצא מהם איש בהר הזה יצעק
(עבריוס).

25 ויעז (האסקף) אתם לאמר
אראנו עתה לא ישבית מן
הצעקה לכו ראו ומששו את כל
ההר הזה וכי תמצאו איש מעדת
בני ישראל השמרים הכו אתו
עד בנח מקול צעקות זה העוף.

26 וישלחו אנשים רבים לרגל
את כל ההר על איש מעדת בני
ישראל השמרים וילכו וימששו
את כל פאתי ההר ההוא ולא
מצאו איש עברי בו.

27 ויבאו אל המלך ואל כל
אנשיו ויאמרו אליהם מששנו
את כל ההר ולא מצאנו בו
איש עברי.

28 ויבא אחרי כן (האסקף) אל
בית הכנשה אשר על ראש ההר
וישב שם וכל הזקנים וכל
הראשים עמדו לפניו ועוד
הבחשת מצעק בקול גדול ורע

(עבריום) ולא ישובית מן צעקותו
רגע אחת ארך הלילה ההוא עד
היות הבקר.

29 ויפן לוי ויאמר אל הבערים אשר
מששו בכל ההר המששתם את כל
פאתי ההר זה ולא ראיתם בו איש
עברי מן השמרים.

30 ויענו ויאמרו בי אדני מששנו את
כל פאתי ההר כאשר צויתנו ולא
מצאנו בו איש עברי מעדת בני
ישראל לא קטן ולא גדול.

31 ויאמר לוי אכן העוף הזה בא
עליו שגיעון כי בעלו בחסר ממנו
ועתה לא בשאר בו לבו צריכה בלתי
רעות רוח ומכאוב לראשינו יהיה
מאת קול צעקו הרע ובליל תמול
חסרנו מן הנושן.

32 ויאמר לו המלך ועתה אדני מה
תחפץ בעשה בו ויאמר לו שברו אתו
והשליכו את בחוץ.

33 וימהרו וישברו את ההעוף ההוא
וישליכו אתו בחוץ כאשר צוה

ויפגע זה בלילת ראש חדש השביעי.

34 ויהי מקץ שלשית הלילה ההיא כארבע
שעות מראש הלילה ויישנו כל הפקדים

וכל הזקנים והראשים וגם המלך
ואנשיו אשר היו עמו כי השקיהם מן
היין והשכר ויפצרו בם עד כי שתו
משתה רב וישכרו ויישנו.

35 וירא לוי כי משל המשתה בם מאד עד
כל איש מהם היה לא ידע הימין מן
השמאל ויצום עד הן ישכבו ויקמו
וישכבו ותרדימה נפלת עליהם עד
מאד.

36 בשעה ההיא עמד לוי על רגליו ויקח
את חרבו בידו וילך וירד מן
הרגרזים בית אל דרוש את דדו המלך

עבריום ולא עזב הצעקה
בארך זאת הלילה עד
בקר.

29 ואמר לוי אל הבערים
דהלכו יחפישו הלוא
תפשתם בהר ובאצליו.

30 וענו ואמרו אחפשונו
ולא אחד מן השמרים
מצאנו.

31 ואמר בלא פג כי זה
העוף הנחשת חרף ולא
בשאר לנו בו צריכה
כי חרטמיו אתחסר ולא
יתרון בו אלא יגר
לראשינו בצעקו ובלילה
דאזלת חסך אתנו טוב השבתן.

32 ואמר לו המלך אשר אתו
אה אדובן איך תתריח

בעשה בו ואמר להם שברו
אתו והשליכו אתו בחוץ מעלינו.

33 שם שברו אתו והשליכו אתו
וזה היה בלילת ראש
החדש השביעי.

34 וכד אזל שלשית הליל הראש
ונגַע יאכל הפקודים אשר
אתו והמלך והעסכר והקסמים
ובלעדס והגמי אתם מן המשתה
ופצרו עליהם בכין.

35 והם לא יכלו לו ימירו ושתו
רב ושכרו ואסתולל עליהם
השכר וצוה אתם בישן. אַאֲ

36 וקעם לוי בזאת השעה ולקח
חרבו בידו וירד מן ההר
הקדש דרש דדו בבא רבה

הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה בקרית עמרטה
כי ידע הוא כי מושב דדו הזוכיר
שם.

37 והמלך הצדיק בבא רבה כשמעו
את הדבר אשר דבר בו (האסקף)
הגדול והוא בן אחיו לוי הקהל
את כל ראשי וזקני עדת בני ישראל
השמרים על האמת אליו לקרית עמרטה.

38 והם פחדים הלבב יראים בביכים לא
ידעו איך יעשו באיש הזה אשר הנא
(האסקף) אשר בחם בהכותם ואיך
ישיגו לפאתו ויתנצלו מן רעתו.

39 והנה כי הם בביכים בגלל הדבר הזה
ולוי עמד על הדלת ויכה אתו במעט
מעט ותרבה יראתם ופחדם גדל מאד
ולא יוכל אחד מהם יפתח את הדלת
ויראה מי הוא המכה.

40 ויקם המלך הצדיק בבא רבה בנפשו
ויקומו עמו כל הנשיאים וילכו
לראות את אשר על הדלת.

41 ויהי כי פתחו אל הדלת וייראו
והנה הוא (האסקף) הגדול עמד על
הדלת בנפשו ולא יוכלו ידברו עמו
דבר כי נבהלו מפניו לעת ראיתם
אתו.

42 וימהר לוי ויפל על רגלי דדו המלך
הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה וינשק אתם
ויקח גם את ידיו בידיו וינשק אתם
ויפל כן על צוארו ויבך.

43 ויאמר בלשון הקדש לשון העברי
אמותה הפעם אחרי ראיתי פניך כי
עורך חי.

44 וידע המלך הצדיק בבא רבה (כי האסקף)
הגדול הוא לוי וכי בן אחיו הוא.

45 בעת ההיא צעקת שמחה גדלה היתה
במקום ההוא בין בבא רבה ובין כל
הנאספים מעדת בני ישראל השמרים.

בקרית עבודתה למודעה
כי הוא שם.

37 וגדלות בבא רבה כד שמע
הממלל דמללו הסקוף הרב
אסף השמרים אתו.

38 והם יראים בביכים איך
יהיה עובדם בזה הסקוף
דשפט בהכותם ואיך יהיה
משיגותם אליו ומצילותם
מן רעותו וגברותו.

39 ובין מה הם בזה הדבר
ואלא הדלת ידכה דך מעט
ואתרבי דחלון מכן ונפל
בלבביהם פחד יתר ולא
יכל אחד מן הנמצאים
יקום ויראה מן הוא
ידכה על הדלת.

40 שם קעם בבא רבה בנפשו
וקעמו לקעמיו כל נשיאי
העם ויצאו למען יראו
מן הוא אשר ידכה על הדלת.

41 וכד אתפתח הדלת ועמו והנה
עמד על הדלת הסקוף הרב
וכד עמו אתו אדזעו
וארתתו.

42 ולוי מהר ובגש ועקד
בין רגלי עביביו בבא רבה
ואחר בשקותו רגליו עקד
על צואריו.

43 ואמר אמותה הפעם אחרי
ראיתי פניך כי עורך חי.

44 שם אתקסט בבא רבה כי
זה הסקוף הוא בן אחיו לוי.

45 מה רב השמח דשרא בשעה
ההיא בלב בבא רבה ובלב

- 46 וימהר בבא רבה ויקח ביד בן אחיו
ויבא בו למבית המקום וישבו על
ימינו.
- 47 ויחל בבא רבה וישאל את בן אחיו
על כל אשר עשה בימי גירתו בארץ
(הרומים).
- 48 ויספר (האסקף) לוי לבבא רבה את
כל הדברים אשר עשה באזבי כל
הנאספים שם ושמחתם תובף ותורם
מהללים ומשירים ומודים בקול
גדול רם ליי' אשר פלטם מכל
מגפה ומכל בקם.
- 49 ויהי כאשר כלה לוי לדבר אל דוד
אל בבא רבה ויסף עוד לדבר אליו
לאמר והיה בלילת מחר כחצית
הלילה חליצו אנשים בשאים את
חרבותם.
- 50 יהיו קרובים ממני שמעים את
מקראתי אליהם והיה כי יישבו העם
אמהר אני ואקום והכה את כל ערפם
בחרב קנאה ליי' יתקדש שמו ונכה
אתם ונשמידם ונמחה את שמם מתחת
השמים ועזרה מעם יי' אלהינו
תחת לבו ומן רעתם ישמרנו.
- 51 ויהי אחר כן ויקם לוי
ויעל אל ההר במהרה וימצא את כל
אנשי (הרומים) ישבים כלם ולא
ידעו ברדתו ולא בעלותו לראש ההר.
- 52 ויהי בלילת מוצא מועד חדש השביעי
ואמר עוד כי היא לילת מוצא מועד
השמיני עצרת.
- 53 וישלח המלך הצדיק בבא רבה אל
כל הערים אשר סביבו הישבים
בהם אנשים מעדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת ויאמר אליהם.
- 54 הווי חלוצים חמישים למלחמה והווי
נכונים עד חצי הלילה והיה
- מן היה מתשקח אתו מן
עמו.
- 46 שם לקח בבא רבה ביד
בן אחיו לוי ויבא בו
למקום אשר היו מתאספים
בו ועל ימינו השיבו.
- 47 ואחל ישאלו על מה היה
לו בזאת הלכותו.
- 48 ויען אתו ואגיד מה היה
לו במשמע הנמצאים מן
קהלו מיום הלך ליום
מעמדו על הדלת ובנשוקו
אתברך וצפרו דודו
ומשפחתו שמחים וחדים
וככן הנמצאים אשר היה
לבב כל מבין מרך.
- 49 ואחר כן אמר לדוד בבא
רבה בלילת מחר בחצי
הליל חלוץ אנשי המלחמה
בחרביהם.
- 50 ויהיו קרובים מני
ונכונים לצעקותי ואני
בעת ישכבו הנכרים אמהר
ואתקוי על מן ביצועתו
קויתי והכה צואר הנכרים
אשר אתי קנאה ליהוה
הרחום הרתי ונכס לפי
חרב ונמחה צרבתם ויהוה
בכזן ביצועתו וביכלתו
יהי לבו עזר בברכת
ארשינו דלא קרבונו זר.
- 51 וכד אתכלה החזי ביניהם
וקוממו על מה יעשו
בנגיפות שנאיהם קעם לוי
ועלה במהר להרגריזים
ומצאם שכבים ולא ידעו
ברדתו ולא במובאו.

52 ובזאת הלילה לילת מפקד מועד

החדש השבי' ואתאמר כי זה היה

בלילת מפקד מועד השמיני .

53 שלח בבא רבה לקריות דבהם

השמרים ואמר להם.

54 היו חלוצים מתכוננים למלחמה

לחצי הליל וכד תראו האש

אוקדת על ראש הגבעה דבהר

הקדש הכו הפוקדים אשר עמכם

דמן האדומים ולא תותירו מהם

אחד.

55 והמיתו מן היה מתפקד עליכם

והיה ימאן אתכם על קצמות

דגלי אימבותיכם וכל אשר

סביבותיכם ועל פי חרב כבסו

אתם על אחרייתם עד תתקראו

באחיכם ותהיו מתקבצים כלכם

באלון מורא אצל ההר הקדש.

56/57 ויהי בחצי הליל הקהלו עסכרי

בבא רבה ועלו להר הקדש ובבא

רבה היה פניהם וכד קרבו מן

ההר ומש לוי בקרבון מנה רץ

בקנאה וגברות ואצלחות מן אל

58 אלהי הרוחות. ונשל חרבו והכה

בו כל המלכים והקסמים וכל

מן. לגלולים ישתחוו.

59 וצעק בקול עלי לא היה כמו

יהוה גבור במלחמה יהוה שמו.

60 ושמעו קולו עסכרי השמרים

וענו אתו בזאת המימרים בקול

אחד.

כראותם את האש להבה על ראש

הגבעה אשר היא בראש המקום

המבחר הרגרזים בית אל והכיתם

הראשים והפקידים אשר עליכם

פאנשי (הרומים) לא תשירו מהם

שריד.

55 ואבדתם את כל פוקד עליכם מהם

ואת כל אשר ימצעו אתכם מן

קוממית אימבותכם ואת כל אשר

הם סביבתכם הכו אתם בחרב עד

כלותם עד תפגעו את אחיכם

ותאספו כלכם יחדו באלון מורא

אשר הוא אצל המק' המבחר הר

גרזים בית אל.

56 ויהי כחצית הלילה ויצבאו את

כל צבא המלך הצדיק בבא רבה

רצון יי' וסליחתו עליו אמן.

57 ויעלו כלם אל הר הקדש הקדש

הרגרזים בית אל והמלך הצדיק

הכהן בבא רבה היה הלך לפניהם

ויהי כמטוחי קשת בינם ובין

ראש הר הברכה הר גרזים בית

אל וידע לוי כי קרובים היו

ממנו ויקם בקנאה גדולה

ויקח את חרבו בידו ועזרה

מאת יי' יתקדש שמו היתה לו.

58 וידקר בחרבו את המלך ואת

אבשיו ואת כל (קסיס) אשר

היו במצאים בהר ההוא.

59 ויצעק לוי בקול גדול יי'

גיבור במלחמה יי' שמו.

60 וישמעו את קול צעקותו כל

מחנה בני ישראל השמרים

ויענו אתו יחדו קול אחד יי'

גיבור במלחמה יי' שמו.

- 61 ותחרד מקול צעקותם כל הארץ ובשעה
ההיא לא בשאר בהם מן חית השדה
רבץ בקבו כי אם כלם כשמעם את קול
העם בסו לקולם כי אמרו זאת הקולות
לא שמענו כמות מימים ימימה.
- 62 ואחרי כן קם לוי ודדו המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה ואת כל האנשים
אשר היו עמהם ויוקדו את האיש על
ראש הגבעה אשר היא בראש הר הנחלה
הר גרזים בית אל עד יראו אתה את
כל עדת בני ישראל השמרים הישנים
בערים ויעשו ככל אשר צוה אתם המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה.
- 63 ויהי כראות העם היושבים בערים
ובחצר ובכל מקום את להבות האש
ויקמו ויכו את כל הראשים ואת כל
הפקידים אשר היו פוקדים עליהם
מעדת (הרומים) לא השאירו מהם שריד.
- 64 ויקמו עדת בני ישראל בלילה ההוא
ויהרסו את כל בתי כזשיות (הרומים)
ואת כל מקומותיהם וימחו את שמם
מן הר השכינה הרגרזים בית אל.
- 65 למן היום אשר עשו עדת בני ישראל
השמרים על האמת את הדבר הזה באבשי
(הרומים) היו ילידי השמרים יוקדו
את עץ הסכות בלילת מוצא מועד
השמיני עצרת אשר הוא חתמת מוע'
י' ובשאר זה המעשה זכרון בינם
עד היום הזה.
- 66 ואחרי כן אשיר המלך הצדיק בבא
רבה ואת כל זקני העם את השירה
הזאת:-
- 67 יי' אלהינו רעינו לא נחסר דבר.
- 68 ליי' הארץ ומלואה השכינה וכל
היושבים בה.
- 61 וככך עבו אתם בה כל
השמרים אשר שמעו קולותם
בצעקה אחדה גדלה חזקה
ולא בשאר בזאת השעה
עוף והחיה אשר בקיניהם
בהר ובבקע אלא אתחרקו
ברחוקה מרב קולותם דבבקע.
- 62 ואף גם זאת לוי ודדו
בבא רבה והעסכרים אשר
אתם אוקידו האש על ראש
הגבעה אשר בהר הקדש
למען יראוה השמרים
השכונים בקריות ויעשו
כאשר צוה אתם בבא רבה.
- 63 וכד עמו שכוני הקריות
האש רצו וכל הפוקידים
הכו אשר מן האדום ולא
בשאר מהם אחד אלא לו
הרגו.
- 64 ובשאר השמרים ארך זאת
הלילה והם בכבשתון
ישרפו ומחו אתם מחוץ
ומבית ולא בשאר לאדומים
צרבת.

- 69 כי הוא על ימים יסדה ועל נהרים
כוננה.
- 70 אליך יי' אלהינו נשא את פנינו.
71 אלהינו בך בטחנו ולא תרפנו ולא
יצחקו אויבינו עלינו.
72 כי כל קוין לא יטרפו
יטרפו הבוגדים חנם.
73 כי יי' ישוענו ממה נירה
כי יי' בידו חיות בפשותינו
ממה בפחד.
- 74 ויהי כי קרבנו הרשעים לאכל את בשרנו
צרינו ואיבינו כשלו ונפלו.
75 כי יחן עלינו מחנה רב לא יירא לבב
אם תקום עלינו מלחמה לא נפחד;
כי הוא מפלטנו.
- 76 שאלה מאת יי' אתה נבקש
שובתינו במקומו הר הברכה
הר הקדשה הר הנחלה והשכ'
המקום המבחר הרגריזים בית אל.
77 וירום את ראשינו על אויבינו
אשר סביבותינו ויקום את רצונו
ויראה את משכנו לעינינו
ונזבח על מזבח את קרבנינו.
78 ונראה לכן ולא עתה
נשורנו ולא קרוב
דרך כוכב מיעקב וקם שבט ישראל
ומחץ פאתי מואב וקדקד כל בני שת.
79 והיה אדום ירשה ואחר הדבר
וישראל עשה חיל.
80 וברוך אלהינו לעולם וברוך שמו לעולם ועד.

§20

- 1 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה וישמעו אנשי
(הרומים) אשר הם יושבים בערי (המוצל)
1 ואחר כן שמעו האדומים
אשר באסורה מה קם על
חבריהם מן בבא רבה.
בכל אשר עשו עדת בני ישראל השמרים
על האמת באנשיהם.

- 2 ויקצפו קצף גדול ויחר אפם עד
מאד ויאספו אנשים רבים על
הספר ויבאו דרשים את המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה ואת כל עמו
השמרים.
- 3 ויגד אל בבא רבה בעבורם ולא
רץ ממקומו עד השיגו לאצל עיר
שכם הקדושה.
- 4 וירץ המלך בבא רבה ויצא
לקראתם למקום ההוא ויעש
עמם מלחמה.
- 5 ויתן יי' אתם בידו ויך אנשים
רבים מהם והנשואים בסו מפניו
וירדף אחריהם דרך יום אחד.
- 6 וישב למקומו משיר ומהלל את
יי' אלהיו יתברך שמו לעולם ועד.
- 7 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה
ויאמר אל מלך רומה ואל כל עמו
אנשי (הרומים) הישבים בערי
(המוצל) עשו מלחמה עם המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה ויכם הוא וכל
עמו והנשואים מהם בסו מפניהם
וירדפו אחריהם דרך יום אחד
ואשר המיתו אתו מאנשי הרומים
לא יספרו כי רבים הם.
- 8 ויהי כשמע מלך רומה את הדבר
הזה וכי כן עשה המלך הצדיק
בבא רבה הוא ועמו באנשי
(המוצל) ויקצף קצף גדול ויחר
אפו.
- 9 וישלח ויאסף אנשים למלחמה
רבים על המספר עד כי חדל
לספר וישלחם להלחם עם המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה ועמו השמרים.
- 2 ויחר אפם עליו ואספו
בוראים גדולים ובאו
דרשים לבבא רבה
ואתגיד לו דבריהם.
- 3 ולא פג לבו מהם
עד אתשגו
בקרוב שכם.
- 4 שם צא לקראתם
ונפלת המלחמה ביניהם.
- 5 ושם לו יהוה נצחן
עליהם ושבר אספם ומשל
בהם והכה הרב מאתם
והנשואים בסו מגוסת חרב.
- 6 ובבא רבה שב למקומה וליהוה
ישתבח שמו עלת התמיד הקריב.
- 7/8 ואחר זאת המלחמה
אתשיג הדבר אל אסכנדריה -
וזאת אסכנדריה היא העיר
דבנה אתה אסכנדר פקד רומיה
ומלך רומיה הוא המלך הגדול -
וקצפו מזה הדבר.
- 9 ואספו עסקרי המלחמה רבים
לא תספר מרב ושלחו
אתם למלחמות בבא רבה.

- 10 ויהי כשמע בבא רבה במונאם ויצא לקראתם ותפל המלחמה ביניהם.
- 11 ויתפלל ליי' לאמר אדוני יי' כהסכנתם עמי אתן את אלה האנשים הרשעים בידי.
- 12 ויעתר לו יי' ויתנם בידו ותהי המלחמה בין מחנה המלך הצדיק בבא רבה ובין מחנה (הרומים) בעיר (עסכור) ויתן יי' ביד מחנה השמרים ויכום עד לא נשאר מהם בלתי מספר מעט.
- 13 וימהרו וינסו מפני עדת בני ישראל השמרים וילכו עד באו על מלכיהם ויגידו להם את כל אשר עשה בהם המלך הצדיק בבא רבה הוא ועמו השמרים.
- 14 ויאמרו אליהם הכו מכה רב ממנו וחולל בזהם לא ראינו.
- 15 ויחר אף מלכי (הרומים) על המלך הצדיק הכהן בבא רבה ועל כל השמרים עמו.
- 16 וימהרו ואספו מחנה רב עד מאד רבים על המספר עד כי חדל לספר כי אין מספר.
- 17 ויאמר אל המלך בבא רבה דע כי מחנה רב הבאים אליך מאת מלכי הרומים אלפים ורבבות.
- 18 ויאסף המלך בבא רבה אליו את כל זקני וראשי ושטרי עמו ויגד להם בדבר הזה.
- 19 ויכתבו ספרים מאתם אל כל ערי עדת בני ישראל השמרים ויגדו אליהם במונא מחנה הרומים במספר רב לא ימני להלחם עם עדת בני ישראל השמרים.
- 10 וצא בבא רבה לקראתם ואפיל החרב בהם.
- 11 ובקש מיהוה יתן לו בצען עליהם.
- 12 ושמע יהוה ישתבח שמו בקעתו ונפלת המלחמה ביניהם בקרית מחבים ואסתולל עליהם והכה הרב מהם.
- 13 והנשארים נסו עד אתשגו למלכיהם ואמרו על מה היה לחבריהם מן בבא רבה דנגף אתם.
- 14 והגידו להם כי עסקרי בבא רבה לא בפקד איש מהם.
- 15 ואתוסיף חרובם.
- 16 ומהרו וקבצו עסקרים אלפים ורבבות מתכמרים כחול הים ולא יוכלו יספרו אתו הספרים.
- 19 וכד שמע בבא רבה ומעיני עמו השמרים במה עשו המלכים כתבו לעדת השמירים הנשארים עד יבאו מכל מכוון לסעדותם על מלחמות דבניהם הממרים.

- 20 וישלחו אליהם את כל איש מלחמה
ויהאספו כלם בעיר המלך בבא רבה
והיא קרית עמרתה ומספרם עשרת
אלפים איש נשא כלי מלחמה מבין
עשרים שנה ועד בין ארבעים שנה.
- 21 וינח אתם בבא רבה בערים אשר
סביב לקרית עמרתה.
- 22 ויבא המגיד ויגד למלך בבא רבה
דע כי אויבך באו אליך במספר
רב לא ימני.
- 23 ויירא המלך הצדיק בבא רבה מאד
ויצר לו ויעתר ליי' בזאת
התפלה והוא מתפני למקום המבחר
הר גרזים בית אל ויאמר:-
- 24 אדני יי' עליך בטחתי לא תרפני
ובצדקתך פלטני .
- 25 אהיה במהר מזה הלחץ הצילני
והיה לי ולכל קהלי לצור
ופלטם ופלטני כי צור לי אתה
וחרב גאותי ומגבי.
- 26 בסוד שמך הקדוש תבחי ותנהלני
אלהי הוציאני וגם כל עמי מן
הרשת אשר טמנו לנו אויבי
כי אתה צור לנו.
- 27 בידך נפקיד את רוחינו פדי אתנו
אל רחום ורחון ארך אפים ורב
חסד ואמת.
- 28 אלהינו שנאנו השמרים הבלי שוא
ועליך בטחנו נשמחה בחסדך.
- 29 כי תראה את דלותינו
וביד אויב לא תסגירנו.
- 30 מכונו רחמנו, רחמנו מכונו
כי צר לנו כי כלו ביגון ימי חיינו
וימי חיי אבותינו מפנינו.
- 31 כשל בעונינו את כחינו
ונמסו את עצמינו.
- 20 שם רצו ובפני בבא רבה
אתקבצו ומספרם היה
עשרת אלף אנשי מלחמה
מתחגר כל מזון בכלי
מלחמתו התמימה.
- 21 ושלח להם בבא רבה
הקריות מכרתים.
- 22 ואחר כן אתשיג הדבר אל
בבא רבה כי שנאיך הלכו
לך רבנות ואלפים נעותים
לא ימני מספרון מסתובבים
מן הפאתים.
- 23 ועמד בבא רבה בין ידי יהוה
ישתבח שמו ואתנפל אליו
ובקש מנה ואתפני להר הקדש
וסגד בתם לבבו ונפשו ישים
לו בצען על שנאיו דמבקשים
לו יכחשו; ואורין מן
התשבחות והתהללות.

- 32 חרפה לכל אויבינו היינו
בשחנו כמת מלב
והינו ככלי ריק.
- 33 עליך בטחנו כי אתה אלהינו ואלהי
אבותינו.
- 34 בידך רוחינו
הצילנו מיד אויבינו ורודפינו.
- 35 האירה פניך אלינו
ובחסד אושיענו.
- 36 אדני לא נבוש כי אליך אתפללנו
ואויבינו בחפצך בשאול ישכנו.
- 37 מה רב טובך אדני
אשר הצפנת ליראיך.
- 38 ועשית אתו לקוים את ישועתך
חסתירם בנסתרתך מכעסות הרשעים
תצפנם בסכות מקצאת החטאים.
- 39 ברוך יי' אשר על כל העמים הפלאנו.
- 40 אחבו את יי' בני אהביו
אמונים נצרים יי'
כי הלכו בדרכיו.
- 41 חזקו ואמצו לבבכם
כל ההלכים על שביל תורותיו.

§ 21

- 1 ויהי כאשר כלה המלך בבא רבה מן
תפלותו ומקראתו הלך אל המקום
הקרוב אל מכון המלחמה אשר ידע
כי שם תהיה המלחמה בינו ובין
אויביו ויצפן שם בקברים אנשים
מאבשי הצבא.
- 2 ויצו אתם לאמר והיה כי תראו
המלחמה נפלת ביבנו ובין אויבינו
במכון המלחמה וצעקתי עליכם בקול
גדול ואמרתי ישבי הקברים עקרוני
- 1 ובכלות צלותו ותפלותו
הלך למקום הקרוב מן
המכון אשר ידע תהיה
המלחמה בו, ושם לו
מן עסכריו אורב בקברות.
- 2 ואמר להם אן ראיתם המלחמה
נפלת ביבנו שם וצעקתי
עליכם בעלאות קולי ואמר
אה מן בקברים שכובי עתה

קומו ועל שבאי עזרובי.

ודבקובי ויצאתם מן הקברים ואמרתם
אל תירא באנו אליך אל תירא ונתתם
את החרב בכל האויבים.

3 ויהי מספר האנשים אשר הצפנם
המלך בבא רבה בקברים חמשה אלפים
איש.

4 ויהי כקרב המלך בבא רבה ואנשי
צבאים מן האויבים ויתקעו הכהנים
בחציצרות וישאו כל העם את קולם
ויצעקו קול אחד בקול גדול יי'
גיבור במלחמה יי' שמו ותחרד הארץ
מקול צעקותם.

5 והמלחמה נפלת ביניהם ובין אויביהם
ומלחמה גדלה היתה בעצם היום הזה
אשר כמוה לא נהיתה בימים ההם.

6 שם עסק המלך בבא רבה בקול גדול
בתוך המה' לאמר ישבי הקברים
עזרובי ודבקובי ותדם אנשי (הרומים)
מקול צעקותו.

6 שם צעק המלך בבא רבה בקול גדול
בתוך המה' לאמר ישבי הקברים
עזרובי ודבקובי ותדם אנשי (הרומים)
מקול צעקותו.

7 וכד אמר כן צאו האנשים
האורבים אמרים אה מלך
עדת העברים אל תירא ואל
תחת מן אלין הממרים עתה
באנו לעזרך ואשר נשארנו
מן המיתים הם באים עליך
אחרינו מכל מכוון.

7 וימהרו האנשים אשר הצפנם בתוך
הקברים ויצאו ויאמרו בקול גדול
אל תירא בבא רבה באנו אליך כלנו;
אל תירא בבא רבה וכל המיתים יבאו
אחרינו מכל מקום.

8 וכד עמו עסקרי האדום כן
אתותרו כי זה הדבר קשט
ונפלת עליהם הרעה ודחלו
דחלה גדלה ואזדזעת אברון
ואתשברת צלעון ממה חזון;
ושמעו מן עזרות המיתים
הן מה אתותרו ונסו לחצרות
ונפלת עליהם אימה ופחד.
9 ובצען יהוה ארשינו בני
ישראל השמירים בצען רב,
ויהוה היעדינו.

8 ויהי כראות את אנשי צבא (הרומים)
את הדבר הזה חשבו כי אמת היה הדבר
ותפל עליהם אימה ופחד וירגזו ויבסו
מפני המלך בבא רבה ומפני אנשי
המחנה אשר היו עמו.

9 ויתנם יי' ביום ההוא ביד המלך
בבא רבה ויכסם וירדפם עד סוף ארץ
עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת.

10 וזאת המלחמות אשר זכרנו אתם מטרם
עם זאת המלחמה כלם היו מאחרי הן בא
לוי בן אחי המלך בבא רבה מערי
(הרומים).

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17 ובגלל זה אחלת המלחמות
והמריבות בינו ובין
האדומים ובשאר בנא רבה
יעשה עשות מן מכר בפשו
ואבד כל עמו בשביל אלה
עד אתקשטו מלכי האדום
כי בנא רבה אסובו חזק
מתכונן למלחמותם ואיננו
ילא מן שלטנותם וגבורתם.
18 כי שנים רבים הצר עליהם
ועזרו יהוה ושתבח שמו
על בגיפותם רצון יהוה
הסליחתו עליהם ועל אבהתו
דקעם מן זרעם.

..... על יד באמן

ביתו אדון הנביאים משה בן
עמרם עליו השלום לעולם עד כל
מלכי (הרומים) יעו כי המלך
בנא רבה יוכל על מלחמותם חזיק
הלב ואמץ לבב עתיד לכל מלחמה
לא ילא מקראתם.

18 כי שנים רבים עשה עמם מלחמות
ויתן יי' את כלם בידו.

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1 ואחר כן אתחסד את מלך
אלקסטב' כי יעלים על
בנא רבה הצדיק והמובא
אליו.
2 וזה החזי היה קעום על
שלשה החזות וכך
בתדבירותו ובתדבירות
בביאתו ואנשי ממלכתו
דמן עדתו.
הראש
למען יראו גאות בנא רבה
הל הוא ימצא אתו קוממה
למלחמות רב מכן אם לא
כי בלאם ממה עשה בהם
ועם זה עת אתשיג הדבר
להם כי גרש הישמעאלים
ושבר אתם ואשבי מהם
טובות רבות וכי הוא בלא
מן רבות המלחמות דנפלת לו.

1 ויהי אחר הדברים האלה וייטב בעיני
מלך עיר (קסטבטינה) ידרש מן המלך
הצדיק בנא רבה שלום וידרש ממו
יבא אליו אל עיר (קסטבטינה) עיר
כסא ממלכתו.

2 והדבר הזה היה בעיצות מלך הרומים
אשר בעיר (קסטבטינה) ובעיצות את
כל אנשי ממלכתו על אדות שלשה
מאומים.

3 (הראש) כי דרשו ידעו את כח המלך בנא
רבה היש עמו יכולה לעשות עמם מלחמות
רב מזה כי הם בלאה מפניו ועם זה כי
שמעו כי גרש את (הערבים) הישמעאלים
וירדפם ויבז את כל אשר עמם מצאן
ובקר וגמלים וחמורים וכסף וזהב
מקנה כבד מאד לא יספר או לא יוכל
לעט' מלחמה אחרי כן כי בלא.

- 4 (השני) דרשו יכרתו את זאת השבאה אשר היתה בינם ובין המלך הצדיק בבא רבה ובין כל עמו עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת כי לא יכלו עוד כיבו אבשי צבא למלחמה בכל עת לשלח אתם למלך בבא רבה כי אויבים רבים היו להם בלתי עדת השמרים.
- 5 (השלישי) אמרו אולי במשל על המלך בבא רבה אשר הוא הגלל להקים את כל המלחמות האלה ולהרוג את אנשים רבים צן אבשי צבאות המלחמה אשר שלחו עליו מאתם.
- 6 ושם מלך (קסטבטיב) אשר היה בעת ההיא (פילפוס) ויכתבו הוא וכל אנשיו למלך בבא רבה.
- 7 וישלח לו מלאכים מן ראשי ממלכתם ויבידם ספר מן מכתב יד המלך (פילפוס) וזה אשר כתב לו בספר הזה:-
- 8 שלום לך אדוני המלך בבא רבה אנכי דרוש מן אדוני המלך הגדול הנכבד בבא רבה יתן את שיאלך משרתו מלך קסטבטנה בעת ההיא ויכבדו וילך ויבא אליו אל העיר הזאת וישב אתנו ימים עד נראה את כבודו ואחרי כן ישוב בשלום למקומו.
- 9 ויהי כבוא את ספר המלך (פילפוס) עם ראשי המלך ויתנו אתו ביד המלך בבא רבה ויקרא את הספר וידע את כל הדברים האלה.
- 10 ויאמר המלך בבא רבה למלאכי המלך (פילפוס) אבי יש עמי יכולה להלחם עם מלך (קסטבטיבה) ארך ימי חי וכן עמי עדת בני ישראל השמרים רבים על המספר ואבשי הצבא הנמצאים תחת ידי כלם חזיקי הלב.
- 11 וייראו המלאכים מאשר ראו אתו ממעשה בבא רבה.
- השני 4 מדרשו בכך חדלות השבאה דביניהם ובין בבא רבה ועמו ועמו כל בשאר בבטשם הנכונות בכל עת לעסכרים וחלוצותם על בבא רבה.
- השלישי 5 אולי ימשלו על בבא רבה אשר הוא היה גלל זה חמות האף והכות הרב מן העסכרים.
- 6 ומלך אלקסטבטיבה היה יתקרי שמה פילפוס וכד קעם חזוה והחזי אנשי משפטו כי יכתבו לבבא רבה ויעלימו עליו המובא אתם.
- 7 שלח המלך הזוכיר שרים לבבא רבה מן השרים הבגישים וכתב בכיר ידו מכתב לבבא רבה ונתן אתו להם למען במובאם יתנהו לו; וזה מה בו מתכתב:-
- 8 תחמדותי מן אדונך המלך הגדול בבא רבה יטיב על המלכים בקדשיו וילך אליבו אל אלקסטבטיבה ויהיה קעם אתנו ימים מעטים עד נתמלי בחזותה ואחר כן ישוב למקומו בשלום.
- 9 וזה היה בכנע מן מלך האדום ואבשיו הך מה קדמנו ולקחו השרים המכתב והלכו והשיגו למקום גדלות בבא רבה הרב ונתנו לו המכתב.

- 12 רבנא רבה הזוכיר אסף את כל זקני וראשי עמו וגם אביו ובנו ואת כל בני משפחתו ויקרא אליהם את ספר המלך (קסטבטנה) ויספר להם את רצו.
- 13 ויאמר אליהם אני מדרשי אלך לאצל המלך פילפוס מלך (קסטבטנה).
- 14 ויענו אתו אביו הכהן הגדול בתן אל וזקני העם וראשי ושטרי וכל הנאספים לפניו מה זה הדבר אשר זממת לעשות אתו ואיך תחפץ עתה תלך ותעזב העם אחריך כילדים רכים הרף מהם אביהם ויעזובם בביכים לא ידעו מה יעשו ועם זה כי יי' יתקדש שמו הרחיב לבו על ידך.
- 15 ויגשו זקני העם ושטרי ויאמרו אליו לאמר קוינו אדונינו מן כבודך לא תעשה את הדבר הזה אשר דברת לפנינו כי בירא אנחנו בשוב אחרי הלכותך לדלותינו ולחצנו ובלאותינו ומסכיותינו ומצוקנו ומוצרנו הראשנים.
- 16 כי אתה תדע כי כבדה עתה השנאה והאויבה ביננו ובינ (הרומים) בגלל המלחמות אשר עשינו עמך ומכות אנשיהם.
- 17 קוינו ממך אדונינו הן תעמד ולא תרחק את בפשך ממנו ולא תרף את עצמך מעלינו ולא תעזבנו פן ילעגו בנו אויבינו.
- 18 ויען אתם המלך בבא רבה לא שמעו בני אני עתה אלך אל עיר (קסטבטנה).
- 10 וקראו וידע מה בו מתכתב ופני השרים אגלי גאות הלב וכי לו יכולה על מלחמות כל אויב בארך ימי חיותו במדינת אלקסטבטינה ובלעדה וימחה מה לו מן צרב ועמו בני ישראל הכבי מספרו לא ימצי כוחו מתודע בין כל הכרבי.
- 11 ואזדזעו השרים ממה חזו מבה ומן ממלליו הרביאלי.
- 12 וכד אתשיג לידה המכתב וקרא אתו אסף אביו וילידו וכל סדר משפחתו ואבשיאי ישראל עותו והודיע אתם מה מתכתב במכתב דהתשיג אל ידו מן המלך.
- 13 והחל ידבר אתם עתה זממתי הלך למלך הזוכיר ולא אתאחר מכן.
- 14 וענו כהלון ואמרו מה הדבר דזממת עליו ואיך יתבטש עמך תלך ותעזב משפחתך ועמך וישארו אחריך כטפלים קטנים עזב אתם אביהם וכל מבון לו ימך ויצפרו בביכים ולא ימצאו מן לידיהם יסמך ויהוה בפש לחצון מיום קדומך.
- 15 ונגשו אל בין ידי ראשי העם ודמעיו ומללו אתו והוא ישב במקוהיו ואמרו בבקש מן כבודך אה אדוניך בחסר מהלכך וחרקותך מפנינו ובירא מזה הרעות תקראנו.
- 16 ויראו בנו דבנינו דעדפת השנאה בינם ובינו.

- 17 נדרש מן איקור חסר מפומן
מן אתר כי בפרקבן
לבנותו תוך ויסתולל
עלינו הפרך.
- 18 ויען להם גדלות בבא רבה
ואמר דעו אה העם הישר
אלא הלך למכון זה המלך
המתגבר.
- 19 ועתה משלם דברי לאלה
הצדיק והישר.
- 20 אולי זה יישר ותסור השנאה
דביבנו ובין עבודי אלהי
בכר ותשקע זאת אש המריבה
בכל מישר.
- 21 ואכרת את המלך ברית ובצפר
בבטח מתקשר.
- 22 כי לא נסתר עליכם אה דמע
הצבאות עתה צפרנו ברב
בלאות ואין נשאר בידנו
האות מלאות וזה דבר ילא
מבה מן באסמו המדלות
בסתרות ובגלאות מן המלכים
דישקו על פיהם הבוראות.
- 23 ובארשות אל אלהי הרוחות
קרוב אשוב עליכם ותקראנכון
השמחות ואן היה אה אחי הדבר
מלבד כן ואתקומם עלי דבר
איבנו מתודע ושפט עלי
בחסר שובתי הזמן ושטבי או
מבקש להכבי ולא שבתי בשלום
לבית אבי ועל ילידי לוי;
ועליכם אה מן כל מכס מאהבותו
מלוא לבי עתה לכם אצוה
(על ילידי לוי).
- 25 ועבו אתו ואמרו אה אדובן
דנודעת לבו בינתו וחכמתו
וטהרות לבבו ורבות קנאתו
- 19 וידעתם אתם כי אבי אשלמתי את
דברי ליי' לבדו יתקדש שמו.
- 20 אולי תהיה הלכותי אל מלך
(קסטנטינה) הגלל להסיר את
השנאה אשר היא ביבנו ובין
הגוים האלה ותכבי האש אשר
ביבנו וביבם עד היום הזה.
- 21 ואני עתה אחפץ הלכת לאצל המלך
(פילפוס) לעשות עמו שלום
ולכרת עמו ברית.
- 22 אחי לא יכסי עליכם כי הדבר
ארך עלינו ולא נשאר בנו כוח
לעשות עוד מלחמה עם אויבינו
כי זאת המלחמות ילאו מנון
המלכים הגדולים ואנחנו עתה
מה בלתי מספר מעט לא נוכל
לקום לעמד לפני המלחמות האלה.
- 23 ואנכי ברצון יי' יתברך שמו
אשוב אליכם קרוב והן התהפך
הדבר ויעשה לי דבר לא אדעו
או שפטו עלי בחרן שובתי אל
מקומי ואל ארצי או יהרגוני
להמית אתי אצוה אתכם על בני
לוי.
- 24 וזה לוי בנו מלבד בן אחיו לוי.
- 25 ויעבו אתו קול אחד לאמר
כי תדרש עתה תלך אל עיר
(קסטנטינה) כאשר דברת קח
אתך אנשים מן העם לשרתך
ולקום לפניך בארץ איבין עד
ידעו את כבודך ויק מיתובין.
- 26 ויען המלך בבא רבה את ראשי
העם לאמר לא אעשה כן כי אגור
מעשות דבר לא נדעו אין לבו
בו שמחה וכי יהיה הדבר עלי
לבדי טוב מעשותו באנשים רבים
מן העם.
- 27 רק עתה אנכי מצוה אתכם מצוה

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על הדת פרו ורבו אן
ההית איבנך לבו שמיע
ותלך מן מכונך הרמי
ותעזב זימונך ותחטך
יתן חננך עתה כלבו בלך
עמך למען כל מבון יהיה
משרתך ויקום במה הוא
לאוי לך ולא ישבק יתך
כי את הלך להערים דבי
הנכרים שרים לא ימצא
בה אחד מן עדת העברים
ובמצאנו אתך ידע כל
מבון רבות גליגותך
ועלות דרגותך.

26 ויען גדלות בבא רבה אל

ראשי העם לא אעשה כן
ואירא מן דבר איבנו לטוב
מכין אן היה עלי טב מה
יהיה על מספר רב מן קהלי.

27 אפס אצוה אתכם מצוה בי

בשמה תהיה לכם בזאת חצר
עלמה דלית מתקוממים בה אני
ואתם; ומצוותי היא אתכם
משמר מצוות יהוה בכל מאדיכם
אשר בתורותו הקדושה צוה
בה לכם עם משמר החקים
והמשפטים בטהרות לבניכם
ולא תעזבו המקרא בה כי
הוא חייכם ולמדו אתה
לבניכם.

28 וככך אל תיראו ואל תערצו

ואל תחפזו מפני איביכם
כי יהוה אלהיכם לא ירף
אתכם ולא יעזבכם ולא יפיר
הברית דכרתו את אבותיכם
על יד רום בניכם אדונן
משה בן עמרם עליו הצלות
והשלם.

יהיה לכם רב שמח בזה העולם וחיה
תמידה בעולם השבי והוא תהיה שמרים
את מצות יי' יתקדש שמו בתורותו
הקדושה ולא תשביתו מן המקרא בתורו
הקדושה בכל עת ולמדתם אתה אל
בניכם ולבנות' ולבני בניכם.
28 ואצוה אתכם אן תהיו אמצים וחזיקים
ולא תיראו ולא תחתו ולא תערצו כי
יי' אלהיכם יתקדש שמו לא יעזבכם
ולא ירפ' ולא יבזפכם ולא יפיר את
בריתו אשר כרת את אבותיכם ובניכם
הזבי הגדול משה בן עמרם עליו
השלום לעולם.

29 והשמרו פן יסורו לבנכם מן דרכיו

ילשמר את חקיו ומצותיו.

30 וידעתם כי את כל אשר יעשה יי' לעמו

בני ישראל השם' על האמת הוא נסות
מאתו להטיבם באחריתם.

31 אשרי לאשר שמר

ואוי לאשר סר מדרך האמת.

§23

1 ויהי כאשר כלה המלך הצדיק בבא

רבה ממצות את השמרים עמו תפש
ביד בנו לוי ודמעיו ירדים מעיניו
על לוחו כמטר.

2 ויגש בו לפני אביו הכהן הגדול

בתנאל וינשק את ידי אביו ויאמר
בי אדני זה בני לוי קח אתו מידי
כי אני מפקדך אתו.

3 ויפל עוד לפניו וינשק את רגליו

ויאמר בי אדני אשר יי' יתקדש
שמו הגלל לממצאי שמר את בני פרי
בטני והוי מרצה עליו בכל עת.

29 והשמרו פן תסורו מן הדרך
אשר הראכם.

30/31 ודעו כי כל מה יבא עליכם
הוא בסות מיהוה דבחר בכם
וחשק באבותיכם עד יתקומם
מה בשבע בו יען בזאת חצר
עלמה וטוב מן בכם על
הנסות לו קוממה.

§23

1 ובכלות בנא רבה מצורתו אל
העם תפש ביד ילידו לוי
ודמעיו רדת מן עיניו בזה
הפעם.

2 ושלם אתו אל אביו הכהן
בתבאל ואגיע לרגליו ובשק
אתם ואמר לו אה אבי זה
פקדנותי כי הוא כבוד לבני.

3 וגם גשה אליו שנית ובשק
רגליו השמאלת והימינית
ואמר לו אה אדוני ומלמדי
אה מן שמך יהוה לי בחי
ומעלצך הוה ממצאי שמר זה
ילידי והוי מתפלל בעבורו
לגדלות האלהים הרעי וארצה
עליו כי ברצונך יקום
שמחיו ושמחי.

4 ואתפני לכהן עקבון אחיו
וצוה אתו בגלל בנו קדם
מסעיו.

5 וככן צוה עליו הזקינים וראשי
העם ודמעיו ואמר להם אחי
ומאהבים לבי שמרו ילידי
אה זקיני העם למען יתקומם
לכם הטוב והנחם.

6 והוה זה מנה על שביל הרז.

4 ויפן אל אחיו הכהן עקבון ויאמר
לו אחי אני מצוך היום בגלל בני
לוי להורי אתו את הדרך הישרה.

5 ויפן אל כל זקני העם ויאמר
אליהם שמרו את בני זה עד יקום
לכם הטוב.

6 ויהי הדבר ממנו אליהם על שביל
הרומז.

7 וישכם המלך הצדיק בבא רבה
ויקם וילך עם מלאכי המלך פילפוס
מלך (קסטטינה) ויקמו את כל
אחיו ואת כל בני דדו ואת כל
קריבו ואת כל בני משפחתו ואת
כל זקני העם ואת כל ראשי העם
ואת כל שטריה וגם מן העם מספר
רב ויצאו למחוץ לעיר וישלחו
אתו וישבו איש למקומו.

8 ויבך בנו לוי ואחיו הכהן עקבון
והכהן פינחס; אז שלחו אתו וישבו
העירה שבירי הלב.

9 והמלך הצדיק בבא רבה הלך
עד השיג לגול ארץ עיר (קסטטינה)
וימהר איש אחד מן המלאכים וירץ
ויגד להמלך (פילפוס) במובא המלך
הצדיק מלך בני ישראל השמרים
בנא רבה אליו.

10 ויצו המלך (פילפוס) ויעבירו קול
בין עם הרומים יצאו כלם יחדו
לקראת המלך בבא רבה.

11 ויהי כמעט ויאספו כל אנשי צוה
המלך וכל ראשי עמו וכל (קסים)
וכל העם נשאים בידיהם (את
הצלבים) ואת הבעלים ויצאו לקראת
המלך בבא רבה למחוץ לעיר והם
מרבנים בצלותם.

7 ואחר כן רץ וקעס והלך
 עם שרי המלך דלחזותו
 לבו הם וצאו אחיו ובני
 דודו הטבים ככל סדר
 קריביו הלויים והזקינים
 ומן עדת השמרים אנשים
 רבים ובמחוץ העיר לו
 נשקו וישבו למקומיהם.
 8 והם בבכות יצעקו מתעכרים
 מן רחקו.
 9 וילך בבא רבה את שרי
 המלך וכד אתקרב למדינת
 אלקסטנטינה הלך אחד מן
 השרים והגיד אל המלך
 פילפוס במובא גדלות בבא
 רבה.
 10 שם שלח המלך מצעק יצעק
 במשמע יושבי העיר במוצאון
 כהלון לקראתו.
 11 ברגע אחת אתאספת העסכרים
 והקסמים והאנשים והנערים
 בגלולאן והזמיראן והצלואן
 וצאו לקראת בבא רבה.
 12 וככן המלכים אשר תחת
 פוקידת המלך יצאו כל
 מלך מנון וצבאו.
 13 ובעת אתקרבו לה אנסע
 המלך פילפוס מעל מרכבתו
 ומן אתו אנסעו וגדלות
 בבא רבה מעל מרכבו בשאר
 תארו מזרח הך צהר.
 14 כי לא נטשו המלך ירד
 ובעלאי על כל האנשים
 אתפרד.
 15 והוה זה היום יום גדול
 אצל המלך פילפוס ואנשיו
 במקדום בבא רבה אל העיר
 דבה מתנצב ערשיו בהדר רב
 והכל עמד לשמשיו.

12 ובעת ההיא היו כל מלכי (הרומים)
 אשר הם תחת ידו נמצאים (בעיר
 קסטנטינה) ויצאו כלם עם המלך
 פילפוס לקראת המלך בבא רבה.
 13 ויהי כאשר ראו את המלך בבא רבה
 ירדו כלם מעל רכבם ולא בשאר רכב
 על מרכבו בלתי המלך בבא רבה לבדו.
 14 כי דרש יעשה כאשר עשו ירד מעל
 רכבו וימצעו אתו ויאמרו לא אדבי
 עבדיך אנחנו עשינו את כה להכבידך
 כי חייב הוא עלינו.
 15 ויהי יום גדול (לרומים) היום הזה
 אשר בו בא המלך הצדיק בבא רבה
 למדינת (קסטנטינה) לא היה לפניו
 כמהו לכל המלכים.

1 ԼԿՆ ՀԹՈՒԼ ՏՏԻԼ ՆՍԵԼ ԵՐԱՍ ԽՏԵԼ՝
 ԽՈՂԼ ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ՀԱԳՂ ԵՂ ԵՐՍԼ ԼԵՐՈՒՄԼ
 6 ԼԿՆ ՀԵՐ ՀՈՒԼ ՆԼԻԵՐԵԼ ԽՈՂԼ ԵՐ
 ՀՈՒ ԽՏԵԼ ԵՐԱՍ ԽՏԵԼ ՏԼ ՀԵՐ ՈՒՄԼ՝
 ԼԿՆ ԵԼԴԻ ԵՂ ԽՐԻՍԼ ԼԵՂ ՏՏԻԼ ԵՂ
 ՀՈՒ ԽՏԵԼ ԼԿՆ ՀՏՆ ՈՂ ԽՏԵԼ ԽՏՆ
 8 ԼԴ ԵՐ ՀՏԻՍ ԽՈՂԼ ԵՐԻԵԼ ՆՍԵԼ ԵՂ
 ՀԵԼ ԽՈՒԼ ԵՐՀ ԽՈՒ՝
 ՆՍԼ ԵՐԵԼ ՀՈՒՄ ԽՈՒԼԵՍ ԼՈՒ ԽՈՒՄ
 ԽՈՒ ԽՏԵԼՈՒ ԵՐՀ ԼԼ ԼԼԼԼ ԼԵՐՍԵԼ
 ԽՈՂԼ ԼԴՀ ԵՂ ՏՈՒ ԼԵԼԵԼԼ ԵՐՀՀ ԽԵԼ
 7 ԼԽՈՂԼ ԵՐ ՀՏՈՒ ԵԼ ԼՏ ԽՈՒՄ ԽՈՒՄ ՏՀ
 ԽՈՒ ՏՀ ԴԼԼԽԵԼ ՏՀ ԴԼԵ ՈՒԵԼ ԵՐՈՒՄԼ՝
 9 ԼՈՒՄ ԵՐ ԵՐՈՒ ԽՈՒ ԵՐԵԼՈՒԵԼ ԼԵՐՆ
 ՀՏԻ ԵԼ ՆՈՒ ԴԵԼԵԼ՝
 ՆՍ ԵՐՈՒ ԵԼԵԼ ՏՀՆ ԵՐ ՀԼՏ ԵՐ ՀՆ
 ԵՐԵԼՈՒԵԼ ՏՀԵԼ ԼԿՆ ԵՐ ՏՀԵԼ ԼԵՐՀՈՒ
 ՈՒՒԼԼ ՀԵԼԵԼ ՀՈՒՄՈՒ ԼԴ ԽՈՒ ԵՐՈՒ
 5 ԼՏՀՆ ԽՈՒ ՀԵԼՀ ՏՀԵԼ ԼԿՆ ՀՏՆ ՈՂ
 ԵՐՈՒ ԵԼ ԼՈՒ՝
 7 ԼԴՈՒ ԽՈՒ ԽՈՒ ՆՍԵԼ ԵՐՈՒԵԼ ՀԼ ՀՆ
 ԵՐՈՒՄ ԼԵՐՈՒ՝
 ՏՈՒ ԼՈՒ ԵՂ ՆՈՒ ԽՈՒ ՈՂ ՆՍԵԼ ԵՐՈՒԵԼ
 ԴԵԼ ՈՒԵԼ ՏՀԵԼ ԼՈՒՄ ՆՍ ԵՂ ՆՈՒ
 ԵՐ ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ՈՂԼ ԿԼԼՀ ԼՈՒՄ ԽԼՏ ԵԼ
 5 ԼԵԿՈՒ ՀԵԼՀ ԽՈՂԼ ԼԵՐՈՒԼ ՏՀԵԼ ԼՏ
 ԵՐԵԼ՝
 ԼԵԼԴՈՒ ՆՈՒ ՆՈՒՄ ՀՆ ՈՒԵ ԽԵԼ ՀՆ
 ԵԼԴՈՒ ՆՈՒ ՆՈՒՄ ԵՐ ՆՈՒ ԼԵՐՈՒՄԼ
 2 ԼԵԼԼԼ ԽՏԵԼՈՒ ԽՏՀՈՒ ՀՈՒՄ ԵԼԴՈՒ
 ՆՏԵԼ ԵՐ ՏՀՀ ՈՒ ԵՐՈՒ՝
 ԽՈՂԼ ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ԵԼԵԼԼ ԼՈՒՄ ՈՒՒԼԼԼԵԼ
 ԽՈՂԼ ԵԼՀԵԼՈ ՏՀ ԼՈՒՄ ՈՒՒԼԼ ԽՈՒ
 (ԴՈՒԵԼԵԼ) ԼԵՐՆ ԵՐԼ ԽՏԵԼ ԼԵՐՈՒ
 1 ԼԵՒ ԵՐՈՒ ԵՐ ԽՈՂԼ ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ՀՈՒԼ

ՀՈՒԼԵԼ ՆՍԵԼ ԵՐԵԼՈՒ՝
 ԼԵՐՀԼ ԵՐ ԽՏԵԼՈՒ ԼԵՀ ՈՒԼԼ
 ԵՐԵԼ ԽՏԵԼ ՆՍԵԼ ԽԼԼԼ
 7 ԼՈՒ ՏՈՒԼ ԵԼ ԼՈՒ ԽՈՒՄ
 ԼՈՒ ՆԼԵԼԼ՝
 ՀՈՒԼԵԼ ԵԼՏ ԵԼ ԼԼԼ ԽՈՒ
 9 ԼՈՒՄ ՆՍԵԼ ԽՈՒ ԵՐԵԼ
 ԵՐԵԼԼ՝
 ԽՈՒ ԵՐ ՀՆ ՀԼԼԼԼ ՆՈՒ
 ԼՈՒՄ ԵՐՈՒ ՀԵԼ ՏՀՆ ԵԼ
 ՀԼ ԵՐ ՆՍԵԼ ԼԿՆ ԵՐ ՏՀԵԼ
 ԼՈՒՄՈՒ ՆՈՒ ԵՐԵԼԼԼ ԼԵՐՈՒԵԼ
 ԽՈՒ ՀՏՆ ԵՐԵԼԼԼ
 5 ԼՈՒՄ ՀԵՀ ՀԼՏ ԵԼ ԼԿՆ
 ԵԼ ԼԿՆ ԵՐՈՒ ԵՐՈՒԼ՝
 7 ԼՈՒՄ ՆՍԵԼ ՀԼ ՀՆ ԵԼՏ
 ԴՈՒԼԼ ԵԼԼԼ ԵՐԼ ԴՈՒԼԼ՝
 ՀԵԼԼ ԵՐԼԼ ՆՍԵԼ ՈՂ
 ԵՐԼ ԼԵՀ ՈՒ ՏՈՒ ԵՂ ՈՒԼ
 ՆՈՒԼ ԼՈՒԼԼ ԵԼ ԽՈՒՀՈՒ
 ԽՈՒ ԽՏԼ ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ՈՂԼ ԼԵ
 ՆՍ ՈՂ ՆՍԼՀ ՆՍԼ ՆՈՒԼԼ
 5 ԼԵԿՈՒ ՀԵԼՀ ԽՈՂԼ ԼՈՒԼԼ
 ՀՈՒՄ՝
 ԽՈՒՀՈՒ ՀՆ ՆՈՒ ԵԼԼ ԵԼ
 2 ՈՂ ՈՂԼ ԵՐԼԼԼ ԼՈՒԼԼ
 ՆՍԼԼ ԽՈՒՄ ՈՒՄ՝
 ԼԼԼԼԼ ԼԵՀԼԼ ՀՈՒ
 ՀՈՒ ՆՍԼ ՈՂ ԽՈՒ ՈՒՒԼ
 ՆՍԼ ՈՂ ԽՈՒ ՀԼ ԵՐՈՒԼ
 ԽՈՒ ԵԼԼԼԼԼԼ ԼՈՒՄ ՈՒ
 ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ԵՐՈՒ ՀԼԼԼ
 ՀԵԼՀՀ ՈՒՒԼ ՆՍ ԽՈՒ
 ԵՐԼՀ ԵԼԼ ԽՈՂԼ ԵԼՀԵԼ
 1 ԼԼԼ ԵՐ ԵՐՆ ԼԵՍ ԵՐԼԼ

- 10 ויֵיטב הדבר בעיני המלך (פילפוס)
וישלח ויקרא את המלך הצדיק בבא
רבה רצון יי' וסליחתו עליו אמן
וידבר עמו דבר טוב ויתן לו כסף
וזהב וכלי כסף וכלי זהב וכלי
בזחש ושמלות רבות.
- 11 ויאמר אליו אחרי כן אדני בבא
רבה על פיך ישק כל עמי.
- 12 ויצו המלך (פילפוס) את כל אשר
על שעירי העיר כי ידרש המלך
בבא רבה יצא מחוץ לעיר ומנעתם
אתו ואמרתם אליו לא יוכל אחד יצא
למחוץ לעיר בלתי על פי המלך
(פילפוס).
- 13 כי פקידים היו על שערי עיר
(קסטנטינה) ולא יוכל אחד יבא
לעיר ההיא ולא יצא ממנה בלתי
על פי אנשי המלך.
- 14 ויהי מקץ ימים רבים ויגש
המלך הצדיק בבא רבה לפני המלך
(פילפוס) ויאמר אליו לבי יחפץ
לשוב אל ארצי ואל מולדותי ועתה
אדרש מן המלך יצוה לי אלקה
ואשובה אל ארצי ואל בית אבי כי
בכסף בכספת אל אבי אשר הוא מביט
שובתי אליו וגם את אחי ואת בני
ואת כל קריבי.
- 15 ויעז המלך (פילפוס) את המלך
הצדיק בבא רבה לאמר תשב אתנו כל
ימי חיך.
- 16 וידע המלך הצדיק בבא רבה כי עזר
עזר המלך (פילפוס) אתו ואחרי כן
לא יוכל יצא מעיר (קסטנטינה)
וידם המלך הצדיק בבא רבה ולא
דבר עם המלך בגלל הדבר הזה עוד.
- 8 והטוב לבו באשיר אתו לימי
מותו ובמוצאו מזאת העיר
לא נבטשהו ארך הימים הנשארים
מן ימי חיותו.
- 9 וזה החזי חסד הוא לבו ובו
נחשיג למה לו בקשנו טוב
מן מוקדות אש הדבות; ולא
פרק אצלנו בין הכותה
ונותרות.
- 10 ואיטב בעין המלך מה מללו
ושלח אחר גדלות בבא רבה
ואכבדו ואיקרו איקר עדף
ונתן לו זהב וכסף והלביש
אתו בגדים כבודו מרחף
ושם דבר המלוך מושבו אליו
ואתנאשת מפניו הקצף.
- 12 וצוה השמירים על תרחי העיר
לא יבטשו אתו לציאתו אתו
מן העיר למען לא ירף.
- 14 וקעם גדלות בבא רבה
במדינת אלקסטנטינה ימים
רבים אצל המלך פילפוס ואחר
כן בקש מנה יבטש אתו עד
ילך לעריו ולבית אביו ועמיתו
ואמר לו לאמר עתה אה המלך
אחמד מן גדלך תבטש יתי
בשובתי לבית אבי וארץ מולדתי
כי עתה לראותם בכספתי.
- 15 ויעז אתו המלך קעם עמדי
ולא תסור מן בגדי.
- 16 וידע גדלות בבא רבה כי המלך
מסגיר עליו ואיבנו מבטשו
מן אלקסטנטינה ישא רגליו
וילך לחצרו ולקהליו ועזב
בזה ממלליו ואתרחץ על הצור
והתמים בפעליו.

- 1 והכהן הגדול בתנאל כי ידע כי בנו הצדיק בבא רבה עצרו המלך (פילפוס) אתו בעיר (קסטבטינה) וישלח אחרי בנו עקבון ויאמר לו תנה את בתך רבקה לאשה אל לוי בן אחיך בבא רבה.
- 2 ויתנה לו לאשה כאשר צוהו אביו ויעשו לו שמח שבעת ימים כהסכבת חתני הישראלים.
- 3 ויהי אחר הדברים הלה ויגוע הכהן הגדול בתנאל וימת ויאסף אל עמו זקן ושבע ימים וצון יי' וסליחתו עליו אמן.
- 4 ויהי אחרי מות הכהן הגדול בתנאל בכסף לוי בן המלך הצדיק בבא רבה אל אביו וילך אל עיר (קסטבטינה) וישב את אביו ימים אחדים.
- 5 בעת ההיא פגע המלך הצדיק בבא רבה מחץ חזק ויגע בבא רבה כי קרבו ימיו למות.
- 6 ולו היה חבר יהודי מעדת היהודים וישלח המלך הצד' בבא רבה אחריו ויאמר לו אחי שים בא ירך תחת ירכי ואשביעך ביי' אלהי השמים ואלהי הארץ תקח את בני זה אנך אל ארצי ולמו' ותתנו אל קריבו ולא תחלילו בטמאה.
- 7 וישם את חברו היהודי את ידו תחת ירך המלך הצדיק בבא רבה וישבע לו על הדבר הזה.
- 8 ואחרי כן תפש בבא רבה ביד בנו לוי וישלמו אל חברו היהודי ויאמר לו חברי השמר לך פן תחליף את מצותי אשר צויתך.
- 9 ויאמר לו חברו היהודי ככל מצותיך אשר צויתני אעשה.
- 1 וכד אתגיד הכהן בתנאל בחסר שובת יליו לארץ מולדתו והמלך איבנו מנששו בכך זבג יליו לוי בבת דודו רבקה בת גדלות הכהן עקבון.
- 3 ואחר כן מת הכהן בתנאל לרחמות יהוה וסליחתו.
- 4 והכהן לוי בכסף לבה לראות גדלות אביו הכהן בבא רבה והלך אליו וקעם אצלו מעט מן הימים.
- 5/6 ואתמחץ גדלות בבא רבה מחץ חזק וכד פג בחסר רפאה שלח אחרי איש יהודאי היה מאהב לה ועבר עליו.
- 8 שם תפש ביד יליו לוי ושלם אתו לו ואמר לה אדרש מבן אה חברי תשיג ילידי הזה לעביביו וקריביו אל ארץ מושביו ולא תחללו בטמא ותשמרו הך ילידך ותחן עליו בכל מאדך.
- 9 וכת אתו בריח על כן.

10 ויאמר לו המלך הצדיק בנא רבה
אלהים עד ביני ובינך.

- 11 ויהי אחרי כן מת המלך הצדיק
בנא רבה ויאסף אל עמו רצון יי'
וסליחתו עליו אמן.
- 12 ויקמו בנו לוי וחברו האיש היהודי
וירחצו אתו כחקת בני ישראל וילבישו
אתו בגדי המות בגדים לבנים.
- 13 וימת המלך הצדיק בעיר (קסטבינה)
ויום מותו יום גדול לישיבי עיר
(קסטבינה).
- 14 ויבכו אתו מלך (קסטבינה) ואת כל עמו
וילכו מקטן ועד גדול אחריו לקבר אתו. 14/15
- 15 ויעשו לו בעצם היום הזה כאשר עשו לו
ביום מובאו לעיר (קסטבינה) ויקברו
אתו בקבר רחב וטוב.
- 16 ויבנו אחרי כן (הרומים) על קברו
בית כנשה.
- 11 ואחר כן אתעתק גדלות
בנא רבה במות לרחמות
יהוה.
- 12 ואתפקיד בכבסו ומלבושו
ילידו לוי וסעדו על
כן האיש היהודאי
דאתקדם זכרונה.
- 13 והוה מותו באלקסטביניה
ויום מותו היה יום גדול
את יושבי זאת העיר.
- 14/15 והוה לו מחבה לא היה
כמהו דמי ליום אשר
היה לה מובאו ואקבר
בקבר טב ברחמות יהוה
מסתובב.
- 16 ואחר הימים האלה בנו
האדום על קברו כנשה.

6. TRANSLATION

1 After that, the Lord, may His name be blessed, gave to
2 the High Priest, Netan'êl, three sons. Now these are
their names: the name of the first he called Baba; the
name of the second he called 'Aqbôn and the name of the
3 third he called Pinhās. Now Pinhās dwelt in the town
of Mahāneh, which is hard by the Chosen Place, Mount
4 Gerizim, Beth-El, at the foot of the mountain. From
his youth, Baba was a man of discretion, wisdom and
understanding; a prosperous man, for the Lord made all
5 his undertakings to succeed. Zeal for the Lord was
continuously in his heart, and he was endowed with holy
spirit.

6 During that time, Baba grew up to become a man of
renown, inspiring awe and fear among all his people,
the Samaritan Israelites. He was cognizant of their
burdens, seeing what was happening to them at the hands
7 of the enemy. He devised means to remove this scourge
from them, and he took note of the task masters who
had been appointed over them to afflict them, and how
the accursed Edomites were embittering their lives.

8 Now this Baba gave thought, and cogitated over the
9 matter with great strength of purpose. God gave His
approval to his plan, because he revealed great zeal
in communing with the Lord his God.

10 After that, Baba assembled all the men of his generation,
who were subject to his authority, and he addressed them:

11 'My brethren, listen attentively to what I have to say.
12 My heart has been moved to act with zeal, to restore
the Israelite faith, for the enemy are tightly repressing
it and have blotted out every outward sign of it from
the land.'

13 Baba mustered his trained men, and he gave spiritual
expression to his inner thoughts by uttering many
14 prayers before the Lord his God. He summoned his men,
whom he had previously assembled — namely, the men
of his generation, whom we have referred to — and he
15 spoke to them thus: 'How long will these uncircumcised,
who deny that the Lord our God is in our midst, who
worship alien gods and repress the holy Law of Moses,
embitter our lives and the lives of our brethren, the
16 Samaritans? How long shall this wicked community
prevail? How long shall our repressers deny, saying
that it is we who are provocative? How long shall this
17 be our ensnarement? How long before this fire is
quenched for us? For how long will they prevent us
from observing the way of the Lord our God, and
18 executing His commandments? For how long will they
prevent us reading His holy laws and observing His
ordinances and testimonies?'

19,20 The men of his generation made answer, saying: 'We
agree, master. Consider the causes that have prevented
us from rising up in the face of our enemies, and how
21 weary we are these days. Consider how our power is
spent, and that we have no standing among our enemies'.

1 Baba answered them, saying, 'Are we not descended from
Jacob-Israel, from among whose sons two brothers
displayed zeal for the Lord by killing all the men of
2 the town of Shechem? It is said of them in the holy
Law, "The two sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi, Dinah's
brothers, took each man his sword and entered the town
and killed every male. They cut down Hamor and his son
Shechem, and they took Dinah from Shechem's house and
went off".

3 Are there not to be found among us men of the tribe
of Levi, who displayed zeal for the Lord their God at the
time of the Calf? About them it is said in the holy
Law, "And all the sons of Levi gathered themselves together
unto him, and they killed, every man his brother and
every man his companion and every man his neighbour. And
they blotted out the Calf-worshippers on that very day
with the edge of the sword". Consider the blessing which
the Lord, may His name be sanctified, conferred upon
them.

Are there not to be found among us men from the sons
of Pinhas our father, of whom it is seen that once he
had displayed zeal for the Lord his God among all the
Israelites, his people, the Lord bestowed upon him a
superabundance of exaltation and power? Of him, He said,
"Pinhās, son of Eleazar, son of Aaron the priest, behold
I give unto him My covenant of peace; and there shall

be unto him and to his seed after him the covenant of an everlasting priesthood, because he was zealous for the Lord his God, and made atonement for the Children of Israel".

8 Remember what occurred in the case of Simeon and Levi; how the Lord, may His name be blessed, caused terror to fall upon the cities round about them, so that they did not pursue after them.

9 So now we have an obligation to take courage and to be zealous for the Lord our God, as our forefathers were zealous, on account of these deeds encountered
10 by us from our enemies. Let us direct all our might to the establishment of the statutes of the Lord our God, who has chosen us from among all peoples and has taken
11 us to be unto Him a chosen people. Now, therefore, nought will avail us other than repentance, supplication and appeal to His exalted Glory, also to seek His goodness and mercy and diligently to offer the prayers, fasting, supplication, devotions, consolations and
12 petitions before His Greatness. Let us direct our might to fulfil His commandments and to obey Him, and to cleave to Him that He may grant us aid, in His majestic power, against our enemies and adversaries. For whether He receives us out of His goodness and lovingkindness, or whether He banishes us for our evil
13 deeds, yet He, may His name be blessed, does accept the repentant who return toward His greatness.

14 Now then, it is good for us that we should be among
them that display zeal for His holy Law, and that
we direct all our energies to the renewal of its
study, which is now extinct, and to the raising of
15 its banner. Let us now overthrow and tread down the
accursed aliens, and let us strengthen the faith with
a zeal such as this. Perchance we might become like
our upright and righteous ancestors who desired the
way of the Lord their God, and who sought His goodness
and lovingkindness and kept all His commandments,
loving the paths of those who achieved His ways.

16 Come, from now onwards, let us purify our hearts
from iniquity and sin, and let us return wholeheartedly
to the Lord our God; let us render ourselves innocent
of all evil practices, neither perverting justice
17 nor displaying partiality. Let us keep our distance
from the commission of such sins as conflict with the
commands of the Lord of Lords, and refrain from the
evil that is the way of wicked sinners.

18 My brethren, know that if we do this wholeheartedly,
then the Lord will see that we are acting as the
righteous, the upright and the pure in spirit do, both
openly and in private. He will not hesitate to show
us favour, he will accept our repentance, hear our
19 cry and deliver us from our dire straits. He will
grant us full release from our oppression and answer
our requests. He will see our affliction and poverty
and will enable us to achieve power over our enemies.

He will make our ways to prosper and pledge His support for us. He will cleave to us closely in order to crush those uncircumcised, accursed, impure, wicked sinners, perpetrators of transgression, worshippers of strange (gods) in the presence of the Lord of the spirits who, from nothing, made all creatures.

- 20 Therefore, let us destroy them and banish them from this holy land, so that no shameful person will be seen in it. Let them move off to another land, with their head bowed before the community of the Samaritans. Arise, my sons, let us pursue them and, with the help of the Lord our God, we will defeat them and destroy them, and lift these evil scourges from upon us.'

§3

- 1 The priest Baba Rabbah concluded these words in the presence of the assembly of Samaritan Israelites
2 and of all the children of his generation. After this, Baba Rabbah washed his hands, face and feet, and he prayed, prostrating himself before the Lord
3 his God. He fasted on that day, eating no bread and drinking no water.
4 On the following day Baba Rabbah rose early in the morning and ascended the Mountain of Blessing,

the holy mountain, the chosen place, Mount Gerizim
5 Beth-El. The Lord God, may His name be blessed, led
him safely until he had reached that place and
encamped there upon the top of the mountain.

6 The priest Baba Rabbah entreated the Lord his
God, abasing himself before His sovereignty,
addressing himself in prayer to His Greatness,
making supplication to His Glory and making efficacious
7 his prayer, bowing low and prostrating himself. He
prayed the prayers of the lord of the prophets,
saying, 'If I have indeed won thy favour, O Lord,
then may the Lord go in our company. However
stubborn a people we are, forgive our iniquity and
our sin and take us as thine own possession.'

8 After completing this (part of the prayer), he
called out further; and these are the words with
9 which he prayed: 'Lord God, when I make a request
10 of you, answer my request. The Lord, through whose
majesty all existence came into being, and by whose
wisdom it is controlled, who set all things in
motion by His power and made His presence to dwell
where He so desired, who has chosen this people to
be His special possession, to serve His Oneness;
He responds to those who repent of their sin and
wickedness and grants atonement to them that call
upon Him with wholeheartedness; He answers them
that call upon Him with a pure intention, and He

- graciously leads back to Him those who have strayed from the way of uprightness; He opens His doors to all who knock, and they that know Him find deliverance
- 11 by way of His strong door. O Wise One, unique in wisdom and understanding, I now put my request before You: O Lord, have mercy upon your people and your servants, the children of your servants, who have no refuge without Your Glory and no security other than through Your mercy and lovingkindness, and no redeemer
- 12 other than You. O my Lord God, how numerous are our adversaries; many rise up against us, and You know full well all that we have suffered from these peoples and from the wicked and sinful kings who have denied all the reports of You, and who are in such darkness that they cannot keep Your wonderful statutes.
- 13 When we call, answer us O our God; in our distress
- 14 be gracious unto us and hear our prayers. How long will our glory be turned to humiliation? How long will they that love vanity and seek out falsehood rule over us and prevent us from upholding Your holy laws, provoking us to blot out the memory of Your
- 15 Holy Name? They bow before every detestable thing in our presence, and request us to depart from the way which You have instructed us, in their desire to destroy us. They worship the Baals and put their trust in idols, boasting of the work of their own hands, of gods that they have made according to their own desire and through whom they bless themselves.

16 Give ear to my speech, O Lord God, consider my
inmost thoughts; heed my cry for help, my King
17 and my God, for to You do I pray. For You will
not welcome wickedness, neither can the evil ones,
who walk the path of evil, be Your guests.

18 Lord God, if our iniquities are too great for
You to bear, do not chastise us for them with the
wicked, but let us rather be taken into Your
presence by the agency of death, rather than that
those wicked ones should brutally achieve our
19 destruction. If it were our guilt that prevented
Your being close to us and Your salvation from
reaching us, let not the enemies of Your Law have
dominion over us.

20 O Lord, Lord, do not condemn us in Your anger
nor chasten us in Your fury. Be merciful unto us,
O Lord, for we are sick. Heal us, O Lord, for
our very bones are in confusion; our very soul
21 quivers in great consternation. How long before
You, O Lord, come back, O Lord, to deliver and
save us for Your lovingkindness' sake?

22 O Lord, our God, if our guilt has been the
cause of Your removing Your mercy from us, take
us into Your presence and let not these wicked
ones rule over us, and do not raise over us those
whose grievous yoke we cannot servilely bear, those who
have strayed from the way of truth and who demand

of us that we refrain from making mention of Your holy name.

23 O Lord our God, in You we trust; save us from all who pursue us, lest they tear our soul like a lion. Redeem, for we have no deliverer besides You.

24 O Lord our God, if our actions are blemished, if their is injustice in our hands and if we have
25 recompensed with evil, forgive every sin. Do not permit an enemy to pursue us or to tread our glory down like earth.

26 O Lord God, You said that You would not forsake us, according to Your word, written through the master of the prophets, our teacher, Moses. In the holy Law You wrote, "The Lord God will not fail you
27 nor forsake you." Furthermore, You said in Your book, "When you are in distress you shall seek out from there the Lord your God, and shall find Him."

28 O Lord our God, how mighty is Your name through all the earth, and Your majesty which is praised
29 high as the heavens. Out of the mouths of babes and infants at the breast You have founded strength, that You might still the enemy and the avenging foe, and redeem the upright and the righteous who promote peace.

30 When we behold Your heaven, Your exalted work, the moon and the stars which You have established with Your fingers -- What is the wicked man that You should give him dominion over Your exalted

work, to place beneath his feet those who love You,
and seek Your greatness and healing comfort.

31 We will give thanks to You, O Lord, with all our
heart and we will sing in praise of You, relating all
Your wonders with all our might. We will rejoice
continually and we will be glorified in You, singing,
"Your name is exalted", when our enemies are turned
backwards, they stumble and perish before us.

32 For it is Your wont to rebuke the nations before
Your people; for You will destroy the wicked and
blot out their name from Your world. For You are
forever a high tower to them that flee to You, a
33 refuge to the poor in times of trouble. All who know
Your name will trust in You, for Merciful and Gracious
God is Your name. You do not forsake them that seek
You, and You do not fail them that petition You.

34 Now, therefore, look upon our lowliness, and by
the merit of Moses, the son of Amram. accept our
requests, enabling us to attain our desired goal.
For, seeking to walk according to Your will, we will
go with pure hearts, and following the way of Your
Oneness, we will perfectly go.

35 O You who are in zeal (all-)powerful, from the pit
of oppression liberate us. Grant us a new redemption,
and look down upon us in Your mercy and lovingkindness,
for we are descended from Your righteous servants.

36 As You dealt gloriously with our forefathers, the
Israelites, deal with us in Your lovingkindness, and

37 as You redeemed them, so redeem us. You manifested
great wonders in the land of Egypt, and on account
of Your greatness You declared Yourself "God of
38 the Hebrews." Because of this, the Egyptians
39 suffered great distress. Then You turned the sea
into dry land until they had passed over on foot,
walking upon dry land without an ark. Then were
Pharoah and his people drowned in the midst of the
sea, and You delivered Your own people from him.
40 Then they went out, happy and safe; the cities of
the mighty You gave to them as a possession, and
You put fear and trembling into the heart of their
enemies.'

§4

1 When the priest Baba Rabbah had concluded his prayer,
his address and his devotions, his praise and
lauding, he returned to his brethren and the leaders
of his community who had assembled before him that day.
2 He said to them, 'What do you think and what are
your considered opinions? Declare now in my hearing
what you advise, so that I might give consideration
to implementing it.'
3 They all answered together, 'Whatsoever you say
to us we will carry out. We are subject to your
4 instructions wholeheartedly; command us as you will;

we will not rebel against your command, neither will we disregard your instructions. That which you have declared to us, and the counsel you have given us, 5 is acceptable to both us and all our brethren. It is most certainly good (advice), without flaw and 6 unobjectionable. Do whatever seems right to you, for whatever you command us will be no hardship to us. 7 To all your commands we shall be obedient, with the 8 sincerity of our whole being. We will go wherever you desire, for we have dedicated our hearts to be attentive to, and to obey, all you say. Therefore we will certainly not disobey you.'

9 After this, the priest Baba Rabbah and all his brethren and the leaders of his people went around visiting wherever the Samaritan Israelites were living, re-opening all the Synagogues which their 10 enemies had closed. At the very first assembly, he and his brethren started with the reading of the Book of the Holy Law in the hearing of the whole assembly of the Samaritan-Israelite congregation, including both men and women. They further augmented with hymns, prayers, laudations, supplications and exaltations to the God of the spirits, the Lord God of Hosts, with great utterances of high exaltation.

11 The priest Baba Rabbah sent word that all the Sages of the holy Torah and all the Priests and the Elders from all the communities should assemble to him. The priest Baba Rabbah could locate but a small

number of the Sages and Elders of the Samaritan-Israelite community, for all the rest had been blotted out by the Edomite fanatics, because they would not offer sacrifices to their gods or worship them, neither would they forsake the service of the Lord their God, the God of their fathers.

- 12 The Priest Baba Rabbah addressed those whom he had located in these words: 'Arise and go, each of you, to his place. Observe, be obedient and consider carefully, and direct your energies to teaching the holy Torah to the whole congregation of Samaritan-Israelites, men, women and all the children; that they might keep it and perform all its statutes and ordinances in their entirety, just as your forefathers
- 13 used to do. You shall also direct your energies toward maintaining the (practice of) reading from the holy Law, and towards improving (the standard of) such reading through your own pronunciation — an accurate pronunciation, as you have had it transmitted to you from those who came before you.

- 14 Fall not into lethargy, but walk perfectly; also direct all your energies to the service of all the Synagogues, as well as to attending to whatever requirements are found necessary.

- 15 Go in peace, being on your guard against any
- 16 blemish. On your way now, O men blessed of the Lord.
- 17 May the Lord, the God of your fathers, make you a

- thousand times more than you are, and bless you as
- 18 He has promised. May your enemies dwindle away
before you, and may you tread upon their high places
and rule faithfully over all their (former) dominions.
- 19 Know, however, that any man among you who does not
observe and fulfil the command that I give you this
day, I shall strike him dead.'
- 20 Now this was the obligation that devolved upon the
congregation of Samaritan-Israelites from Baba Rabbah.
Very heavily (did it weigh) upon the old and young
alike, the youths as well as the children, to learn
to read the Book of the Holy Law, as well as the
- 21 books of the Sages and Scholars. At that time this
matter was a source of anxiety to them. though the
community of Samaritan-Israelites soon greatly
rejoiced when they realised that, on account of this
act, their deliverer from their enemies would come
soon, suffering would leave them and they would be
the recipients of grace, mercy and lovingkindness.

- 1 The priest Baba Rabbah then took seven men from
among the leaders of the Samaritan-Israelites, brave
men who feared the Lord, truthful men who hated
unjust gain, Sages in the Law, exactly like the men

about whom the Lord commanded Moses, when He said in
in the holy Torah, "And you shall select from all the
2 people men of valour who fear the Lord (etc.)." So the
priest Baba Rabbah set them apart by designating them
Hakham (Wise Man).

3 Now these seven Hakhāmīm comprised three priests and
four Samaritans of the tribe of Joseph the righteous.
4 Concerning the priests — before this time any man
who inspired awe and respect was called "priest" by
5 the people. With the advent of Baba Rabbah, the priest,
they were merely called "Sages" (Hakhamim); and the
6 priestly title was removed from many priests. He
likewise removed many people from their priestly rank.
7 The cause of this was that when the priest Baba Rabbah
came to Bashan the priests who were there did not
come forth to meet him, neither did they fulfil their
8 obligation to accord him honour and glory. However,
when he arrived at the city and assumed his rightful
position then they came to greet him in their
9 customary manner with all the people. Because of this
act he removed them from their positions, because they
10 did not journey out of the city to meet him. In their
place he appointed ordinary individuals to discharge
their supervisory functions, with the exception of
the responsibility (to teach) Holy Scripture.

11 And so, during the days of the priest Baba Rabbah
and afterwards, the ordinary Samaritan-Israelites
could perform the ceremony of circumcision. For,
before the days of the priest Baba Rabbah, no Samaritan-

-Israelite could circumcise the foreskin of any Israelite child. It was only the priests who could circumcise the foreskins of every child born to the people. Similarly, it was the priests alone who said the 'Praise' and the 'Forgiveness', and they would have oversight of all that was done in the Synagogues.

13 The priest Baba Rabbah commanded all the people as follows: 'The title "Sage" (Hakham) shall only be conferred upon those who are sages and scholars, whether they be of priestly stock or of the general
14 community. Any priest who is neither a sage nor a scholar shall not be entitled to be called either
15 "Sage" or "Priest".' However, the names and descendants of the priests have been preserved in the Tolidah, in the form 'so-and-so begat so-and-so'.

16 The priest Baba Rabbah allotted specific ranks to the seven Sages whom he had appointed as leaders of all the people, and he gave them changes of robes to wear. He conferred upon every one of them, in the order of supervisory role, his honourable status and that of his descendants to be permanent and unending.

17 He then positioned them before him, each man in accordance with his rank, so that they would each
18 know their particular order of seniority. These seven were to be the leaders of the whole community of Samaritan-Israelites, each one supervising his own territory, teaching his own community, making a

distinction within it between the impure and the
19 pure, the holy and the profane, and establishing
it on the basis of the study of the text of the
Holy Law.

20 Now these are their names — May the mercy of
the Lord protect them:

THE FIRST

The name of the first was Srwb'y, which means
'the fruit of my desire'. He was a Habtah, a
descendant of Ithamar, son of Aaron the priest, peace
21 be upon them. His territory commenced from the shade
of the great plane, and he occupied the foremost
rank as Chief Pater.

22 THE SECOND

His name was Ywzby Ysr'ly, an inhabitant of the
town of Kwfr Yslh. He occupied the second rank, and
patronage over the rest.

23 THE THIRD

His name was 'lyn'h Grpyn, and his task was that
of second convener.

24 THE FOURTH

He was a Levite Priest from the town of Zyth, and
his task was that of first convener. He had to record
the names of those who had made contributions and
other gifts at any time.

25 THE FIFTH

He was an Israelite from the town of Kfwr Mrwt,
and he had the fifth patronage.

26

THE SIXTH

His name was 'Amram, and he was a Levite Priest from the town of Kwfr Sp'sh. He had the second patronage. It is said that this was the same 'Amram who was the father of Marqah, the master of scholars and scholarship. It is further said that he is the same 'Amram Darah who composed the Durran Chapters. He composed twelve for the six days of Creation, six for the Sabbath, one for the beginning of every month, one for the first month (of the year), one for the seventh month and one for the Day of Atonement. Five of Marqah's compositions are recited during the Sabbath morning prayers. Should a fifth Sabbath occur in the month, another of his compositions is recited before the Scriptural reading during the course of the Midday Service which replaces the Afternoon Service.

29 He has another hymn which is recited on the Atonement eve, and a further one which is said on the Day of Atonement, as well as one hymn for recitation on the day of the commemoration of the Standing on Mount Sinai, during the Morning Service. Of that sage's compositions, the above are extant to the present day.

31

THE SEVENTH

An Israelite. However, we have found no reference to his place or his office in the book of chronicles.

1 The priest Baba Rabbah arranged them according
to the above order of rank, and addressed them thus:
2 'You are to instruct the whole assembly of this people.
Plan for them and display leadership of the whole
community of Samaritan-Israelites, both young and old
alike. Be their judges, and decide between one man and
3 another. Show no partiality in passing judgement;
listen equally to the small and the great. Be not in
awe of any man, for justice proceeds from the Lord.
4 If any man, standing before you, shall contradict you
on any matter which you tell him or command him, I
shall make enquiry of him.'

5 Among these seven men, the priest Baba Rabbah
appointed four of them, men of renown, as overseers.

6 Now the above arrangement did not operate during
the Era of Favour. During the Era of Favour seventy
elected Elders constituted the "Sages of the Community".
Among them were the twelve "Heads of the Tribes",
one from among these twelve being the "Supreme Prince".

7 He bore the title, "Supremo of the Tribes", and he
assisted the senior man on judicial matters. However,
he had no authority over the priests and could not
judge them for transgressions, in any case of dispute
8 or litigation. Any matter affecting them would be
referred to the appointed High Priest who was consecrated
to that office, or to one of the senior priests,
descendants of our master Pinhas son of Eleazar, peace
upon them forever.

§6 - §7

9 Now such status was not to be an inheritance from
father to son, or from a son to his father; but if
one of them died they were to chose one in his place.
10 He had to be a man of culture, wisdom and discretion,
belonging to the community and acceptable to the High
Priest of the day and to the Elders of the people,
11 their leaders and officials. This was the arrangement
during the Era of Favour.

§7

1 At that period there was an Israelite family by
2 the name of "The Family of the Seventy". The men of
that family refused to obey the priest Baba Rabbah,
because of the administration which he had introduced
and the choice which he had made; neither did they
submit to the jurisdiction of the sages whom the
priest Baba Rabbah had appointed over the entire
3 Samaritan-Israelite community. Instead, they appointed
Levite Priests to judge them in all the areas and
cities under their control.

4 For this reason those seventy sages whom the priest
Baba Rabbah had previously chosen had to make a
regular circuit of all those cities or they had to
send overseers of requisite knowledge, wisdom and
5 discretion to investigate every place. Whenever they
came across a priest from among those priests of the
"Family of Seventy" who erred in religious law, in

in administering justice or in civil affairs,
6 they would hasten to consult their own High Priest.
These "Seventy" also gave the priest Baba Rabbah all
manner of military assistance; they turned over to
him the revenue, as well as innumerable substantial
gifts, and supplied all his other requirements.

§8

1 Now the sages whom the priest Baba Rabbah had
chosen, and who had been appointed over the community
of the Samaritan-Israelites for all time, he commanded
2 thus: 'Look well to, regard and understand whatever
you do. Fulfil also whatever I command you, and be
careful not to forget my instructions nor to neglect
my wishes, nor, during Divine Worship, the observance
of the Reading of the Holy Torah, according to the ten
principles of the reading; for this is the most
3 important thing that I require of you. Confer regularly
among yourselves and among the teachers, and search
the learned literature so that you may base everything
on truth, by reason of the reading of the holy Torah,
according to the ten principles of the reading, as
transmitted by the Seventy Elders of the Israelite
community and by the priests who lived in the days of
the Master of the Prophets, the great prophet Moses
son of 'Amram, perfect peace unto him.'

4 Later, the priest Baba Rabbah built a ritual bath
for purification on the boundary of the chosen place,
Mount Gerizim Beth-El, the Mountain of Inheritance
and Divine Presence, so that any members of the
Samaritan-Israelite community who wished to pray
upon this mountain would (first) purify themselves
5 in it when the time for any Prayers approached. Two
Prayers replaced the continual offering: the first
was the Evening Prayer at sunset; the second was the
Morning Prayer, recited from dawn until sunrise.

6 He further built a Synagogue, adjoining the Chosen
Place, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, so that the people
7 could pray in it opposite this holy mountain. This
ritual bath and this Synagogue remained until the
8 advent of the Frankish Kingdom. The Synagogue that
the priest Baba Rabbah built followed the dimensions
of the one they had built in the town of Boşra
during the Era of Favour. He erected it on the same
pattern, with its floor made of earth, as he had seen
in the town of Boşra. Furthermore, the priest Baba
Rabbah took some of the stones of the Temple that
Saul's men had destroyed in the days of Saul, king
of the Israelites — except for the Samaritan-Israelite
community — for his destruction of that Temple was
9 an act of hatred against them. He set up those seven
stones, as seven seats for the seven Sages, and he
10 took one great stone for himself to sit on. The priest
Baba Rabbah also built seven Synagogues in the seven
towns, all having floors made of earth.

11. Now these are the Synagogues' names:

THE FIRST: The Synagogue of the town of Kwfr 'Amartāh, where the High Priests, sons of Aaron the Priest, are buried. They include Eleazar, his brother Ithāmār and Pinhās son of Eleazar. Peace be upon them, on the Seventy Elders and on many other High Priests. It is situated to the east of the city of Shechem.

- 12 THE SECOND: The Synagogue of Beth-Nimrāh.

- 13 THE THIRD: The Synagogue of Qryth Hāgāh. It is still visible to this day, though it has no special features. It is in the southern direction, opposite the town of 'Skôr. The town of 'Skôr, where that house was, is, however, in ruins. Only the site (of both towns) and the pool still exist today.

- 14 THE FOURTH: The Synagogue of Qryth Tīrah. That town exists to the present day.

- 15 THE FIFTH: The Synagogue of Šabarīn. That town is still inhabited today, and is among the towns of the Shephelah.

- 16 THE SIXTH: The Synagogue of the town of Šālēm. That town is still inhabited today, and is near Shechem in an eastward direction. It is also opposite the Chosen Place, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, in a north-east direction.

- 17 THE SEVENTH: The Synagogue of the town of Beth Dāgān. That town is still inhabited to this day. It is east of the Chosen Place, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, in the northern direction.

- 18 THE EIGHTH: We do not know its location, neither have we found any mention of it in the Chronicle. It is said, however, that it was the Synagogue of The Stone, which

was situated between 'Ēlôn Môre' and Mount Gerizim Beth-El. Three hundred and sixty chambers were built in it, according to the number of the days of the year. Its site is acknowledged to this day as being south of the sepulchre of our master Joseph the rightecus, peace be upon him.

- 19 These are the eight Synagogues which the priest Baba Rabbah built. He built them all of stone; not one of them was of wood.

§9

- 1 The priest Baba Rabbah built also a spacious Hall which he established as the Hall for Meeting and
 2 Decision, as well as for hearing all petitions. He erected it opposite the House of Prayer which he had built at the foot of the Chosen Place, the Mountain of Blessing, the Place of Sanctity, the Mountain of Inheritance and Divine Presence, Mount Gerizim Beth-
 -El, in order that any Samaritan-Israelite who had a problem might come there and put his problem to the Sages who were there, so that they could tell him the
 3 authentic decision on his problem. Likewise, any man who used the title "sage" at that time was brought, on the New Moon or a Festival day, and set before the great (priest) king of the time, and before the Sages,

4 in order that they might test him. The tests having been administered in the presence of the High Priest and the Sages, if he was found to have been endowed with wisdom, discretion and understanding, they conferred upon him the title "Sage".

5 The reason why the Priest Baba Rabbah introduced this procedure, namely to build Synagogues and the Hall of Wisdom, was that the rulers of the land would not say of him thus: 'Does not the Priest Baba Rabbah pay heed to the affairs of those rulers who involve themselves in deeds which estrange them from the praise of the holy name of God, may His name be sanctified, and from the fulfilment of His commands and statutes, by doing abominable things?'

6 The Priest Baba Rabbah then allotted the priests to all his people of the community of Samaritan-Israelites, apportioning to them specific territory.

7 These are their names as we find them written in the Tolidah, all Samaritan-Israelite people, princes of their ancestral clans, who were appointed overseers according to the direction of Baba Rabbah:

8 THE FIRST

His name was Ishmael. The Priest Baba Rabbah gave to him and to all the men of his family a permanent possession from the town of Lûzâh up to the coastal part of Galilee. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest Na'ârâh.

9 THE SECOND

His name was Jacob from the town of 'Askôr. The Priest

Baba Rabbah gave him and all the men of his family a permanent possession from 'Askor to Tarblos (this is actually from 'Askor to Tiberias. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest N^ethan'el.

10

THE THIRD

His name was Zayyith son of Tēhām. The Priest Baba Rabbah gave him a permanent possession from east of the Chosen Place, the Sacred Mountain, Mount Gerizim Beth-El as far as the Jordan. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest Eleazar son of P^elāh.

11

THE FOURTH

— Joshua son of Barak, son of 'Ēden. He gave him a permanent possession from Kwfr Ḥalūl until Beth ha-Šēbhet. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest

12

'Amram son of Sered, who is known as Tōṭāh. It is said that he is the father of the Priest Marqah, the great sage, the master of wisdom, who answered all matters with discretion and understanding. May the favour and forgiveness of the Lord be upon him, Amen.

13

THE FIFTH

His name was Abraham son of Š^em'al'imāh, son of 'Ōr, son of P^erāth. He gave him a permanent possession from the coast to the territory of the Philistines. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest Ḥakūmāh.

14

THE SIXTH

— Israel son of Mākhīr. He gave him a permanent possession from the town of Gaza up to the River of Egypt. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest Šalôm.

THE SEVENTH

15 His name was Yosef son of ^YSuselāh. He gave him a permanent possession from the boundary of the Mountain of Inheritance and Divine Presence, the Mountain of Blessing, Mount Gerizim Beth-El as far as Caesarea. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest, Aaron son of Zōhar.

16 THE EIGHTH

His name was La'el son of Bekher. He gave him a permanent possession from the border, east of the vineyards, to the town of 'Akkōh. He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest Joseph son of ^eZ'nināh.

17 THE NINTH

His name was Bekher son of ^hŌr. His border was established from the hill country of Naqōrāh until Tyre. The latter was (re-)built by our leader Yered son of Mahal'ālēl, who lived there until he died (in Kwfr M^erū'an). He appointed as his 'aide' the Priest Aaron son of Zebhed.

18 THE TENTH

His name was ^YSafaṭ son of ^eZ'bhû, son of Makhîr. He gave him a permanent possession from the brook of Lîṭāh — which is said to be the River Tiberias — as far as Sidon and its environs. He appointed as his 'aide' a priest, Zārîz son of Mānîr, who was endowed with great wisdom, knowledge and understanding.

THE ELEVENTH

- 19 His name was Barad son of Š^eri^ʾān, son of ʿĀmād. He gave him a permanent possession from the hill country of Galīl unto the valley, and as far as Lebanon and all the villages around it, from the mountains and the lowland. He appointed as his 'aide' a priest, Zayyith son of Levi, a distinguished man, whose renown was heard everywhere, in all priestly circles. For he was paramount in all branches of wisdom, understanding, knowledge and exegesis. The favour and forgiveness of the Lord be upon him, Amen.

§10

- 1 These are the heads of the community of Samaritan-Israelites whom the honourable Priest Baba Rabbah selected, and among whom he apportioned all the cities of the land of Canaan where all the Samaritan Israelite communities resided.
- 2 The said Baba Rabbah appeared among his people to perform all these deeds in the year 4600 of the Creation, corresponding to the year 1806 after the entry of the
- 3 Israelites into the land of Canaan; corresponding to the year 1545 after the concealment of the holy Sanctuary which they had made in the desert, as the
- 4 Lord had commanded Moses. This, in turn, corresponds

to the year 1326 since Solomon son of David, the king, built the Temple in the city of Jerusalem on the site which his father had acquired from the Jebusite, namely, the place of the threshing-

5 -floor. This corresponds to the year 1050 from the exile of the Israelites to Assyria in the days of the pontificate of the High Priest 'Aqabhyah,

6 and it corresponds with the year 1005 since the arrival of the Samaritan Israelites from from the first exile in the days of the pontificate of the High Priest S^erayah. This was the exile of

7 Nebuchadnezzar. This, in turn, corresponds to the year 795 after the arrival of the Samaritan Israelites from the second exile, the exile by the king of the Greeks. Their arrival was in the days of the pontificate of the High Priest 'Abdi'él son of the High Priest 'Azariah, in the thirty-

8 -fifth year of his pontificate. It also corresponds to the year 755 from the time the Israelite community established their Temple for a second time in the city of Jerusalem, through the instrument of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah and Ezra the Priest who brought with them authority from the king of Babylon in order to establish the Temple

9 and the city. It corresponds, likewise, to the year 655 after the King 'Askander who ruled over

10 all the nations, and to the year 308 after the

appearance of Jesus son of Miriam, wife of Joseph the Carpenter, a descendant of King David, against whom some Judaeans arose, and they crucified him.

- 11 It was at that date, in those happy days, that the Lord, may His name be sanctified, revealed this great man who ruled over all the community of the Samaritan Israelites in the land of Canaan for
- 12 forty years. Even the Judaeans community was subject to his authority. He spread abroad the faith of Israel, he built the Synagogues and directed all his energies to teaching the Samaritan Israelite community the exact reading of the holy Law, a reading based upon the true version as transmitted through the generations of Israel from the seventy Elders, the Elders of Israel who lived in the generation of the Master of the Prophets, Moses
- 13 son of 'Amram, peace be upon him. He also established well-appointed Assembly Halls and he restored all
- 14 the Israelites to their (rightful) places. He appointed Aaronite priests (peace be upon Aaron) over all the cities belonging to the Samaritan Israelite community, among whom were the Havtawi priests, descendants of our master Ithamar, peace be upon him.
- 15 These are their names: The firstborn was 'Abdy, the second was Melekh, the third was Zidqî'el, the fourth was Sābhē'a, the fifth was 'Ōr,
- 16 the sixth was 'Āz. Numerically they grew abundantly and spread all over the land of Canaan.

- 17 When the honourable Priest, Baba Rabbah,
apportioned the land of Canaan according to
the families of the Samaritan Israelite community
and allotted the priests over them, he addressed
them thus: 'Go in peace, be strong and of good
courage. Do not fear or stand in awe of any man
18 as long as I live. May the Lord your God put
the fear and dread of you upon all the peoples
round about you. But you shall fear none but the
Lord your God and the God of your fathers, who
19 delivered you from the iron furnace. Direct all
your energies to keep His charge, His statutes,
His commandments and His judgments all your
days, in order that you may live.
- 20 The Sages of the Israelites and their leaders
and priests went forth from the presence of the
honourable Priest Baba Rabbah as a Samaritan
Israelite community which possessed great strength
21 and abundant happiness. At that time the community
of Samaritan Israelites found favour in the sight
of the Lord their God; He increased happiness in
their ranks, the iron yoke He broke from off their
necks, the bars of their yoke He snapped and He
led them enduringly.
- 22 Now when the Sages arrived at the cities which
the honourable Priest Baba Rabbah had allotted
to them, the inhabitants of the cities surged

forward to express their joy and to lift up their voices with songs, praises and adorations of their God and the God of their fathers, who had chosen them from among all the nations and had delivered
23 them from this affliction. The Samaritan Israelites performed all this activity in accordance with the instructions of the Sages and Elders and the honourable king, the Priest Baba Rabbah, may the favour and forgiveness of the Lord be upon
24 him, Amen. They went on joyously celebrating and demonstrating their faith in the Law of Moses son of 'Amram, peace be upon him.

§11

1 Now the chiefs, who had been appointed over them by authority of the kings of the foreign nations, arrived to prevent them from carrying out the statutes of the holy Law, just as they used to
2 prevent them previously. However, all the men of the Samaritan Israelite community rose up against them and quickly slew them and burnt them in fire.
3 Simultaneously, in every city, in every town and in every place this act was committed against the honoured chiefs of the nations in all the cities of the Israelite community. It took place

on the night before the New Moon of the seventh (month), and the Samaritan Israelites established a commemoration to that event.

4 After the men of the Samaritan Israelite community had slain the chiefs appointed over them by the king of Edom, and had burned them in fire, emissaries and officers of the king got to hear 5 of this matter. They therefore sent some messengers to apprehend all the representatives of the Israelite community in order that they should 6 accompany them to the king of Edom. When the honourable king, the Priest Baba Rabbah, heard of this he went to meet them, with the men who were stationed with him, and they slew innumerable 7 men. Those that were left fell back and fled before them to their own kings, in dejection of woe. They recounted to them everything that had happened to them, and how the honourable priest, King Baba Rabbah, whom the Samaritan Israelite community had appointed over them as their new king, had slain a great number of them.

8 The honourable Priest Baba Rabbah realised (the consequences of) all that he had done to the emissaries of the kings, and he knew what he could expect from the kings -- that they would amass together a great army to come and wage war against 9 him. He therefore chose men from among the youth

of his people, the Samaritan Israelite community, men of war, whom he had trained to confront and to do battle against the kings of the nations.

10 When the kings of the nations heard about the act perpetrated by King Baba Rabbah against the emissaries, they amassed many men from their armies and sent them into battle against King Baba
11 Rabbah, with a strong force. Baba Rabbah went out to meet them with great determination, and the Lord gave over into the hand of King Baba Rabbah
12 all their army. He smote innumerable of their men and totally crushed them, filling the whole mountain of 'Asqôr — which is opposite the Holy Mountain, the Mount of Blessing, Mount Gerizim
13 Beth-El — with their corpses. The remainder fled and, hurrying to their kings, they told them what the honourable King Baba Rabbah had done to them, how they had slaughtered the majority of their men, and how the Lord had given them over into his hand and into the hand of the community of Samaritan Israelites with him.

14 Now when the kings heard this report they were very angry and incensed against the honourable King Baba Rabbah and against all the Samaritans
15 with him. The king of Constantinople thereupon arose and assembled a vast number of men, in their thousands and tens of thousands, to send into

battle against Baba Rabbah and all his people.

16 When the matter was reported to Baba Rabbah he sent
to all the places of the Samaritan Israelites,
17 summoning all their warriors. They came to him
from every quarter, from the entire hill country,
lowland, coastal area or plain, ten thousand
warriors, bearing their own weapons — swords,
spears and arrows — and fully equipped to meet
their enemies with a stout heart.

18 When the honourable King Baba Rabbah realised
how large was the number of his warriors and
how much sustenance would be required, he set out,
19 heavily armed and with great determination, and
drove out all the foreigners from round about
him — for they were enemies of the Samaritan
Israelite community — and dispossessed them.

20 Now when the report arrived, of how the righteous
King Baba Rabbah had slain so many of their men,
the remainder fled from before Baba Rabbah. He
then quartered troops in those cities, took
possession of them and settled in them his warriors
who had quickly come to him in the battles against
21 his enemy. He also appropriated from the community
of Samaritan Israelites a tax which they were
accustomed to pay to the kings of Edom, and he
purchased with it and weapons for his warriors.
He provided his warriors with all their daily

§11 - §12

22 requirements. He also issued a command that
 it should be proclaimed throughout all the
 cities of the Samaritan Israelite community
 that they should no longer pay taxes to the
 kings of Edom, neither ... nor food to the
 kings of Edom, as they had been (obliged
 to provide for (the upkeep of) their armies.

23 He made them give an undertaking that from
 that (day) onwards they would contribute only

24 to the Samaritan Israelite arm(y). Then the
 righteous King Baba Rabbah established his
 residence in the town of 'Amartah (where are
 buried) our masters, the ancestors of the
 High Priests, Eleazar, Ithamar and Pinhas,

25 peace be upon them forever. There are also
 there many graves of prophets, elders and

26 many pure and righteous people. It was because
 of this that its name was called the town of
 'Amartah; for it was established ('Ith'āmart)
 by the graves of these honourable righteous
 ones. The righteous King Baba Rabbah set up
 his camp in it.

§12

1 After this, a herald came to the righteous

2 King Baba Rabbah and informed him thus: 'Your
 enemies have come with a host so vast that

§12

- 3 that it cannot be numbered.' Then Baba Rabbah
and all the sages of the Samaritan people
presented themselves before the Lord their God
and, prostrating themselves upon their faces
4 to the ground, they spoke thus: 'O our God,
the Lord, do not keep Your presence (f)ar off
from us; do not hide Yourself in time of distress.
With pri(de)the children of.....
shall serve You will among
the pooryour God.....
in his heart You will not inquire, for You....
Have regard to our provocation, to take into
Your own hands whose words are wearisome.
- 5 You have been a shield and help to Your people.
Break the arm of the wicked; let them seek
6 without avail. The Lord is King for ever and
ever. The foreign nations perish from their land.
The desire of the humble You hear, O Lord. Sustain
their spirit and incline Your ear to hear their
request. Let no man on earth ever terrify them
7 again. Save, O Lord, Your people, for the pious
are destroyed, and the faithful have disappeared
8 from among the children of men. How long, O Lord,
will You forget us? For how long will You remove
Your presence from among us? For how long must
we rely upon ourselves for counsel, and must
grief dwell daily in our hearts? For how long

§12

9 must our enemies prevail over us? See and answer us, O Lord our God. Enlighten our eyes lest we fall into the sleep of death, lest our enemies say, "we can prevail over them," lest they say that we shall stumble. Yet, we trust in Your lovingkindness and we sing of Your name, so that it may go well for us.'

10 When Baba Rabbah and all the elders of the people had completed this prayer they sounded a note upon the trumpet, in commemoration of their obligation to fulfil the commands of the Lord which He commanded through the Master of the Prophets, His servant Moses son of 'Amram, peace be upon him forever.

11 'When you enter into battle in your land against an enemy that oppresses you, you shall sound an alarm upon the trumpets, and this will serve as a reminder of you before the Lord your God, and you will be delivered from your enemies.'

12 They therefore cried out with a mighty cry, saying in unison, 'Look down from Your holy habitation, from heaven, and deliver Your people Israel from the hand of their enemies.'

13 The Lord heard the sound of their cry on that day and He gave their enemies into their hands; so that the Samaritan Israelite community smote a large number from among their enemies. This battle raged on the mountain country

§12 - §13

opposite the holy city of Shechem. The Israelites splattered the blood of their enemy all over
14 the place. The blood flowed down from that mount like water, and the name of that place has been called "the route of the unclean blood" until this day.

§13

1 After this, the righteous King Baba Rabbah and all the elders of the people came and prostrated themselves to the ground before the Lord their God, and prayed thus:
2 'We will give thanks unto You, O Lord, with all our strength. In praise we will proclaim the Lord as the Rock of our salvation, our
3 Shield, our Deliverer. From our enemies we
4 were delivered. The death pangs surrounded us as the torrents of destruction overwhelmed us.
5 The bonds of Sheol tightened about us and the
6 snares of death were set to catch us. In our anguish we called to the Lord, and cried out to our God; and the Lord heard our voice and the
7 sound of our cries. The earth shook and the foundations of the mountains quaked and shook
8 by reason of His anger. A burning fire was kindled in His nostrils as He swept aside the heavens and descended. He let loose His arrows

§13

against our adversaries and scattered them, many
lightning shafts with which He terrified them.

9 He saved us from our enemies and adversaries
when they were too strong for us; He brought us
out into an open place and delivered us, for He
10 delighted in us. The Lord will bestow
lovingkindness upon us according to the abundance
of His own lovingkindness, and we will be
wholehearted towards Him and preserve ourselves
11 from iniquity. For, with the loyal, He shows
Himself loyal and with the blameless man
blameless; with the pure He shows Himself pure
and with the perverse He shows Himself tortuous.
With the humble He is a saviour, but the
12 haughty-eyed He casts down. He will light our
13 lamps and banish our darkness. For by You we
have crushed an army and leaped over a wall.
14 The ways of the Lord are perfect and His word
is righteous. He is a shield to all who trust
15 in Him. What God is there but the Lord? What
Rock is there but our God?

16 We will disperse our enemies and overtake them,
and we will not return until we will have made
17 an end of them. Though they cry, no saviour will
save them. We will pound them finer than dust
before the wind; we will cast them out like
18 the earthenware sherd. You will deliver us from

§13 - §14

the clamour of the peoples, and will make us
masters of the nations. Nations we never knew
19 shall be our subjects; as soon as they hear
the report of us they shall obey us. Foreigners
shall come cringing to us, strangers shall
20 fall and emerge from their chambers. Our God,
the Lord, lives and our Rock is blessed. The
21 God who saves us is exalted. The Lord, who grants
us vengeance and makes the peoples to wilt
away before us so that we tread upon their backs,
22 grants us deliverance from our enemies, even
from all who rise up against us. He redeems us
23 from violent men. Therefore we will praise You
among the nations, O Lord, and sing to Your name
24 with all our strength, even to the One who gives
us victory and keeps faith with the son of His
beloved ones.'

§14

1 At that time, the Chaldean king decided to
wage war against King Alexander. In the ensuing
battle between them, the Chaldean king took
cities from the King (Alexander). For this reason
he was prevented from fighting against the
righteous King Baba Rabbah.

2 At that time, the Arabs, sons of Ishmael, came

to the city of (Da'riah), plundered it and
3 destroyed it. This was a large city in which
many of the Samaritan Israelite community lived.
4 The righteous King Baba Rabbah heard of their
coming and he went to meet them. He smote them
disintegrated them and pursued them to the other
side of the Jordan, slaying innumerable of their
5 men. The Samaritan Israelites plundered the Arabs
of their flocks of sheep and cattle as well as
their garments, silver, gold, and weapons too
numerous to count.

6 When the kings got to hear that the righteous king,
the Priest Baba Rabbah, had gone forth to meet
the Arabs, sons of Ishmael, in battle and had
smote them, disintegrated them and pursued them
beyond the Jordan. Those very Arabs had acted as
thieves, highway robbers and bandits, waylaying
horses, conducting themselves with arrogance,
doing anything they pleased, their dominion being
so strong at that time. For that reason, all the
7 kings were glad and rejoiced. They sent to the
righteous King Baba Rabbah food and provisions,
enough for ten thousand of his army. They also
sent him silver, gold and robes. They communicated
with him, praising him for the act that he had
performed against the Arabs.

8 Then the righteous King Baba Rabbah sang this
9 song to the Lord, saying thus: 'I will sing to

§15

10 You, O Lord my God, my strength and my song. I
11 will glorify and exalt You. The Lord is mighty
12 in war; Lord is His name. The king rejoices in
13 Your exaltedness, O Lord; how shall he not
14 delight in Your victory? Your right hand, O
15 Lord, is glorious in strength; Your right hand,
16 O Lord, has shattered the enemy. For You have
17 given me my heart's desire, and You have not
18 refused me anything I asked. For You welcomed
19 me with goodly blessings, You have set upon my
20 head a wreath of lovingkindness. Who is like
21 You among the mighty ones, Lord? Who is like
22 You, majestic in holiness, worthy of awe and
praise, who works wonders? Your salvation has
brought me great glory; You have invested me with
majesty and honour. The king puts his trust in
the Lord; the loving care of the Most High holds
him unshaken. Your hand shall reach all Your
enemies; You will shatter all Your foes. Your
hand will exterminate their offspring from the
earth, and rid mankind of their posterity. Be
exalted, Lord, in Your might; we will sing, praise
and exalt Your power.'

21 Then the righteous King Baba Rabbah summoned
the elders of the people, its leaders and officers.
When they came to him, he addressed them thus:
22 'Now we are obliged to offer song, praises and
thanksgiving in abundance to our God and the God

§14 - §15

of our fathers, who has dealt righteously with us in His superabundant lovingkindness, has saved us by this victory, has delivered our enemies into our hand and has shattered those who came to take us and our children and our wives into captivity. The Lord has given them into our hand and we have taken all their cattle and all their possessions.

- 23 Now our enemies know that it is from the Lord our God that this victory of ours has come. For we have crushed them, and by reason of this they have sent us fine gifts and have honoured us in
- 24 this splendid way. This came about only by reason of the lovingkindness of our God, our Shelter and our Lord towards us, He who made our enemies fail before us and endowed us with this great glory. For, although we were too weary to rise up against them, fearful of their violence and
- 25 overcome by their might, now God has fulfilled for us what He expressly stated through the Master of the Prophets, the son of 'Amram our teacher, in our books of the holy Law: 'Though your enemies dwindle away before you, you shall tread upon their backs.'

§15

- 1 After this, the honourable king, the Priest Baba Rabbah assembled all his people before him,

2 and spoke thus: 'Return now in peace, every man to
his city and to his place. If, at any time, I shall
have need of your services, I shall send and call
3 you. However, let there remain with me three
4 thousand men from among you. Let them be stationed
near me, at all times let me find them standing by me.
Let them dwell in the villages around the city of
'Amartah where I live; let them not be distant
from me.

5 This pleased the elders of the Samaritan Israelites,
their chiefs and officers, and they answered thus:
'The thing which you have suggested to do is good.'
6 They therefore did as he had commanded them, and
stationed three thousand warriors in the villages
7 which were around the city of 'Amartah. The
righteous king, the Priest Baba Rabbah then blessed
all his people, and each man returned to his place
with great rejoicing and peace of mind, praising
the Lord their God, may His great name be blessed,
with songs.

8 The Elders of the Samaritan Israelite community
would come in from the towns near to the holy city
of Shechem every night of 'Hadah' — at the beginning
of every week — and assemble with the Elders of
that city and go together to the city of 'Amartah
in order to congregate with the righteous King
Baba Rabbah, may the favour and forgiveness of the

Lord be upon him, Amen.

- 9 It was at that time, when the whole Samaritan Israelite community enjoyed honour, glory and abundant strength, that they would rejoice and be glad in the revelation of their faith; for the Lord - may His name be blessed - had removed from them the violence of the enemy. At that time, when each man camped side by side with his neighbour, the Samaritan Israelite community would assemble at the Hall of Assembly every night of 'Hadah' with abundant rejoicing. This custom has remained operative among them to this day.
- 10 The righteous King Baba Rabbah, may the favour of the Lord be upon him, Amen, - as for the place which bore his name, it was not customary to open it except by permission of the priests. It then remained (open) for just one day.
- 11 Some time later King Alexander died. That king, in his latter days, had not been able to wage war against the Samaritan Israelite community, for the Lord, may His name be blessed, had imposed upon him the dread, fear and awe of them.
- 12 The kings at that time were too feeble to levy a tax upon the Samaritan Israelite community, neither could they wage war against them. They sent a message to summon the elders and leaders of the
- 13 Judaeen community, as follows: 'If you succeed in smiting the righteous King Baba Rabbah and

- defeating him, we will give you authority to build your Temple which is in the city of
- 14 Jerusalem. The Elders of the Judaeen community then assembled and discussed with each other the following question: 'How shall we proceed against King Baba Rabbah so that we may be able to defeat
- 15 him and build our Temple?' Some men of them took the view thus: 'Why should we requite Baba Rabbah evil for good? For, since the kingdom of Baba Rabbah has flourished, all the burdens and troubles imposed by those kings has been removed from us, and they were unable to do us harm.
- 16 Now, if we proceed against King Baba Rabbah and do not achieve our objective, we will have been responsible for bringing upon ourselves much harm from Baba Rabbah and all his people, the community of Samaritan Israelites. We will then become the enemies of King Baba Rabbah, as well as of all the kings of the nations.'
- 17 Others among them took this view: 'Indeed, we shall succeed in inflicting harm upon King Baba Rabbah and smiting him. Let us attack him and not desist, perchance we may build our Temple. Do you not know, brethren, that King Baba Rabbah and all his people of the Samaritan Israelite community will prevent us from building our Temple, and will tell us that the city of Jerusalem is

§15 - §16

neither the holy city nor the chosen place. On the contrary, they will say that the chosen place is Mount Gerizim Beth-El.'

18 However, the thoughts of the righteous King Baba Rabbah were not these. His sole intention was to manifest the faith in the holy Law of Moses, to multiply hymns and praise to the God of heaven and earth — may His holy name be blessed — to base everything upon the reading of the holy Law and to carry out its precepts and laws with faithfulness.

19 At that time there were a number of men of the Judaeen community, living in the town of Nemarah. Some of the Judaeen Elders came to that town and took secret counsel among themselves in order to direct their attention to the slaying of the righteous King Baba Rabbah, in reward for which they would obtain from the foreign kings permission to build their Temple in the city of Jerusalem.

§16

1 At that time, the righteous king, the Priest Baba Rabbah went to the town of Nemarah. His visit took place on the sixth day of the week, so that he could observe the Sabbath at that town,
2 as was his custom, spending the whole of the

Sabbath day in the Synagogue. For, whatever place Baba Rabbah came to he would enter the Synagogue on Sabbath eve and would not depart from it until the conclusion of the Sabbath.

3 Now the plan of the Judaeans was to attack the righteous King Baba Rabbah and all his men on the Sabbath eve; for at that time the Samaritan Israelite community would be unable to take up arms. They would then attack them inside the Synagogue while they were standing in prayer, and destroy them there.

4 But the Lord, may His name be blessed, did not want them to achieve their purpose, for in His wisdom He disclosed their secret plot on the fifth day of the week, before the arrival of King Baba Rabbah to the town of Nemarah, which was on the (eve of the) seventh day of the week. The Lord, sanctified be His name, disclosed the secret plot of the Judaeen community on the fifth day of the week to the community of Samaritan Israelites.

6 Its revelation took place in this manner: A Judaeen woman had a friend among the Samaritan Israelite women. Because of the great love that existed between the Israelite woman and the Judaeen woman, on the fifth day of that week the Judaeen woman said to her sister, the Israelite,

'My sister, I beg of you not to go on Sabbath eve to the Synagogue.'

7 The Israelite woman replied thus to her Judaeen sister: 'Why, my sister, would you hold me back from attending the Synagogue? What is your motive?'

8 The Judaeen woman replied, 'Why do you urge me to tell you the reason now? I am greatly afraid, for as soon as I reveal to you the reason, you will disclose all that I have uttered, and I will bring great suffering and punishment upon myself.'

9 The Israelite woman answered thus: 'If you will tell me the reason, I will not disclose it to anyone, as you command, my sister.'

10 So the Judaeen woman spoke up, saying, 'Be aware,
11 my sister, that the Judaeans have plotted to strike King Baba Rabbah and all his men on the eve of the Sabbath. While they are standing in prayer they will come upon them stealthily and smite
12 them there. Now that I have told you, I beg you to keep it a secret and not to speak of it.'

13 Now when the Israelite woman of the Samaritan Israelite community heard this report from her Judaeen friend, her face became tense with zeal.

14 She went quickly to the righteous King Baba Rabbah and told him of the matter. She did not mention, however, the name of the Judaeen woman, as she had promised her.

15 When the righteous King Baba Rabbah heard
these things he was most angry with the Judaeans
16 community. He had it disclosed to them that
he would spend the night of the Sabbath in the
17 Synagogue, from Friday. In the evening King Baba
Rabbah arrived at the Synagogue, dressed in
linen garments. When, at sunset, it grew dark,
the righteous King Baba Rabbah took off the linen
garments which were the dress for the holy
Sabbath, and slipped out of the Synagogue without
anyone knowing that he had left.

18 At sunrise, an innumerable crowd of Judaeans
assembled and came to the Synagogue. They searched
thoroughly there for the righteous King Baba
19 Rabbah, for he was the one they wanted. They shut
the doors and set it on fire, for they were sure
that the King Baba Rabbah was in the Synagogue.

20 When the King Baba Rabbah, may the favour of
the Lord and His forgiveness be upon him, Amen,
observed this deed of the Judaeans, he cried out
against them in a loud voice. All his men also
cried out in unison, 'What have you been up to,
and what is your intention?'

21 The Judaeans were terrified at the sound of
their shouting, for it was very great; fear and
trembling overcame them; they were in trepidation;
terror overtook them and all their hearts melted.

They threw away their weapons from their hands
and fled before the righteous King Baba Rabbah
22 and his men. Baba Rabbah and his men went out.
His men pursued them, overtook them and brought
them back to the righteous king, the Priest Baba
Rabbah. Some of the men drew near and, falling
23 before him to the ground, they addressed him thus:
'We beg you, our lord, let us be your servants.
We have sinned against the Lord your God and
against you in seeking your life, though you did
us no evil; only good you have done for us. Indeed,
you are the cause of the removal of the iron
yoke from upon us, which was imposed by the foreign
kings.'

24 The righteous King Baba Rabbah issued a command
to his men, and they seized them all. He said to
them, 'Why have you requited good with evil?
Did you not know that my sole intention was to
strengthen the faith of the religion of Israel
and to remove the violence of all the kings from
upon you — those with whom you have waged many
25 wars. Now the Lord has given them all into my
hands and I have taken all the tribes of Israel
from beneath their grasp, so that they might
manifest the faith of Israel, sing praises and
songs to the Lord their God, pray and read in the
book of the Holy Law of Moses in a loud voice,
with none to prevent them, having been hitherto

26 unable to do so. Notwithstanding this, you have come
against me to shed my blood and to burn me and
27 all my brethren in fire. Woe to you; woe to you.
Did you not know that the Lord would give you into
my hand? Now you shall have no deliverance.'

28 King Baba Rabbah issued the command and they
removed the Judaeans from his presence and put
them under guard until after the Sabbath. They
then set them before him so that he might pass
a just sentence upon them.

29 Baba Rabbah said, 'I have no obligation to
spare you alive after you have sought my life
and the lives of my men, to kill us on the night
of the holy Sabbath when we were standing in
prayer, singing praises, magnifying and extolling
the Lord our God and the God of our fathers.'

30 Thereupon he slew them and burned them in fire,
doing just as the Lord had commanded in His holy
Law, (as it says), "And you shall do unto him
as he had intended to do to his brother." He also
confiscated from the Judaeans the hill opposite
31 the tower. He slew the inhabitants of it. No one
remained, neither man or woman, except the woman
who had disclosed the matter to her Israelite
friend. For she had sought the protection of her
Israelite friend and entered the Samaritan
Israelite community. For she feared for her life
32 from the Judaeans community. The righteous king,
the Priest Baba Rabbah, sent a message to her
friend, summoning that woman, and he dealt well
with her

1 After this, all the Judaeans heard what the righteous
King Baba Rabbah had done to their Judaeon brethren
inhabitants of the town of Nemarah. Some of them went
and burned all the crops of the Samaritan Israelites'
2 fields. When King Baba Rabbah heard, he went out
after them with all his men and smote them, leaving
but a small remnant of them.

3 When King Gordianus heard of the action that they
had taken against the Samaritan Israelite community
and against the Priest Baba Rabbah, he issued an
edict that their Temple should be built in the city
of Jerusalem. He sought, thereby, to foster enmity
between the Judaeon and the Samaritan Israelite
communities, so that strife should exist between them.

4 Now the righteous King Baba Rabbah had not prevented
the Judaeans from building their Temple in the city
of Jerusalem; but when the Judaeon community assembled
together all the materials of the house that were
required for the building, at the very moment that
they wanted to begin it, the Lord produced a great
5 sign from heaven. This was the sign: a very great
whirlwind carried away all that the Judaeans had
prepared and gathered together, and scattered it over
6 the surface of the whole land. The Judaeon community
consequently ceased to build their Temple. Afterwards,
(the site of) this house left the possession of the
Judaeans, until this day, so that they were unable
to build it.

- 7 Then Baba Rabbah and the Samaritan Israelites
8 sang this song to the Lord: 'To You, Lord, do we
 lift up our hands. In You we trust, O our God
9 therefore let us not be ashamed, neither let
 our enemies exult over us. Those that wait for
 You shall not be rent, but those that deal
10 treacherously with us shall be rent. Make known
 to us Your ways, O our God. Make us to understand
11 Your paths. Guide us by Your truth and teach us,
12 for You are the God of our salvation. Your mercy
 and lovingkindness are of old; the remembrance of
13 them is with us now. Turn not to our stubbornness
 and wickedness; for the sake of Your goodness, O
 Lord, remember us according to Your lovingkindness.
14 You are righteous and upright, but we are perpetrators
15 of sin. All the ways of the Lord are lovingkindness
 and truth for those who observe His statutes and
16 commandments. For the sake of the holiness of Your
 holy name, O Lord, make expiation for our iniquity.
17 Who is that man who fears the Lord? He will guide
18 him to the way of His choosing. His soul shall abide
 in goodness and his seed shall inherit the earth.
19 The Lord's counsel is with them that fear Him, and
 His covenant is with them that preserve the truth
 and declare His holiness.
20 Sing unto the Lord, you who are the Lord's
 children. Ascribe glory and strength to the Lord,
 our God; ascribe greatness to the Lord our God.

- 21 Worship the Lord on Mount Gerizim, his holy
Mountain. To any other than it you may not turn.
- 22 The Lord will grant strength to His Samaritan
people with peace'.

§18

- 1 When the hand of the Edomite kings came down
heavily against the righteous Priest Baba Rabbah,
may the favour of the Lord and His forgiveness
be upon Him, Amen, he summoned to him all the
elders of his people, members of the Samaritan
Israelite community, and spoke to them thus:
- 2 'I have well determined to do this thing which
I shall now tell you, that it may be well. It is
my desire to send Levi, the son of my brother, to
the cities of the Romans, to work among them. He
should present himself as one of them, and acquaint
3 himself with every custom of their Faith. Let him
repair to some place and pose as an Elder — since
they know not his origin nor what he is about. The
purpose of this is that he might ascend Mount
Gerizim Beth-El, the Chosen Place, and direct all
his effort to breaking down the bird that is
4 situated there. If he does so, we will be able to
go up to Mount Gerizim Beth-El and seek the Lord our
God, whose name is sanctified upon it. Perhaps He

will accept us and deliver our enemies into our
5 hands'. (For there was situated on that holy
Mountain, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, a bird, like a
dove, used for the performance of divination and
6 sorcery by the Roman sorcerers. That bird was
made of brass, but to any Israelite coming up to
Mount Gerizim Beth-El the bird which they had made
would call out 'Ibrayoc. When the Romans used to
hear the call of this bird they would arise, search
for the Israelite person until they apprehended
him with a view to slaying him, which they
invariably did. For this reason the Samaritan
Israelite community was unable to ascend Mount
Gerizim Beth-El.)

7 Now when the Elders of the people and its
officers heard this from the righteous king, the
Priest Baba Rabbah, they replied together, 'Our
lord, do according to what is right in your sight;
for whatever you command us we will hear and obey.'

8 Baba Rabbah answered them thus, 'If you desire
to do this thing, deliver to me the signatures of
your hand, so that after the son of my brother is
brought back from there, you will not deal
abhorrently by refusing to accept him back to the
9 religion which he has today.' They did as he
commanded them, and gave him the signature of their
hands.

10 After this, Baba Rabbah had Levi, the son of
his brother, brought to him. He assembled all
the Elders of the people, its leaders and officers,
commanding the son of his brother in their presence,
11 in these words: 'Nephew, know that it is necessary
for us to send you to the cities of the Romans,
those heretical Baal worshippers and perpetrators
of abominations, who walk on the evil path. Be on
your guard lest you be ensnared into following them;
and direct your mind to studying every single aspect
of their belief.

12 Nephew, take heed to observe the practice of
your own Faith, and do not deviate from this good
way, that through it you may live out your full life
and your after-life.

13 Nephew, take heed lest you neglect the regular
14 daily and nightly reading of the holy Law. Nephew,
rouse yourself to observe all the statutes and
15 commandments of this Law. Nephew, be on your guard
lest that which proceeds from your own desire
entices you. At all times remember all that the
Lord your God created you for, and the abundant
goodness that you receive thereby throughout your
16 life and after-life. May the Lord, His name be
sanctified, be your support in all the deeds that
we will require you to perform'.

17 He then disclosed to him what he must do there
and Baba Rabbah sent away his nephew Levi and many

elders of the people. They returned to their places,
and Levi set out, making for the city of Constantina.

18 Now Levi was a man of perception and wise knowledge,
a righteous spokesman among his contemporaries.
19 Whatscever he undertook the Lord made to prosper. It
was for that reason that his uncle, the righteous
King Baba Rabbah, sent him to the country of the
Edomites, the land of the Romans, with no one to
20 accompany him. Levi was seventeen years old at the
time that he left for the city of Constantina.

On arrival at that city he concealed his identity,
21 applied himself to study and directed all his energy
to learning all Roman customs. He attained his
objective within ten years, so much so that he became
unique among the Romans. There was not to be found
among them any man as knowledgeable as he in the
22 practices and general affairs of the Romans. His
rank gradually rose among them until he attained the
highest rank. They accorded him a high station,
waited upon him, invoked him fro a blessing, kissed
23 his hand at all times and, because of the volume of
wisdom he revealed to them, they called his name
'Great Skopos'. He was given the highest rank, so that
not one Roman king could ascend his royal throne
except on his authority. It was he who invested them
with their kingly crown and robes.

- 1 Thirteen years after Levi had departed -- he was
now thirty years of age -- he said to the chief
Roman king, 'It is my desire to go to the land of
Palestine, to the city of Shechem which is in that
country, in order to see the Synagogues there.'
- 2 The king thereupon directed all the soldiers in the
province of Constantina to accompany Levi. He set
3 out, leaving the province of Constantina. There went
with him all the leaders of the Roman people, their
officers, some of the kings and all the army, in
order to wait upon him and do whatever he would
command them.
- 4 He set out with an innumerable entourage. When Levi
and all who were with him approached the holy city
of Shechem, the senior king who was with him issued
an order to all nations, saying, 'Arise and come
forth, all of you, to meet the great 'Skopos' who
is with me.'
- 5 When the righteous King Baba Rabbah heard this
he was very afraid and distressed. He summoned to him
all the Elders of the Samaritan Israelite community,
6 and all their heads and officers, and spoke to them
thus: 'We did not act sensibly in sending Levi, my
nephew, to the land of the Edomites; for, during these
thirteen years, since he left until this day, we have
heard no report of him or what he has been doing in
that land. Will not my heart fail if that nephew of

- 7 mine dies in the Edomite land? Furthermore, I have heard a report of this 'Skopos' that he is a man of violence, and that he has come to our land in order to slay us all. We have no alternative now but to go out and meet him. We must fear for our lives because of him, lest he becomes angry with us. With such a large number of Roman soldiers around him, if he orders them to strike us they will smite
- 8 the lot of us. Moreover, what can we do about him, seeing that we are unprepared for battle or for any offensive action, having no weapons with which to smite the enemy or defend ourselves against them? Furthermore, with such a large force at his disposal, if he gives the command to smite us, they will smite us until we are completely destroyed, for they are unnumerable.'
- 9 When all the Elders, leaders and officers heard this, they feared greatly, and spoke thus to the righteous King Baba Rabbah: 'We trust in the Lord our God, may His name be sanctified. He will cleave to us and support us, and deliver us from these wicked people.'
- 10 Then Levi, Baba Rabbah's nephew, who was called 'Skopos', arrived at the gate of the holy city of Shechem. All the Samaritan community went out to meet him, with the righteous king, the Priest Baba
- 11 Rabbah, leading them. When they approached him he looked closely and saw that it was his uncle, the

Priest Baba Rabbah, with all the Israelite community with him. Fear was visible on their faces and, with Phylacteries between their eyes, they were crying out and addressing goodly greetings to him in a very
12 loud voice. When he heard the sound of their cries, he had compassion for them.

13 The righteous King Baba Rabbah and all his people did not recognize him, though he recognized them. For, when he had departed from them for the land of the Edomites, he was a lad whose face was hairless and unworn. Having settled there, he was now thirty years of age, with a very long beard and dressed in garments
14 all of black. Quite apart from this, he became invested with the highest rank, a rank which no member of his community ever expected him to attain.

15 Levi turned to the king who was accompanying him and spoke thus: 'Who are these men, the like of whom
16 I have not seen before in all my travels?' The king answered, saying, 'My lord, these are a rebellious people, who call themselves Samaritan Israelites. Those are the representatives of the Samaritan community.'
17 He asked further, 'Whom do they worship?' The answer was given, 'They serve a God whom no man can see. Regarding Him, they assert that He is the God of gods, Lord of lords, God of heaven and earth and all created things.'

18 The 'Skopos' then demanded, 'Why do they not worship

the idols and Baals and forsake their own belief which we have not authorised?'

- 19 The king answered, 'indeed, my lord, we have already spoken to you at great length about this matter. Regularly, up to the present day, we have demanded that they do this, but they have not listened to us, neither have they worshipped the Baals or idols. They have not desisted from calling upon their own God as the supreme God and Lord, Creator of all beings.'
- 20 The 'Skopos' answered the king thus: 'If they will not listen to us or do as we command them, and if they will not forsake their own Faith and serve the Baals as we do, none of them shall remain alive.'
- 21 (This statement, concerning the Samaritan Israelite community, was heard by all — it being about them that the 'Skopos' had made his statement.)
- 22 Then the 'Skopos' — who was Levi, nephew of the righteous King Baba Rabbah — made his way to the Chosen Place, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, accompanied
- 23 by the king's ministers. As they approached the top of the mountain, the brazen bird, the object used for divination; cried out 'Ibriyos', as he always did whenever a member of the Israelite community chanced to be on that mountain. (This cry of 'Ibriyos' is translated into the holy language as 'Ibhri bî 'adônî ('There is a Hebrew around me, my lord'))

24 The great 'Skopos', that is Levi, said, 'What
is this?' They answered, 'This bird is of copper;
it is an object of divination which our brethren,
the Roman chiefs, have left in this place, on account
of the Samaritan Israelite community. For whenever
25 anyone of them comes on to this mountain, it cries
out 'Ibriyos!! The 'Skopos' replied, 'I see now that
it is not ceasing its cries. Go, look out and search
the whole of this mountain, and if you find a member
of the Samaritan Israelite community, strike him
down so that we may have some rest from the noise
of the cries of this bird.'

26 They sent many men to search out the whole mount
for any Samaritan Israelites. They went and searched
every corner of that mountain but found no Hebrew
27 there. They came back and told the king and his men,
'We have searched the whole mountain and found no
Hebrew on it.'

28 The 'Skopos' then came to the Synagogue on top
of the mountain and sat down there, with all the
elders and leaders standing before him. Still, the
brazen bird was crying out 'Ibriyos' in a loud and
raucous voice. It did not cease its crying for one
moment during the whole of that night, until the
29 morning. Levi turned to the servants who had
searched the whole mountain and said, 'Have you
searched every corner of this mountain and really
not discovered any Samaritan Hebrew there?'

- 30 They answered, 'By God, we have searched every corner of the mountain, as you commanded us, and we have discovered no Hebrew child or adult of the Samaritan Israelite community.'
- 31 Levi replied, 'Surely this bird has gone mad because its master is missing. It can no longer serve any purpose other than to depress our spirit and give us a headache from the noise of its cries. Yesterday we were deprived of sleep.' The king said to him, 'My lord, what do you wish us to do with it?' 'Break it up,' he replied, 'and throw it away.'
- 33 They hurriedly broke up the bird and threw it away, as he had commanded.

This happened on the night of the seventh New Moon.

- 34 Around the (first) third of the night, about four hours after the beginning of night, all the officers, elders and leaders, as well as the king and the men who were with him, all fell asleep; for he had made them drunk with wine and strong drink. He (Levi) had, in fact, urged them to drink so much that they had become drunk and had fallen asleep.
- 35 When Levi saw that the drinking had taken control of them, so much so that none of them could distinguish right from left, and that when he commanded them either to lie down or rise up, they remained lying
- 36 down in a very deep sleep, he immediately rose up, sword in hand, and went down from Mount Gerizim Beth-El, to seek out his uncle, the righteous king, the Priest

Baba Rabbah at the town of 'Amartah, for he knew that his uncle's residence was there.

37 When the righteous King Baba Rabbah got to hear
of the instruction issued by the 'Great Skopos', his
nephew, Levi, he assembled all the heads and elders
of the Samaritan Israelite community at the town of
38 'Amartah. They were all faint-hearted, fearful and
confused, not knowing how they should act towards
this man, the 'Skopos', so that he might desist from
attacking them and find a way to obtain his sympathy,
and thereby escape his punishment.

39 In the moment of their confusion over this matter,
Levi stood at the door and knocked lightly. Their
fear increased and their trembling became so intense
that not one of them was able to open the door in
order to see who was knocking.

40 The righteous King Baba Rabbah himself rose up,
whereupon all the princes rose with him, and they
41 went to see who was at the door. When they opened
the door they took fright, for the 'Great Skopos'
himself was standing at the door. They were unable
to talk to hi, so terrified were they the moment
42 they saw him. Levi hurried, however, and fell at the
feet of his uncle, the righteous king, the Priest
Baba Rabbah, and kissed them. He took his hands in
his own and kissed them; and, falling about his neck,
43 he wept, saying, in the holy language of the Hebrew

44 tongue, 'Now I can die, having seen you again, that
you are still alive.' The righteous King Baba Rabbah
was now sure that the 'Great Skopos' was Levi, his
nephew.

45 At that time there was the sound of great
celebration in that place, among Baba Rabbah and
all those assembled there of the Samaritan Israelite
46 community. Baba Rabbah then took his nephew's hand
and led him into an inner place. Seating him at his
47 right hand, Baba Rabbah started to ask his nephew
about all that he had done during the period of his
48 exile in the land of the Romans. Levi, the 'great
Skopos,' related to Baba Rabbah all the things
which he had done, in the hearing of all who were
gathered there. Their rejoicing knew no bounds, and
they sang praises and songs of thanksgiving in a
great and loud voice to the Lord who had delivered
them from every disaster and retribution.

49 When Levi had finished addressing his uncle Baba
Rabbah, he added the following: 'Tomorrow night,
in the middle of the night, mobilise sword-bearing
50 men. Let them stay close to me and observe my orders.
For, when the enemy falls asleep, I will quickly
rise up and strike their necks with the sword, in
revenge for the Lord, may His name be sanctified.
We will smite them, destroy them and blot out their
name from under the heaven. May help from the Lord
our God attend us, and may He deliver us from their
evil.'

51 Thus it happened that Levi rose up and ascended
the mountain quickly, discovering all the Romans
asleep and quite unaware that he had ever left the
52 mountain or returned to its summit. (Now this took
place on the night of the termination of the
festival of the seventh month, or, to be more
exact, the night of the termination of the festival
of the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly.)

53 The righteous King Baba Rabbah then sent a
message to all the cities round about him, wherein
men of the community of Samaritan Israelites lived,
54 in which he said, 'Be equipped and armed for war,
and be ready at midnight. When you see the flame
of fire on the top of the hill which is on top of
the Chosen Place, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, then smite
the leaders and officials appointed over you by
55 the Romans. Leave no remnant of them, but destroy
every one of their officials, as well as all those
who might prevent you from consolidating your Faith.
Smite with the sword all those around you until they
are destroyed, so that you may reach your brethren
and assemble, all of you together, in the plain of
Moreh, which is next to the Chosen Place, Mount
Gerizim Beth-El.'

56 So it was that about midnight the whole army of
the righteous King Baba Rabbah, may the favour
and forgiveness of God be upon him, assembled in
57 their hosts. They all ascended the holy Mountain,

Mount Gerizim Beth-El, with the righteous King, the Priest Baba Rabbah leading them. There was but a spear's throw between them and the summit of the Mount of Blessing, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, when Levi realised how close they were to him. He rose up with great zeal, sword in hand, armed
58 with divine aid, sanctified be His name, and he pierced with his sword the king, his men and all the Elders who were to be found on that mountain.

59 Then Levi cried out in a loud voice: 'The
60 Lord is mighty in war; Lord is His name.' When the Samaritan Israelite community heard their cries, they also cried out in unison, 'The Lord is mighty in war; Lord is His name.'

61 The whole earth trembled at the sound of their shouting. At that moment not a beast in the field remained crouching in its lair. On hearing the noise of the people, they all fled at the sound, saying, 'Such sounds we have never ever heard before.'

62 After that, Levi and his uncle, the righteous King Baba Rabbah, and all the men who were with him, arose and kindled a fire on the top of the hill which was the summit of the Mountain of Inheritance, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, so that the whole community of Samaritan Israelites, who dwelt in the cities, might see it, and do all that the

63 righteous King Baba Rabbah had commanded them. When
all the people living in the cities, the settlements
and other places saw the flames of fire, they arose
and smote all the leaders and officers who had been
appointed over them by the Roman community, allowing
none to remain.

64 The Israelite community arose that night and
overthrew all the Roman meeting-houses and all their
posts, blotting out their name from the Mountain
of the Divine Presence, Mount Gerizim Beth-El.

65 From the day the Samaritan Israelite community did
this to the Romans, Samaritan children have set fire
to the wood of their Succah-booths on the night of
the termination of the festival of the Eighth Day
of Solemn Assembly, which concludes the festivals
of the Lord. This episode has thus remained a
memorial among them unto this day.

66 Then the righteous King Baba Rabbah and all the
Elders of the people sang this song:

67 'The Lord our God is our shepherd, we shall
68 not want. To the Lord is the earth and the
fullness thereof, the Divine Presence and
69 all that dwell therein. For He founded it
upon the seas and established it upon the
70 rivers. To You, O Lord our God, will we lift
71 up our face; in You we have trusted, and You
did not let us down. Therefore our enemies
72 have not derided us. All who wait for You

- will suffer no violence; but they that deal
treacherously without cause will suffer
- 73 violence. The Lord is our salvation, whom
shall we fear? In the Lord's hand is the
life of our souls, of what shall we be afraid?
- 74 For when the wicked approached to devour
our flesh, our adversaries and enemies all
- 75 stumbled and fell. Though a great host should
encamp against us, our heart will not fear.
Though war should arise against us, we will
not tremble; for He is our deliverer.
- 76 One request of the Lord we have — that will
we seek after: that we may dwell in His place,
the Mountain of Blessing, the Mount of Holiness,
the Mount of Inheritance and Divine Presence,
the Chosen Place, Mount Gerizim Beth-El.
- 77 May our heads be raised high above our enemies
around us, may His will be efficacious and
may His habitation be disclosed to us, that
we may offer our sacrifices upon His altar.
- 78 Then will we see it established, though not
yet; then we will behold it, though not soon.
A star shall come forth out of Jacob, a comet
shall arise from Israel. He shall smite
the heads of Moab and beat down all the sons
- 79 of strife. Edom shall be his conquest, after
- 80 which Israel will do valiant deeds. Blessed
be our God forever, and blessed be His name
forever and ever.'

1 After these events, when the Roman inhabitants
of the cities that had been saved got to hear of
all that the Samaritan Israelite community had
2 perpetrated against their men, they became
inflamed with a great fury. They assembled together
innumerable men to seek out the righteous King
3 Baba Rabbah and all his Samaritan people. When
Baba Rabbah was informed about them he did not
flee from his place until they had reached the
4 neighbourhood of the holy city of Shechem. Then
Baba Rabbah made haste and went to meet them at
5 that place, engaging them in war. The Lord gave
them into his hand, and he smote many of their
men. The rest fled before him. He pursued after
6 them a day's journey before returning to his place,
singing and praising the Lord his God, may His
name be blessed forever and ever.

7 When this was later related to the king of Rome
and to all his people, the Roman inhabitants of the
cities which were saved, they waged war against
the righteous King Baba Rabbah. The latter, and
all his people defeated them, and those that were
left fled before them. They pursued after them a
day's journey, and they could not count how many
8 Romans they slew, for there were so many. When
the Roman king got to hear of it, and what the
righteous King Baba Rabbah and his people had done

to the men who had been saved, he grew very furious
9 and full of rage. He sent word that an innumerable
body of men be gathered together and he sent them
into battle against the righteous King Baba Rabbah
and his Samaritan people.

10 When Baba Rabbah heard of their coming, he went
11 out to meet them and war broke out between them. He
prayed to the Lord thus:

'Lord God, as You have previously dealt with me,
so now, give these wicked men into my hands.'

12 And the Lord accepted his entreaty and gave them over
into his hand. The war between the army of the
righteous King Baba Rabbah and the Roman army took
place in the city of 'Askor. The Lord gave them
over into the power of the Samaritan army and they
trounced them, only a small number being spared.

13 These hastily fled before the Samaritan Israelite
community and went straight to their own kings,
telling them all that the righteous King Baba Rabbah
14 and his Samaritan people had done to them. They said
to them, 'They gave us a good trouncing, but we saw
no one slain among them.'

15 The Roman kings were enraged against the righteous
king, the Priest Baba Rabbah and against all his
16 Samaritan people. They hastily assembled a vast army,
17 so vast that it could not be numbered. It was reported
to the King Baba Rabbah thus: 'Know that a vast army
of Roman kings is marching against you in their

18 thousands and tens of thousands. King Baba Rabbah
assembled all the Elders, heads and leaders of
19 his people and disclosed this to them. They wrote
letters which they issued to all the cities of
the Samaritan Israelite community, telling them
of the approach of a Roman army of innumerable
proportions to fight against the Samaritan
20 Israelite community. They therefore sent all their
warriors to them, and they all assembled in
the city of King Baba Rabbah, the city of 'Amartah.
They numbered ten thousand men, all bearing arms,
21 between twenty and forty years of age. Baba Rabbah
billeted them in the cities around the city of
'Amartah.

22 A herald then came and told King Baba Rabbah:
'Know that your enemies are upon you in innumerable
23 strength.' The righteous King Baba Rabbah was
frightened and sorely distressed. He entreated the
Lord in this prayer, facing the Chosen Place,
Mount Gerizim Beth-El, saying:

24 'O Lord God, in You we have trusted; fail us
not, but in Your righteousness deliver us.
25 O Existing One, deliver me speedily from
this oppression, and be to me and to all
my congregation as a Rock. Deliver them
and deliver me, for You are my Rock, my proud
26 sword and my shield. Lead me in the counsel

of Your holy name and guide me. O my God, extricate
me and all my people from the net which our enemies
27 have laid for us. For You are a Rock, and into Your
hand do we commit our spirits. You have redeemed
us, O God, compassionate and gracious, long-suffering,
28 abundantly constant and true, our God, from our
enemies who observe what is sheer vanity. But we
have trusted in You; we rejoice in your constancy.
29 For You take notice of our lowliness, and do not
30 surrender us into the hand of an enemy. You, who
have established us, take pity on us. Take pity on
us, You who have established us. For we are in
distress, for the days of our life, and that of our
31 fathers before us, have ended in grief. By reason
of our sins our strength has failed and our bones
32 melt away. We have become a reproach to all our
enemies. We are forgotten out of mind, like the
dead, and have become like a worthless vessel.
33 Yet in You do we put our trust, for You are our God
34 and the God of our fathers. In Your hand is our
spirit; O deliver us from the hand of our enemies
35 and persecutors. Cause Your face to shine towards us
36 and save us with kindness. O Lord, we will not be
ashamed, for we have prayed to You, and, according
to Your will, our enemies shall lie down in Sheol.
37 O how great is Your goodness, Lord, which You have
38 stored up for those that fear You. This You will do

to confirm Your salvation. You will hide them
in Your secret place; You will hide them from
the wrath of the wicked, even in booths, from
39 the enmity of sinners. Blessed is the Lord, who
40 has made us pre-eminent over all peoples. Love
the Lord, you sons of His loved ones, the faithful
whom the Lord preserves because they walked in
41 His ways. Let your hearts be strong and courageous,
all you who walk on the path of His laws.'

§21

1 When King Baba Rabbah had completed his prayer
and his convocation, he went to a spot near the
battlefield — knowing that the battle between him
and his enemies would be there — and he concealed
2 there some of his soldiers in some tombs. He
commanded them thus, 'When you see war break out
between us and our enemies at the site of the
battle, and I cry out to you in a loud voice,
saying, 'O you who dwell in the tombs, they have
routed me and are close on my trail,' then you
shall emerge from the tombs and say, 'Do not fear,
we have come to your aid; do not fear.' Then
3 use your swords on all the enemy.' The number of
men whom Baba Rabbah had concealed in the tombs
was five thousand.

4 When King Baba Rabbah and the men of his
army approached the enemy, the priests blew on
the trumpets and all the people raised their
voices and cried out in unison, with a loud
voice, 'The Lord is mighty in war; Lord is His
name.' The earth shook at the noise of their
5 cry, and the battle broke out between them and
their enemies. It was a great battle on that day,
the like of which had never taken place in those
6 times. Then King Baba Rabbah cried out in a loud
voice from the thick of the battle, sayng, 'O
you who dwell in the tombs, they have routed me
and are close on my trail.' The Romans fell
7 silent at the sound of the shouting. The men
whom he had hidden among the tombs hurriedly
emerged and said in a loud voice, 'Do not fear
Baba Rabbah, we have come to your aid, all of
us. Do not fear Baba Rabbah, for all the dead
will follow us from every side!'.
8 When the men of the Roman army saw this, they

9 thought that it was real. Fear and dread befell
them, and they trembled and fled before King
Baba Rabbah and before the men of his army who
were with him. The Lord gave them over on that
day into the hand of King Baba Rabbah and he
smote them and pursued them as far as the border
of the territory of the Samaritan Israelite
community.

10 These battles, to which we have previously referred,
as well as this present battle, took place after
Levi, nephew of King Baba Rabbah, had returned
11 from the Roman cities. There were no battles
between the Samaritan Israelite community and the
kings of the Romans prior to Levi's departure
12 to the Roman cities. For Baba Rabbah had sent
his nephew ,Levi, to the Roman cities before
13 his purpose was made known. For it was that Levi
who broke down the brazen bird, brought into being
14 by sorcery, as a result of which no Samaritan
Israelite was able to ascend to the summit of
Mount Gerizim Beth-El, Mountain of Blessing,
Chosen Place. For that bird was perched on the
top of that mountain, and if it detected any
Samaritan within the border of the mountain, the
bird would cry out 'Ibriyos.

15 All the battles between Baba Rabbah and the
Roman kings were as a result of the deeds of
the righteous King Baba Rabbah and his nephew, Levi.
For they demolished the Roman meeting-house which
was at the summit of the Holy Mountain, the
Mountain of Blessing, the Chosen Place, Mount
Gerizim Beth-El. They smote all the Elders who
were there, and all the Roman leaders who were
lording it over the Samaritan Israelite community,
as well as the king who came with Levi from the
city of Constantina.

..... by the hand of the faithful one
of his house, the Master of the Prophets,
Moses son of 'Amram, peace be unto him forever.
So that all the Roman kings knew that the
King Baba Rabbah would prevail in war against
them, being strong-hearted and courageous,
ready for any battle and unperturbed by their
18 confederacy. For many years he had waged wars
against them, and the Lord had given them all
into his hand.

§22

- 1 After these events, the king of Costantina
saw fit to sue for peace with the righteous
King Baba Rabbah. He besought him to come to
him to the city of Costantina, his royal city.
- 2 This policy conformed to a plan of the Roman
king of the city of Costantina and all the men
- 3 of his kingdom. It had three aims: first, they
sought to ascertain the strength of King Baba
Rabbah, whether he possessed the ability to
wage greater wars than this (they, themselves,
were weary because of him, and, furthermore,
they had heard how he had driven out the Arab
Ishmaelites, pursued them and taken spoil of all
they possessed — their sheep, cattle, camels,
asses, silver, gold and innumerable flocks), or

was he, indeed, unable to wage any more war
4 because he was also tired out? Secondly, they
wanted to terminate the enmity between themselves
and the righteous King Baba Rabbah and his people,
the Samaritan Israelites; for they could no
longer muster men for war at any time against
King Baba Rabbah, for they had many enemies quite
5 apart from the Samaritan community. Thirdly,
they said, 'Perhaps we may have dominion over
King Baba Rabbah, who is the cause of all these
wars taking place, and the killing of many men
in the ranks of the battle, men who are sent
against him.'

6 The name of the king of Costantina at that time
was Philip. He and all his men wrote to King
7 Baba Rabbah and sent emissaries from among the
leaders of his kingdom, carrying in their hands
a letter in the King Philip's handwriting. This
8 is what he wrote in that letter: 'Peace be unto
you, my lord, King Baba Rabbah. I request my lord,
the great and honourable King Baba Rabbah, to
grant the request of his servant, the king of
Costantina, at this time, and do him the honour
of coming to him to that city to stay with us
for a while that we might see his glory, after
which he may return in peace to his place.'

9 When King Philip's letter, and the heads
appointed by the king, arrived, they delivered
it into the hand of King Baba Rabbah. He read

the letter and was cognisant of all these things.
10 King Baba Rabbah then said to the emissaries of
King Philip, 'I am well able to wage war against
the king of Costantina for the whole duration
of my life. Also my Samaritan Israelite people
are innumerable and the men of the army at my
11 disposal are stout-hearted.' The emissaries
were afraid at what they saw of Baba Rabbah's
achievements.

12 Then Baba Rabbah assembled all the Elders and
heads of his people, also his father, his son
and all his family, and read before them the
13 letter of the king of Costantina. He related to
them his plan, saying, 'It is my intention to
go to King Philip, the king of Costantina.'
14 His father, the High Priest Nethan'el, the Elders
of the people, its heads and leaders and all
who were assembled replied, 'For what reason
do you intend to do this? How can you wish to go
at this time, leaving your people behind, like
tender children whose father has left them and
forsaken them in a state of confusion, not knowing
what to do; particularly since the Lord, may His
name be sanctified, has made us prosper through
you?'

15 The Elders of the people and its leaders
approached and said to him, 'Our master, we

beseech you honour no to do this thing which
you have told us, for we are afraid that after
your going we will revert to our former lowly
estate, our oppression, weariness, poverty,
16 distress and incapacitation. For you know
that the enmity and hatred between us and the
Romans is now very keen because of the wars
in which we have engaged with you, and because
17 of the defeat of their men. We beseech you, our
lord, to stay and not to go far from us or to
cause yourself to leave and abandon us, lest
our enemies mock us?'

18 King Baba Rabbah answered thus, 'No. Listen
to me, for I must go now to the city of
19 Costantina. You know full well that I fulfil
my obligations to the Lord alone, may His name
20 be sanctified. Perhaps my journey to the king
of Costantina will be instrumental in removing
the hatred that exists between us and these
nations, so that the fire that has raged
between them and us unto this day may be quenched.

21 Now, therefore, do I wish to go to King
Philip to make peace with him and to enter into
22 an alliance. My brethren, do not be oblivious
of the fact that this matter has been a protracted
one for us and we are left with no strength
to wage any further war against our enemies,
and that, though the great kings are weary of

these wars, we, quite apart from our small number,
23 are unable to withstand these wars. By the will
of God, may His name be blessed, I will soon return
to you. If, however, it transpires that something
unforeseen happens to me, or they sentence me
in order to prevent my return to my home and my
land, or they slay me, I will therefore now give
24 you instructions concerning my son, Levi.' (This
refers to Levi, his own son, as distinct from
his nephew, Levi.)

25 'They answered him in unison, 'If you desire
now to go to the city of Costantina, as you have
said, take with you some men from among the people
to minister to you and serve you in the land of
your enemy, so that they may know your glory and
honour your high status.'

26 King Baba Rabbah answered the leaders of the
people thus, 'I will not do so, for I fear to do
something without us knowing whether its outcome
for us will be happy. Rather that I should alone
be involved than many men of our people.

27 Now, therefore, I give you a command in order
that you may rejoice greatly in this world and live
forever in the next world: You shall observe the
commandments of the Lord, sanctified be His name,
that are in His holy Law, and shall not cease
reading His holy Law at any time, but shall teach
it to your sons and daughters and to your children's
28 children. Furthermore do I command you that if you

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will be courageous and strong, and will not fear,
be dismayed or frightened, then the Lord your
God, sanctified be His name, will not forsake you,
fail you or rebuke you, neither will He break
the covenant which He made with your forefathers
and with your great Prophet Moses, son of 'Amram,
29 peace be unto him forever. Also, be on your guard
lest your hearts turn aside from His ways and from
30 observing His statutes and commandments. Know
that all that the Lord does to His people, the
Samaritan Israelites, is but a trial by Him, in
31 order to give them a happy outcome. Happy is he
that observes, and woe to the one who departs
from the way of truth.'

§23

1 When the righteous King Baba Rabbah had
finished commanding his Samaritan people, he took
hold of the hand of Levi, his son -- with tears
2 rolling down his cheeks like rain -- and brought
him right up to his father, the High Priest
Nethan'el. He kissed the hands of his father,
saying, 'If it please you, my lord, here is my
son Levi; receive him from my hands, for I give
3 you charge of him.' He fell again before him
and kissed his feet, saying, 'I pray you, sir,
you whom the Lord, sanctified be His name, has

made the cause of my very being, look after my son, the fruit of my body, and be favourable to him at all times.'

4 He then turned to his brother, the priest
'Aqbon, and said to him, 'My brother, I command
you this day concerning my son Levi; teach him the
5 upright way.' He then turned to all the Elders of
the people and said to them, 'Look after this, my
6 son, until good fortune will attend you.' His
statement to them was along the lines referred to
above.

7 The righteous King Baba Rabbah rose early and
went with the emissaries of King Philip, the
king of Costantina. All his brothers, cousins,
relatives, members of his family, Elders of the
people, its leaders and chiefs, as well as a large
number of the people, rose and went to the outskirts
of the city to send him on his way, before returning
8 to their place. His son Levi and his brothers, the
Priest 'Aqbon and the Priest Pinhas, wept. They
then sent him on his way, returning to the city
broken-hearted.

9 The righteous King Baba Rabbah travelled until
he reached the border of the environs of the city
of Costantina. One of the emissaries ran hastily
and told King Philip of the arrival of the righteous
king, the king of the Samaritan Israelites, Baba
10 Rabbah. King Philip issued a command, which they
announced publicly among the Roman people: that they

11 should all come out together to meet the King
Baba Rabbah. Shortly afterwards there assembled
all the men of the king's army and all the leaders
of the people, all the Elders and all the people,
carrying crucifixes and Baals in their hands.
They came out to meet King Baba Rabbah to the
outskirts of the city, singing their prayers,

12 At that time, all the Roman kings who were his
subjects were present in the city of Costantina.
They all went out with King Philip to meet
13 King Baba Rabbah. Now, when they saw King Baba
Rabbah they all alighted from their chariots,
so that not one rider remained in his chariot,
14 apart from King Baba Rabbah. When he made to do
as they had done, and descended from his chariot,
they prevented him, saying, 'No, my lord, we are
your servants. We have done this in order to
honour you, for it is fitting that we do so.'

15 That day, of the arrival of the righteous King
Baba Rabbah to the city of Costantina, was a
great day for the Romans, the like of which none
of the Roman kings had ever experienced.

1 Now, when King Baba Rabbah entered the city of
Costantina, having passed the hill, King Philip

said to the heads of his realm, 'Now King Baba Rabbah is in our hands and under our rule, advise me please what we should do.' Those men were divided into two groups. One group said, 'Let us set upon him and kill him.' The other group said, 'That is not a good plan; we should not smite him.' The latter approached the king, saying, 'You know that Baba Rabbah is a great king. Before he came to you you knew this, and you also knew all that he had done, how he had smitten many times the men of our army. Notwithstanding all this, we swore to him that we would do him no harm. Indeed, he could have succeeded us. He was not incapable of withstanding us in battle, but trusted in our firm promises to him, and therefore did not attack us. He would not have let himself fall into our hand if he had not known that no mishap would befall him because of us. Now that he has trusted in our promise and entered under the aegis of our protection, it is not good that we should kill him. If the king treats him wrongly, it will be a reproach to the king and all his people. Men will relate this throughout every generation and will record it in their histories. It will thus remain a bad reproach unto us for all time. However, if the king commands it, let us have him to remain with us all the days of his life, never to leave this city. There is no

9 difference between killing him and shutting him
up for the rest of his life in this city, until
the day of his death. The king will not be
unmindful of the fact that King Baba Rabbah would
prefer us to set upon him and kill him rather than
that he should remain imprisoned among us in
this city.'

10 This plan pleased King Philip, and he summoned
the righteous King Baba Rabbah, may the Divine
favour and forgiveness be upon him, Amen, and
spoke kindly to him. He gave him silver and gold,
vessels of silver and vessels of gold, vessels
11 of brass and many robes. Then he said to him, 'My
lord Baba Rabbah, all my people will wait upon
your every word.'

12 King Philip gave these instructions to all who
were in charge of the gates of the city: 'If
King Baba Rabbah seeks to go outside the city,
you shall restrain him and tell him that no one
can go outside the city except with King Philip's
13 permission.' There were officers over the gates
of the city of Costantina, and no one could
enter or leave that city unless by the authority
of the king's men.

14 After a long time, the righteous King Baba
Rabbah approached King Philip saying, 'I heartily
desire to return to my land and birthplace. I

therefore now beseech the king to grant that I may return to my land and my father's house; for I pine greatly for my father, who is awaiting my return to him and to my brothers, my son and all my relatives.'

- 15 King Philip answered the righteous King Baba Rabbah, saying, 'You will remain with us all the
16 days of your life.' The righteous King Baba Rabbah then realised that King Philip was indeed imprisoning him, and that he would subsequently be unable to leave the city of Costantina. The righteous King Baba Rabbah held his peace and spoke no more of this matter to the king.

§25

- 1 When the High Priest Nethan'el got to know that King Philip had imprisoned his son, the righteous Baba Rabbah, in the city of Constantina, he sent for his son 'Aqbon and said to him, 'Give your daughter, Rebecca, in marriage to Levi, your
2 brother Baba Rabbah's son.' He gave her to him in marriage, as his father had commanded, and he made a festivity in his honour for seven days, according to the practice of Israelite bridegrooms.

- 3 After this, the High Priest Nethan'el died and was gathered unto his people at a ripe old age. May the favour and forgiveness of the Lord be upon him, Amen.

4 After the death of the High Priest Nethan'el,
Levi, the son of the righteous King Baba Rabbah,
pined for his father. So he went to the city of
Costantina and lived with his father for a few
5 days. At that time, the righteous King Baba Rabbah
contracted a serious illness. Baba Rabbah realised
6 that his death was approaching. Now he had a
friend, a Jew from among the Jewish community.
So the righteous King Baba Rabbah sent for him
and said to him, 'My brother, place your hand
under my thigh; for I adjure you by the God of
heaven and earth, that you take this, my son,
back to my land and birthplace, and hand him
over to his relatives; and that you will not
suffer him to become polluted through
uncleanness.'

7 His Jewish friend placed his hand under the
thigh of the righteous King Baba Rabbah and swore
8 to him about this matter. Then Baba Rabbah took
the hand of his son Levi, and handed him into the
care of his Jewish friend, saying, 'My friend,
take care not to depart from my instructions
9 which I have commanded you. His Jewish friend
replied, I will act according to all the
10 instructions which you have given me.' The
righteous King Baba Rabbah then responded, 'God
is witness between me and you.'

11 After this, the righteous King Baba Rabbah
died and was gathered unto his people, may the
favour of the Lord and His forgiveness be upon
12 him, Amen. His son Levi and his friend, the
Jewish man, arose and bathed him, after the law
of the Israelites, and clothed him in shrouds
13 — white garments. The righteous king died in
the city of Costantina, and the day of his death
was a special occasion for the inhabitants of
14 the city of Costantina. The king of Costantina
and all his people wept for him, and they went,
15 young and old, after him to bury him. They
treated him on that day exactly as they had done
on the day of his arrival at the city of Costantina.
They buried him in a spacious and fine sepulchre,
16 and the Romans later built a Synagogue over his
grave.

7. C O M M E N T A R Y

Note:

Phrases followed by an asterisk (after the colon)
are from the H2 text.

COMMENTARY

§1

1. וַיִּבְרָא... וַיִּבְרָא: The employment of this verb, as well as H2's נָטַח, to denote the begetting of children (in contradistinction to the Niph'al /יָלַד) is significant. These verbs are especially employed when it is a divine bestowal of offspring that is being emphasized. As examples we may cite Gn 4:25 (šāth zera') and Gn 17:16 (nāthan bēn), where the transitive verbs with divine subject connote the formal conferment of an offspring that is to serve a special divine purpose. (The birth of Seth is stated to be as compensation for the slain Abel, and that of Isaac in order 'to establish my covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and to his seed after him.'). The employment of these verbs, to describe the gift of three sons to Netan'el, thus assumes an added significance, serving to highlight the specially ordained destiny to which God was calling them as restorers of Samaritan fortunes.

לְכָהן הַגִּדּוּל נְתַנְאֵל: This syntactical order, wherein the name of the person follows the defining noun, or the 'noun of nearer definition' (G.K. §131g), is extremely rare in B.H., and then 'only in certain combinations' (lbīq), e.g. ha-melekh š'ēlōmōh; ha-melekh dāvīd.

2. וַיִּבְרָא : * The fem. demonstrative pronoun (zō'th) is preferred for general use, with both mas. and fem., sing. and pl., nouns (see on 22:22). With mas. nouns it invariably precedes the noun.

וַיִּבְרָא : * 'The first' (H1: hā'ehād). The form hārō'š occurs frequently as the ordinal number. B.H. added to this basic form the termination ōn. The vowel dissimilation which followed the addition of the termination, resulting in the form ri'šōn, was preserved in S.H. as ri'yšōn (see 9:8*). The ordinal employed by H1 - hā'ehād -

is rare in B.H. 'In such cases as Gn 1:5, 2:11, the meaning of first is derived solely from the context (G.K. §98a).

תַּבְּרָא: The semantic development of the name 'Aqbôn is clearly delineated in the genealogical lists of the Tolidah. The primitive form of the name appears in a list of twelve princes who accompanied one Šaddîq ben Tobhiyyah when he fled to 'Aqrabith after an Arab raid on Mount Gerizim (ToI., ed. Neubauer, 400). The name of the prince was 'Qb, which is probably a hypocoristicon (for a discussion of biblical hypocoristica, see M. Noth, Personennamen, 36-41) for Ya'āqōbh.

The form 'Qb, appearing there for the first time in Samaritan records, is expanded, about a century later, into the name 'Aqqūbh (b. 'Amram), whose son was called - by further theophoric expansion - 'Āqabhyāh. The latter is said (ToI., 401) to have been taken captive to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar; and it is not without significance that the name 'Aqqūbh appears for the first time in Judaist biblical sources only in the post-exilic period, being restricted to the books of Ezra (2:42), Nehemiah (7:45, 8:7, 11:19) and Chronicles (I Chr. 3:24, 9:17). It is tempting, therefore, to detect Samaritan influence here, in the adoption of the name 'Aqqūbh by the Judaeen community. The same may be said for the name 'Āqabhyāh: This 6th cent. B.C. Samaritan name does not occur in Judaistic sources until rabbinic times, with 'Āqabhyāh b. Mahālāl'ēl, a contemporary of Jesus.

The name 'Aqbôn, which appears for the first time as the name of a 2nd cent. A.D. Sam. High Priest (Neubauer, op.cit., 403), is a variation of 'Āqabhyāh,

the theophoric termination being replaced by the common nominal termination ôn. The choice of this termination was possibly conditioned by its diminutive function (see G.K. 86g), suggesting an underlying meaning of 'little heel' ('Āqēbh). This termination is represented in Syriac as ûn, thus providing a vocalization of either 'Aqbôn or 'Aqbûn. From the first appearance of this name it completely displaced the earlier forms and remained one of the most popular Samaritan priestly names for many centuries. No fewer than eleven High Priests in the genealogical lists of the Tolidah (Neubauer, 403-417) bear the name 'Aqbôn.

נתנאל: Our Netan'el is the third High Priest to bear this name (Tol. 401, 402, 403). It appears predominantly as a post-Exilic levitical or priestly name (see B.D.B. Lexicon, 682).

פיהחם: He was the father of Levi, who features prominently in our Chronicle as the saviour of the community (see §18-19). Nothing of any significance is reported, however, about Phinehās.

3. קרית מחנה: Bibl. Mahānayim, 20 mls. E. of Shechem.

... אשר היא בקצה: Used here not in biblical sense of 'adjoining,' but rather 'in the region of.' The geographical identification is omitted in Abu'l Fath.

4. היה איה: Delete איה as dittography.

איש מוסר: A.F: 'A man of awe (قِيَامَة) and authority.'

ויהי איש מצליח... Gn 39:2,3.

5. ותהי עליו רוח: Common idiom, especially in book of Judges (3:10, 11:29, 14:6, 19, 15:14 et al.), for imparting warlike energy, and executive and administ-

-rative power (B.D.B., Lexicon, sub רוח c.(1)).

רוח: * Cf. Ex 28:3, 31:3, 35:31

* Cf. Nu 11:17 רוח: ואציל עליך מן רוח

6. Heavy influence of phraseology culled from 'Call' of Moses. Cf. Ex 2:11.

See previous note. None of this biblical phraseology is represented in H2.

* Hendiads. This phrase probably inspired A.F.'s rendering 'awe and authority' in v 4.

* 'Became' (H1: hāyāh). Cf. v 12: v^eha-qōšṭ s^ephar mithk^ebī.

* 'Distinguished person'. Lit. 'elevated'; cf. Is 2:11, 17.

* 'Enemies of His Faith, deniers..'

H2 adopts a more militant attitude toward pagan (and other) enemies of the community. This sentiment is not represented in H1.

7. 'Hornet'. Used figuratively of ferocious and destructive forces; cf. Ex 23:28, Josh 24:12. The word is also found in Sam.Theology as the name of an evil spirit or demon, together with Āza'zēl and B^eliyya'al (see Ben Zevi, Sepher Ha-Šōmrônîm, 142; Bowman, Samaritanische Probleme, 52. This usage is not found, however, in the Midrashic literature. B.Z.Luria (Beth Miqra' (1970-1), 47, 494) connects the noun sir'āh with /'āraṣ.

Heavy influence of phraseology culled from 'Call' of Moses; cf. ויחשבתם (Ex 1:10); ויסר מסיים (Ex 1:11); וימררו את חייהם (Ex 1:14); למען עבותם (Ibid.).

8. Inyān and Yēser are popular in Marqah's vocabulary of psychological terms; the former meaning 'idea,' 'imagination', the latter meaning 'desire,' 'inclination,' 'thought.'

ܬܪܬܐ: * 'He cogitated.' The verb tûr occurs in this sense in Syriac. The word yahšôbh (Is 10:7) is rendered târ in the Syr. version.

ܐܢܬܐ: * 'Intelligence,' 'mind.' Abstract noun endings in ûth are a particular characteristic of H2.

9. ܡܚܫܒܐ: Sam. mas.form (mahšābh)

ܡܚܫܒܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ: The translation 'because he revealed' follows the H2 rendering. Alternately we may understand the phrase as, '(his plan) to reveal.' A characteristic of the Samaritan style of the Chronicle is to substitute the infinitive of intention, or obligation (G.K. §114 1), by a simple imperfect (cf. 8:26, 17:4, 19:1 et al.).

ܡܚܫܒܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ: 'Appearing, or presenting oneself, before God' for pilgrimage is expressed in B.H. (at least according to the masoretic vocalization) through the niph'al conjugation (Ex 23:17, 34:23). Construing our phrase as a niph'al would provide the sense of a personal intention on Baba's part to 'appear before the Lord.' The context, however, suggests a much wider, national mission, as reflected in the Arabic (A1) rendering: 'Causing the presence of God to be seen (sensed).' We may therefore regard our infinitive as Hiph'il rather than niph'al, and render as A1.

10. ܘܐܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ: * A1: 'And he showed that (zeal) first.'
The verse is omitted in A.F.

ܡܚܫܒܐ: * 'Obedient to him.' (lit. 'with him.'). Verb unattested in B.H. in Hithpa'el conjugation.

11. ܡܚܫܒܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ: Cf. Dt 32:1, 2.

ܡܚܫܒܐ: Cf. Nu 5:14, 30.

12. לנגלא : Possibly a contraction of the noun niglā'ûth (10:10), or read as Pa'el Inf. l^egallē. We might conjecture that the l^e might be an example of the 'emphatic lamedh,' known to us from Ugaritic, and attested to in B.H.

וידול... וימחו : An alternate translation might also be proposed: 'that all their heresies be blotted out.' This rendering construes the Dalet of d^egalaybh as a relative particle, and the form galaybh as derived from the noun gēl, 'dung' (B.D.B., Lexicon, 165) — a derogatory play on the noun gillûl, 'idol.'

* כ"י חלשו הכפור : A.F. renders, 'For infidelity has prevailed (فَلْيَكُفِّرْ). The verb hlš is unattested in B.H., in Pi'el conjugation, in sense of 'to weaken.' Render: 'For denial has weakened it (sc. the observance of the law).

* כפור : Tal.Ar: k^ephîrāh.

* ומוקט לו יגויע : 'And seeks to annul it.' In B.H. the vb. is intransitive, appearing only in Qal.

* ומוקט : — A term of gnostic significance.

A.F.: 'And solid truth has become annulled, namely the memory of the body ('corpus', جسد) of sincere doctrine. Did A.F. confuse the meaning of the Heb. text before him, construing our verb as the noun g^eviyyāh, a 'body?'

13. ויבטלו... ויבטלו : Aphel /dūq, 'look attentively at.' However, the preposition 'al is required for this meaning (see Cowley, 11 (Glos.), 1111). The mark of the accusative (eth) rather suggests the sense of 'to muster. Indeed, for the M.T's vayyāreq eth hānīkhāybh, 'And he mustered his trained men,' (Gn 14:14) the S.P. has vayyādek (as Akk. diku,

to call up troops).

יִצְרָר: In B.H. the term yēšer generally has a pejorative sense. Only twice (I Chr.29:18; Is 26:3) does it occur in a sense favourable to man. The Sam. usage is clearly in the latter category. Its particular nuance of 'determination, resoluteness' is also found in the D.S.S. Hōdayōth (1QH 1:35, 2:9,36).

14. וְיִקְרָא אֶת: Vb qr', in sense of 'calling to', normally takes the preposition 'el.

אֶת־יָדָיו*: Arabic نَدَبَ, 'to convey a message.' However, the appearance of this root in a Zinjirli inscription, in the sense of 'inciting,' 'urging,' 'instigating' (a sense which B.D.B. regards as underlying Ex 35:29, āšer nādabh libbām — 'whose heart impelled them'), provides an excellent meaning for our phrase: 'And he roused his companions.' This sense of ndbh also occurs in Mandaic (see Drower and Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary, 290) and in Jewish-Aramaic (Jastrow, Dictionary, 877).

15. וְלֹא הָיָה. הַנִּמְלֵךְ אֶת בָּשָׂר עֲרֵלָתוֹ*: This gloss was probably inserted into H2 (it does not appear in H1) in order to clarify the sense in which the term hā'ārēlīm ('the uncircumcised') is being used. Since the word is also employed in the sense of 'uncircumcised of heart' (Lv 26:41), which would also suit our context, it might have appeared necessary to add this clarification.

אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ: This phrase is omitted in H2, in conformity with its general tendency to economy in religious terminology and sentiment.

הַצִּדִּים לְהוֹרֵת מ': There is no doubt that this Qal ptc./sûr is here employed in the sense of 'to show hostility

toward' (Arabic سُور; B.D.B: סור III), rather than 'besiege,' 'confine.' There is no occurrence of this sense of sûr (in Qal) in Jewish Aramaic. The preposition l^e is on analogy of srr (employed by H2), though also with sûr in Mandaic (e.g. lbar anašia šarna, 'I show hostility to people,' Brower and Macuch, 388).

* מצורית: Possibly Pō'lēl / sûr; see previous note.

ימרו את חיינו: Exodus terminology (Ex 1:14); see on v.6 above.

16. עד מתי לעדה הרעה הזאת: Nu 14:27.

יבכרו צרינו..רמה: Dt 32:27.

עד מתי..למוקש: Ex 10:7

17. השקע.אש: Nu 11:2

ימנעו לבו: Vb mn' usually takes preposition min; but see Ps 84:12.

* מנקטים ישמידו: Infinitive replaced by imperfect; see on v 9 above.

* ישמידו לבו: B.H. takes simple accusative with vb.

* וימיתו: Gloss, or misplaced from before lānû.

* וימאנו: Confusion with mn', as in next verse.

18..המקרא מן: This verse, not represented in H2, might serve the purpose of clarifying, or emphasizing, the most acute of the restrictions imposed by the enemy.

20. שמענו אדוני: Cf.Gn 23:6

מנע: (H2: temā'ēn). Sing. vb with pl. subject; perhaps in partitive sense, though generally a stylistic characteristic of the Chronicle.

וְכִי בִלְאִים : Subj. pronoun omitted with participle.

וְזֶה הַיָּמִים : See on v 2 above.

וְהַיְּנוּנָה : This additional demonstrative perhaps conveys the nuance of 'at this particular time.' The form hāzēnû is close to the common Mandaic fem. demonstrative, hā'zēn (the û termination being a contraction of hû) and the 'Aram. hādēn (though the latter is a masculine pronoun). This is the sole occurrence of this form in our section of the Chronicle.

וְעַל מִדְּרֹשׁוֹ : * 'From achieving their desire.' Perhaps metathesis of /P'l (lit. 'doing what they desired'). The biblical /'pl has the sense of 'swelling up,' (Arabic جَلَد, 'tumour') as in the noun 'Ōphēl, 'a mound' (II Kings 5:24). As a vb the root occurs but once in the O.T. (Hb 2:4), with the suggested meaning of 'puffed up with pride'. Its usage here may also be related to this basic sense of rising, reaching toward, attaining (their desire). The vb is found again, in the perfect tense, in 10:22.

וְעַל : * The object (lāhem) suggests that the Pi'el is here being employed, with the causative sense of 'to make (or bring) low.'

21. אֲזָלָה יְדִיבֹר : Dt 32:36

וְחִקְוָמָה... שְׂבָאִיבֹר : Lv 26:37

וְכִי יִדְי : * Common idiom, 'before' (= liphnê); cf. bēn yādāyv (3:6*), 'before him;' min bēn y^edô (10:20*), 'from before' (= ml liphnê).

1. יִשְׂרָאֵל : Gloss (not in H2); for clarification that Israel here refers to Jacob, not generically to his offspring.
 'לִי קִנְיָן : Emotive phrase, borrowed from context of zeal of Phinehas (Nu 25:13), here apparently with apologetic motive, in order to mitigate, if not idealize the action of the two sons of Jacob.
 בְּתֹרְאִתָּהּ : Orthographic variant of b^etôrāthô. The second vowel is not to be confused with a plural form. It is merely an orthographic representation of the long vowel ā, which is closely related, in Samaritan, to the vowel ō (or ô). The long ā was apparently pronounced in a manner corresponding the sound of the vowel u, which would explain the orthography of the singular noun tôrāh, with 3rd person possessive suffix, as Tôrūthô. To give but one example of this: in the Sam. lexicon, ha-mēlîš, which gives the Samaritan Hebrew word followed by the Arabic and Aramaic equivalent, we have the singular noun, 'our body' (we know that the singular is intended because of the form of the Arabic and Aramaic equivalents) written as גִּבְיֻתִנּוּ. Ben Hayyim, in his edition (L.O.T.S. II, 440), comments that the pronunciation of this word was clearly gibyūtīnū.
2. וַיִּקְחוּ שְׂנֵי בְנֵי יַעֲקֹב... : Gn 34:25, 26
 הָרְגוּ : B.T: hārgû
 וַיַּחַדְּמוּ : Vb used in H2 with special meaning of 'preparing for battle' (cf. 11:9).
 וַיַּחַדְּמוּ : Gn 34:9
 וַיַּחַדְּמוּ : Gn 34:25
4. וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ... : Ex 32:26

והרגו..קריבו: Ex 32:27. B.T: k^erôbhô.

* העגל הקו: 'The accursed Calf,' cum A 1.

5. יי' יתקדש שמו: A comparison of the renderings of H1 and H2 on this verse discloses the secularist bent of the latter, which has no reference to God as the bestower of the blessing.

6. אז: Employed here in a simple relative sense; the equivalent of ka'āšer.

מלכין A.F: ܡܠܟܝܢ. Idiomatically equivalent to בין ידי (see on 1:21).

יחר שאת..עז: Gn 49:3

* לאלה: Common Sam. designation of God; also occurs in biblical Aramaic, vocalized ܐܠܗܐ.

* בל: 'Without (the help of) his people.' In B.H., however, the negative bal is never joined to a noun (see G.K. 152 (f)). The occurrence of the phrase bal 'ittî ('before my time') in a Phoenician inscription (see B.D.B., sub בל) provides, however, a precedent for our expression. It is possible, however, that we should read bên, cum H1.

7. ופינחס..הכהן: Nu 25:11

הגביל..על בני ישראל: Ibid., vv.12-13

יכפר: Waw omitted by haplography from previous word lê'lôhāyv.

8. This verse is omitted in A.F. It appears to have been transposed from after v.2.

חתת: 'Terror', Jb 6:21 (hapax in absolute form, though construct occurs in Gn 35:5).

אשקו: Aph'el šqh (= šq'), 'cause to sink, descend upon.'

9. ורקנה: Orthog. variant of ūn^eqannē.

פגענר: Read: pāg^tū.

להם: Equivalent of biblical preposition b^e (bāhem).

השחתפים ביהרה:* See on 1:15.

10. קוממית: Either abstract noun qōm^emīth, or construct form of qōm^emiyyāh.

לעם סגולה: Dt 7:6

11. שובה: Equivalent of B.H. m^ešūbhāh (Je 3:6).

ורקנה: A.F: 'To resort to His gate in Prayer.' The vb. 'ml is frequently associated, in Samaritan and Rabbinic literature, with the connotation of spiritual endeavour, to express intensity of activity. Cf. ūbhatōrāh 'attāh 'āmēl (Aboth, 6:4).

גדל: This noun has a gnostic flavour. Seventy six of the Piyyutim published by Cowley commence with the word b^egādīlō. It is used in the sense of a creative (or created) force, akin to Shekhinah or the Rescuing Power or Soter, Saviour, a central figure in gnosticism. Cf. Marqah: 'When he said GODEL (greatness) he sought to strengthen the words by holiness' (Macdonald ed., II, 140).

יהצאם: Variant of šōm. The ī - sound developed through the influence of the extension of media waw verbs to media 'ayin forms, in order to preserve the consonantal character. Forms like qūm and šūr thus became qā'ēm and šā'er. Samaritan i and e being mere variants, the form sī'am evolved naturally, though the word was probably pronounced seyyam. (See Z. Ben Hayyim, "A Samaritan Piyyut from Amoraic Times," E.I., 4 (1956), 119, where the word dy'n, from dūn, is transliterated 'Deyyan').

12. נלהדוקה: Niph'al dbq unattested in B.H.

עד ימים: 'So that,' 'in order that.' Frequently employed in our Chronicle to introduce a purpose clause, though unattested in B.H. in this function.

בתקרי: 'Prevail over(?)' Arabic قَوِيَ 'to be strong.' Unattested in B.H. in this conjugation.

שבועות: Metathesis for Ši'bdûthô.

13. השוואה: Equivalent of ha-šābhîm; for relationship of ū and ā vowels in Sam.Hebrew, see on v 11.

14. נקטת אה דגלי: A lacuna has occurred here after dgly. Either read d^egāleyhā (as our translation), or add H2's continuation '(banners of) truth which have been erased.' The latter is supported by A.F. (بُورِدُ الْحَقِّ). For degel in symbolic sense of prestige, cf. Ct 5:10.

15. נדרסה: Read v^enīdr^esāh.

ידיכי האים: 'The base (basis) of the Faith.' While such a sense may be derived from the phrase, it is likely that the reading owes its form to a scribal misunderstanding of the term 'arkhônê in H2 (see below).

נבשר: 'We will bolster (lit. 'plaster'); cf. Dt 27:2,4. This follows the reading v^enāšîd. More probably we should read v^enāšîd, the /šîd being a derivative of the Ar. šdy, šd', 'to lay a foundation.' Targumic rendering of mî yārāh (Jb 38:6) is man š^edā.

ארכוני הדת: 'The authority of the law.' Gr. ἀρχαίων

לדרגי אשר: Unusual construct noun before relative pronoun. Perhaps orthog. error for līdrāgîm.

Dt 33:2 : מימיו אשדח

16. Dt 16:19 : ולא נטה משפט.. בכיר פנים.

יושבו שובה בלא שובה : Possibly a proverbial expression:
'We shall return in repentance, with no going
back (to our former ways).

Ex 17:7 : מסה ומריבה

17. : עשוי : Passive form for active participle; common in Aramaic.

עווים : Masc. termination for usual 'āvōnôth (see previous
verse). The masc. termination serves to substantiate
the forms 'āvōneykhā (Ez 28:18), 'āvōnenû (Is 64:6)
et al., which have been impugned by some scholars
(see C.Siegfried and B.Stade, Hebräisches Wörterbuch,
87).

18. לא פג : Aramaic extended the semantic reach of the biblical
pûg, 'to grow numb,' to encompass the idea of
faintness, lethargy, refraining. The noun pûgāh
is very common among Karaite authors, in the sense
of 'doubt,' with a vb hithpōgēg (see J.Gottlober,
Bikkoret Le-Toledot Ha-Kerain, 216).

בקעתו : Sam. variant of na'āqāh; see Cowley, II, lxiii.

במצור ובמצוק : Dt 28:53, 55, 57

ובכוח והמצליח לעבור : Read: ûbh^ekhôhō ha-maṣlîah, 'And by
His strength, the Prosperer will answer us.'

19. A.F., in line with H2, condenses vv.18-19: 'He will
help us and give us success, to defeat those
uncircumcised and impure ones.'

Dt 15:8 : ועבורה לעביתו

עווים הנכרים : Elyptical for 'ēlōhē ha-nākhri'm.

מן חסר: A philosophical term for the non-existence before Creation. See Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, and especially our discussion of this phrase, p. 487 above.

הארץ אחזתו: * Construct noun with definite article! Perhaps intended as in appositional relationship.

והשאר ראשם מתנודחים: * 'Their leaders shall remain banished.' Lack of agreement between verb (v^etišā'ēr) and masculine subject (rō'sš). Perhaps read v^eyišā'ēr. The singular subject (rō'sš) is possibly construed collectively, hence pl. mithnadhīm.

20. ארץ האחרית: Eschatological term for hereafter, future life, nether world.

וראשם יקדיח: Our translation follows the A1 rendering: 'Their heads shall be bowed.' /qdh = /qdd. The eschatological context would favour a reference here to (Hell-)burning, from /yqd. Render: 'where their chiefs shall be consumed in fire.'

21. בנר: Scribal error for bānay.

נרדף: Read nirdōph, cum H2

נרדף: Unattested Pi'el usage of verb.

שם: * 'Then,' as Arabic فَإِذَا (cf. Ho 6:7, Dt 33:21).

האלות המרירה: * Sing. participle with plural subject, cf. 17:5*, 22:17

1. מעיני: 'Leaders,' as supervisors of the community, Pa'él /'yn, 'to watch over,' Arabic عَيْنَ, 'appoint.'
- דהוכיח: * Unattested preposition with Hiph'il /ykhḥ.

2. רָחַץ: Read rāḥaṣ. Ritual washing of hands, face and feet before Prayer recalls Islamic prescription. A.F. تَوَضَّأَ.
3. לֶחֶם לֹא אָכַל... שָׁתָה: Ex 34:28. Sinaitic Revelation terminology.
הִצְלִיחַ אֶת דָּרְכּוֹ: Gn 24:21.
5. וַיִּחַן שָׁם... הִהָר: Ex 19:2
6. 'וַיִּחַל אֵת פְּנֵי יְיָ': Ex 32:11. The attributes of God, enumerated in this verse, — šiltān, gōḏel and kābhôd — all have gnostic significance, and figure in Marqan thought very prominently.
- וַיַּצְלִיחַ אֶת צְלוּתוֹ: The subject being Baba, it could hardly have the usual sense of 'making (his prayer) to prosper' (B.D.B. II). We propose a reading vayaṣlî (ṣlûthô being the cognate accusative), 'He framed his own (personal) prayer.' However, the occurrence of ṣlh in the sense of 'to rush', 'to do (or come upon) powerfully' (Ju 14:6, 15:14 *et al.*), suggests a rendering, 'he put great effort into his prayer.' This sense of ṣlh suits admirably the context of the phrase vatiṣl^ehî limlûkhâh (Ez 16:13) for which we propose the rendering: 'You rushed (i.e. prematurely) into kingship.'
7. אֵם בָּא מִצְאָתִי חַן: Cf. Ex 34:9.
8. אַחֲרֵי חֶסֶד צְלוּתוֹ: * An explanatory gloss.
9. שִׁיאֲלִי: See on šî'am (2:12).
10. אָה: = hē'; pronounced ē by the Samaritans.
- אֵה מִן הַמָּצָא: Infinitive Absolute /mṣ', 'to exist' (cf. 15:10*). The detachment of the relative pronoun d^e, after min, has been noted as a characteristic of very early texts (E.Munk, Des Samaritains Marqah

Erzahlung uber den Tod Moses, 1890, 40); it is, indeed, a characteristic of our Chronicle (see the continuation of our verse, also 4:19 et al.).

זנוע הנדנוד: 'The Prime Mover;' a philosophic doctrine which, according to Maimonides, was rejected by the Muslim Mutakallemim thinkers. In the course of his critique of the "twelve propositions common to all Mutakallemim" (Guide for the Perplexed, Friedlander ed.(1904), 120) he observes that 'most of the Mutakallemim believed that it must never be said that one thing is the cause of another' (p.125).

The term nû'a ha-nû'ôth, 'Mover of all movement,' would approximate, therefore, to the views of the Asha'ariyah, who assumed that 'when a pen is set in motion God creates four accidents: man's will to move it; man's power to do so; the motion of the hand; the motion of the pen, none of which is the cause of any of the rest' (ibid.).

זהשכן השכינות: A1: 'And made to be still that which is still.' This rendering presents an apposite contrast to the previous phrase, nû'a ha-nû'ôth.

בחר...סגולה: Dt 7:6. The reference to the 'Chosen People' is missing in H2 and in Arabic MSS.

שב על: 'To return to.' Cf.Mi 5:2; Ne 4:6.

*מאחטא: The first 'Aliph does not represent the def.art., which would be anomalous with suffix, but rather the trace of the helping vowel which the Sams. append to the beginning of words commencing with sounded š^eva'. The simple form h^etā'ô (Masoretic ḥatā'ô) would necessitate this.

*: שמוך הברית והחסד Dt 7:9, 12.

יִדְעִיךָ : Alternate rendering: 'And delivers those who know him out of the intensity of their poverty.' This understands the noun as abstract dallûth, rather than the Sam. form of the d^elāthô (from deleth, 'door'). The adoption of this rendering would provide a subtle play on the words d^elûthô (phrase preceeding) and dallûthô.

אֵלֶּיךָ יִדְעִיךָ : * Cowley (T.S.L., II, liii) explains cleave in the sense of 'help;' likewise Ben Hayyim, in his "Pīyyut Shōmerōni Miymey Hā-'amôrā'îm" (E.I. 4), consistently renders /dbq/ in the sense of 'help.' It is obvious, however, that in our context such a sense would provide a totally irrelevant sentiment -- 'O Thou who helpest them that help Thee.' It is clear, therefore, that /dbq/ is here, quite literally, 'to cleave.' Render: 'O Thou who cleavest to them that cleave to thee.'

11. עֲבָדֶיךָ : A1 omits cum H2.

כְּבוֹדֶיךָ : In anticipation of the nouns rahāmeykhā and hāsādeykhā, kabhod is treated as (or vocalized, at least, as) a plural.

וְלֹא בִטָּח : Occurs only once in B.H. as a noun ('security'); cf. Is 32:17.

12. מִיָּדְךָ צְרִיכָה : Ps 3:2. The quotations from the Psalms, when singular in form, are converted into the plural to give them a communal relevance.

אֲשֶׁר כָּחַשׁוּ. אֲשֶׁר חָשְׁבוּ : Play on words by metathesis.

אֲשֶׁר כָּחַשׁוּ אֶת שְׁמֶךָ : 'Who have denied the report of You.' Alternate rendering: 'Who have denied Your name.' The 'ayin would then represent the sounded e according to Samaritan pronunciation.

אשר חשכו : 'Who are in such darkness,' reading hāškhû.
Alternately, 'Who have desisted from observing,'
reading hāškhû.

הכפורים... ונבחר ונכתב : * Possibly an anti-Christian
polemic, denouncing the elevation of Jesus in
place of Moses, and the rejection of the Old
Testament (k^ethābhkhā) in favour of the New.

מתשוצים : * For mithšaqqsîm. No transposition of th before
sibilant.

ויעבדו לבעלים : * Here he refers back to the pagan rulers
who preceded the era of Christian ascendancy in
the reign of Constantine.

13. The Psalm verses that follow are omitted by A.F.
and other Arabic versions, as they are by H2.
Only significant variations from the B.T. are
referred to in the notes that follow.

במקראנו ענו : Cf Ps 4:2.

14. עד מתי : Cf Ps 4:3.

התפשות : Abstract noun. For the phrase tphš Tôrāh, see
Je 2:8.

ולמיה : Cf. 3:32. Myh=mhh.

16. לאמירתי האזינה : Cf. Ps 5:2.

הקשינה... אתפללתי : Cf. Ps 5:3.

17. כי לא תחפץ : Cf. Ps 5:5.

ההלכים בדרך ביטתה : Condemnatory gloss.

18. עונינו גדולים מנשא : Cf. Gn 4:13.

באלה : Beth pretiî.

פן : Used here in the unusual sense of 'rather than.'

ישמידו לנו : Dative incommodi.

19. שגור : * 'Make inaccessible,' 'cut off,' 'block.' Only in Imperfect tense in B.H.

The Psalm verses may also have been employed to smooth over a lacuna in H2 between vv.19-22.

20. אדני יי : Cf. Ps 6:2.

חגור יי : Cf. Ps 6:3.

כי חלים אנחנו : B.T: kî 'umlal 'ānî.

בנחלה נפשו : Cf. Ps 6:4.

21. ונצלינו : שונה יי : Cf. Ps 6:5.

22. אדני יי...אלה הרשעים בנר : This represents a conflation of vv.18-19, to provide a suitable context for the continuation (or post-lacuna) material of H2. The point of continuation in H1 is the phrase commencing v^elō' tisā' 'ālēnû (= H1's lō' tisbōl).

ולזכרון...ימנו : Repeated from v 14.

לל : * Contraction of lēnān (= lēth 'ānān)

23. מכל הרדפים לנו : Cf. Ps 7:2.

פרק כי אין מציל : Cf. Ps 7:3.

בלעדך לנו : Gloss for elucidation, and in order to avoid a sentiment betraying lack of belief in God's redemptive power.

24. אם עשינו מרם : Cf. Ps 7:4. B.T: 'im 'āsîthî zō'th.

אם גמלנו רעה : Cf. Ps 7:5. B.T: 'im gāmaltî šōlmî rā'.

25. לא חשים אויב : Cf. Ps 7:6.

ולא ירמס כארץ כבודינו : B.T: vayirmōs lā'areṣ hayyay ukh^ebhōdî.

26. לא ירפך ולא יעזובך : Dt 31:6

27. בצור לו : Dt 4:30.

ורקשת משה... ומצאתו : Ibid. v 29.

28. אלהינו : Cf. Ps 8:2.

29. מפני עוללים... עז : Ibid. v.3

להשכיח אריו וצורר מחנק : B.T: l^ema^{tan} sôr^ereykhā l^ehasb^{ith}
'ôyēbh umithnaqqēm.

30. כי בראה : Ibid. v 4. B.T: kī 'er[']eh.

גאין : B.T: 'esb^e'ôtheykhā.

מה אנוש : Ibid. v 5.

רשע : Explanatory gloss.

This Psalm is employed by the Chronicler in a spirit the very opposite of that intended by the Psalmist. The latter expressed it in the form of a tribute to human worth, whereas the Chronicler extracts from it a damnation of the wicked foes of the community.

כי תמשילהו : Ibid. v 7.

במעשה גאין : B.T: b^em[']asē^ê yādeykhā. See above, where the Chronicler rendered the B.H. 'fingers' by 'pride' (gē'eykha). Here he renders the B.H. 'hands' in the same way.

31. גודר יי : Cf. Ps 9:2.

ונתפא : Read v^enithpā'ēr.

ונזמרה עליון שמו : Ibid. v 3.

בשגב : Ibid. v 4.

32. כי... תבער גויים : Ibid. v 6.

הסכותך : Gloss.

מפני עמך : Gloss.

מסגב... לעתות בצרה : Ibid. v 10.

33. ויבטח...שמך: Cf. Ps 9:11

כי אל רחום וחנון שמך: Cf. Ex 34:6.

ולא תעזב דרושיך: Cf. Ps 9:11.

ולא תרף: Cf. Jo 10:6.

34. בעמל משה: Cowley (T.S.L., II, lxv) renders ba'āmal, 'for the sake of' (but see on 2:11). Possibly āmal is intended to convey the notion of intercession (lit. 'toiling' on behalf of the rights and needs of others).

כפי* בצענו בקנאותך Render: 'Now help us in accordance with our resolve (to walk) zealously before before You.' The vb. 'to walk' (= 'to be') is either understood or omitted in transmission. Arabic versions understand H2's qin'āh in the sense of 'Unity,' cum H1 (A.F: توحيد).

35. מבורה...אריצנו: Cf. Gn 41:14.

המהלש: Cf. 1:12*. H1: 'The mighty conqueror,' perhaps in the sense of 'the weakener (of the enemy).'

חבט*: 'Imprisoned.' All biblical references have opposite sense of 'binding up', 'comforting.'

36. אגאלת להם: Unusual preposition with g'l.

37. ואמרת על גדלך: Text dubious.

38. צר: 'Distress'.

39. וזהים שמת לחרבה: Cf. Ex 14:21.

הלכים ביבשה: Cf. Ex 14:29,; 15:19.

טבעו בתוך הים: Cf. Ex 15:4.

בבקעת מימי הים*: Cf. Ex 14:21.

וכעופרת במים צללו: Cf. Ex 15:10.

40. עָרִי הַגִּבּוֹרִים לָהֶם בְּחֵלֶם : A1: 'And gave to them the land of the stiff-necked giants (Amalekites)'. Vb. apparently Pi'el, cf. Nu 34:29; Jo 13:32.

וַיַּעֲרֵשׁ אֹתָם : * 'You made them to possess.' Transitive sense suggests a Pi'el form of vb. Elsewhere only Dt 28:42 (y^eyārēš).

§4

1. לִפְנֵי...הַקְהֵלוּ : Tendency to place preposition before vb.; cf. lô y^esaprû (1:19), 'äläyv yišb^e'û (11:8).

מַעֲיָנִי : * See on 3:1. Always in construct form. The parallel with nādîv (H1) suggests that m^e'aynê is to be understood in the very broadest sense of leadership, encompassing influential men in all areas of religious, social and military endeavour. This is further underlined in 20:19 where m^e'aynê is paralleled in H1 by zignê v^erâ'sê v^ešōtrê 'amô.

2. מַדְעִיכֶם לֵב : H2: madā'ēkhem. For a discussion on the distinction between lēv and mada' in early Samaritan thought, cf. A. Brodie, An Investigation into the Cultural Ethos of the Samaritan Memar Marqah (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Glasgow, 1975), 341-343. The phrase šōn l^evavkhem is rare, and possibly suggestive of special insight and gift of prediction.

וְנִרְאָה לְכֶם אֶלְוִי : * The significance of this phrase is underlined by a passage in Marqah which speaks of knowledge as a 'light that shines in the heart'

(Memar Marqah, I, 136; II, 222).: 'Heart' and Madā' are, of course, related terms (see previous note).

3. בָּבָא...וְנִשְׁעָה. Ex 24:7. This verse places the role of Baba, and his relationship to his community, as parallel with that of Moses as instruments of divine redemption (see on 1:6, 3:34).

מִצְוָה: Unattested noun m^ešāy; perhaps read mišvāthkhā.

וְיָעֲבֹד: Sole example of Waw Consecutive in H2; perhaps read v^eānū.

4. וְלֹא בָמְרִי אֶת פִּיךָ: Dt 1:26, 43; 9:13; Josh 1:18.

וְלֹא בָעֲזָב לְקוֹלְךָ: Unattested usage of 'zb with preposition l^e in the sense of 'forsaking.'

6. תְּצוֹה לְבָבְךָ: Vb /svh usually take Direct Object with eth.

7. שְׂמוּעִים: 'Obedient.' Passive in form; active in meaning.

וְהִרְוִיחַ: Note masculine termination; but in v 10 ruhōth. Such variation is not uncommon in our Chronicle (e.g. g^elalim and g^elaloth*, 1:20; nimša'ōth and nimša'im*, 3:10).

8. אֶת כָּל קוֹלְךָ: Pregnant construction; perhaps for eth kol qôl mišvāth^ekhā.

9. וַיִּלְכֹּד הַכְּהֵן: In cases of a single subject with extra subjects appended with yaw copula, H1 anticipates by employing a plural verb (vayyēl^ekhu), whereas H2 maintains the initial singular requirement (yāšā').

מִשְׁפָּחָה: Masc. construct occurs only once in B.H., Ez 34:13.

הסגיר ליהם: For the use of l^e to introduce object of /sgr, see Amos 1:9.

חסגרים אתם: * /sgr in Pi'el conjugation occurs only in book of Samuel (— and then not in participle!), where its sense is 'to surrender up', not 'to close.'

10. ויקרא את ספר התור: This first act is in accordance with the priority given to Torah in Baba's programme of reform (see 1:18, 15:18).

לאלהי הרחוק יי: Nu 16:22, 27:16.

אל צבאות: As a designation of God — 'God of the battle array of Israel' — this is not a Pentateuchal phrase. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that it has precisely the same sense as in the later books of the Bible. Bearing in mind the view of Ben Zevi (S.H., 24) that śar ha-śābhā was the title given to Baba Rabbah, as well as the covert allusion to this title in a 4th cent. amulet — as suggested by J. Caplan ("A Second Samaritan Amulet from Tel Aviv", E.I., 10, 255-257) — it is possible that the sense of the phrase 'el s^ebha'oth, in our passage, is 'God of Baba's hosts.'

השמים וארעות: * לאלהי: Unusual plural form when referring to the earth. Cf. v 11 where we have the usual phraseology, 'ēlōhē ha-śāmayim v^ehā'āreṣ. The plural termination ōth probably entered under the influence of the many plural nouns which follow, in succession to each other, in the verse.

11. זיידנדיג האדומים: 'Tyrannical Ones,' cf. Targ. Ps 86:14, Pr 21:24, Job 31:3. The term zēdîm occurs in the ʿĀmidāh (daily liturgical) composition of the Jewish Synagogue: v^eha-zēdîm th^eʿaqqēr ūth^ešabbēr. A variant of the word v^eha-zēdîm, found in other rites, is ūmalkhûth zādôn — the term malkhûth being, in rabbinic literature, a specific appellation of the Roman dominion. Significantly, both Jewish and Samaritan Palestinian tradition employed the term zēdîm (or zēdônîm) to describe the hated conqueror.

חכמי התורה: H2: Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh. The identity and status of this group is fully discussed in our chapter on "The Administrative Reforms of Baba Rabbah."

* חכמי ש"ס: The poor syntax created by the insertion of this numeral into the context suggests that it was a later gloss, disclosing the number of Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh whom Baba managed to summon. It is not to be dismissed, however, on that score, since it appears again in 5:1* where it is endemic to the context. H1, rather surprisingly, does not include this important piece of information in its version.

12.

הכנה: H2 consistently omits this epithet from Baba's title, in consonance with its general tendency to economy in religious terminology or personal attributes; see on 1:15.

לשון: Omitted in H2, which, unlike H1, does not model itself on biblical style or terminology.

מאדכח: The noun m^eʿôd (Dt 6:5, 'might') is employed in the Chronicle in the sense of 'full attention,' 'mind,' 'concentration.'

אנשים גש"ס וכל הסף: A total programme of school, as well as adult, education is here envisaged, with no discrimination between the sexes. The intensity

of the course instituted by Baba is referred to in v 20.

מקרה: Orthographic variant of migrā'ath (see next verse).
The shorter form occurs again in v 20.

13. אֲחַקְדָּשׁוֹ: * A secular nuance of the verb qdš, in the Hithpa'él conjugation, with the sense of 'devoting attention.'
A1: 'And expend the utmost of your effort.'

14. וְלֹא תִפְלֹךְ בְּתִרְדֵּימָה: Cf. Gn 2:21, 15:12.

דָּרַךְ תִּמְיָמָה: Cf. Ps 101:2; Prov 11:20 .

* Uncertain phrase. Arabic لَا تَلْ, 'to be light.' Perhaps: 'Do not be lethargic (= H1's, v^elō' tipplû b^etardēmāh) in the pursuit of perfection (= H1's, derekh t^emāmāh).

16. לֹכֹךְ בְּאֵי הַגְּבֻרִים: Ex 10:11.

17. יִי אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵינוּ...לָכֵם: Dt 1:11.

18. וַיִּכְחָשׁוּ לָכֵם אֲרֻבֵּיכֶם: Dt 33:29.

וְאַתֶּם עַל בְּמַתֵּם תִּדְרֹכּוּ: Ibid.

: אִמֵּן תִּמְשְׁלוּ: 'You may rule faithfully.' Either read 'ōmen '(in) faithfulness'(cf. Is 25:1), or as adverb, 'āmēn ('truly,' Dt 27:15-26).

19. כֹּל אִישׁ מִכֶּם לֹא: Omission of relative pronoun.

* הִכָּה: Infinitive Absolute (cf. Dt 3:16), or read 'akkeh (cf. H1), or hakkû (Imperative).

דִּתְּ אֶתְּ אֲזָכְרִי מִצִּוַּת אֲתָכֶם הַיּוֹם: Dt 11:27.

20. טִרְחָה: The exacting standards of proficiency in the reading of the Law, and the mastery of the scholarly writings demanded by Baba, were clearly resented at first by

the people. This is reflected in the use of such terms as ṭirhāh and 'āqāh*.

כ"י הוא אבם : * Text corrupt? Possibly parenthetical ('For he was their father'), with 'ābhām a contraction of 'ābhīhem, though comparison with H1 suggests that a verb has dropped out.

21. המגיפיים : B.H: maggēphôth.

אתוסר : Orthog. variant of 'ithbaśrû, 'to receive good tidings.' A.F: تباشروا.

§5

The general import of this section is fully analyzed in our chapter eleven, "The Administrative Reforms of Baba Rabbah."

1. כמו האנשים אשר צוה .. את משה. — Another Moses motif.

אנשי חיל.. שנאי בצע : Ex 18:21.

וראתה תחזה : Ibid.

יראה אלהים : B.T: yir'ê.

2. חכמים : See our discussion of this term, pp.418-423.

3. שלשה מן הכהנים...משבט יוסף הצדיק : To this day the Samaritans maintain a tri-partite tribal division into the tribes of Levi, Menasseh and Ephraim.

והכהנים היו : Delete as gloss.

4. ישתמה..בישראל. : * Echo of Dt 25:10.

5. בקראו חכמים: H2: šôr^etîm. On these two versions and titles, see pp 418-422.

וִיחַלֵּף: Used here in the sense of 'to deprive of,' 'withdraw (a title)'. The required, causative sense suggests either Pi'ēl (see Gn 41:14) or Hiph'il (see Gn 31:41); in both instances, the biblical usage suggests the sense of 'exchange,' 'substitute,' rather than merely 'withdraw.'

6. ויטור לאנשים: The verb šûr usually takes the preposition min. See, however, Job 12:20, mēsîr šāphāh l^ene'ēmānîm, 'He removes the speech of the faithful.'

7. והגלל לדור הז': For detailed discussion of the succeeding episode, see pp. 423-426.

בש: 'Stretching from the stream Jabbok (thus including northern Gilead) northward to Hermon, between Gennesaret (W) and the mountains of Hauran (E),' (B.D.B., 143). In the Onomasticon of Eusebius (ed. Klostermann, 112) there is a reference to a Samaritan community in Bashan (Eus: 'Batanaia'). See M. Aviyonah, "'Al M^eridoth Ha-Somronim B^ebiza'ntium," E.I., 4 (1956), 129.

חילב: Pi'el usage.

8. העיר: With reference to a geographical location such as Bashan, the H2 rendering, m^edīnah seems far more accurate. The reference in the Onomasticon of Eusebius (see previous note) to the Samaritan settlement of a place

in Bashan called Tarsila (Tasīl), provides us with the likeliest identification. (On the question of its identification, see E.Z. Melamed, "The Onomasticon of Eusebius," Tarbiz, 3, 260 note 107.)

לר אשר הנכרך לו : Double relative!

בא שמה : Read bā'û, cum H2.

וישלמו עליו : 'They came to greet him.' Unattested in this sense in B.H. The Hiph'il occurs, with the preposition 'el, in Josh 11:19, in the sense of 'to submit to.' It occurs in this sense in Arabic, form IV: 'to submit oneself,' esp. to God (whence participle Muslim, and Infinitive lslām). It occurs again, in 25:8, in the related sense of 'to hand over, 'entrust to the care of.'

9. בגלל הדבר הזה : Dt 15:10.

מקום חנותיהם : Both words have the technical meaning of 'rank,' 'position,' 'seniority' (see 5:21, 22, 31). See, further, on v 17.

כי לא יצאו הם : Subject pronoun following verb, perhaps for additional emphasis (cf. hāyû hēm, 5:11).

למחוז לעיר : Prefixed lammed; variation of biblical construction el mihûš l^e (Lv 6:4, 10:4).

היו יעשו. 11. : Past frequentative action is expressed by finite verb in imperfect with auxiliary verb 'to be' in perfect tense. See, however, on v.12.

במלה : 'Circumcision;' Noun derived from Niph'al formation. H2's n^emîlāh appears to be a hybrid of Niph'al and Hiph'il forms.

ימילר: Hiph'il /mûl? Only one occurrence of Hiph'il, in Ps 118:10.

12. ייהיר...אמרים: Frequentative action in the future is expressed by employing the imperfect of hāyāh with participial form of main verb.

14. היה אינונר: Read hû *ênennû.

והסוכילים*: The H1 version, 'neither a sage nor a scholar,' is more refined than that of H2.

15. דק היה משחמר: Delete raq as dittography from first word of sentence.

The statement made here, that only the names of the priests were preserved in a genealogical list (Tôlîdāh), is founded on the tradition that during the Bar Cochba revolt the Romans destroyed all the literature of the community. The latter succeeded in rescuing only the scroll of the Torah and a scroll giving the genealogical chain of the priests (Ben Zevi, S.H., 22)

16. כנרת: 'Pedestal, 'office,' cf. Gn 45:22.

17. עד ידע כל אחד מהם את מקומו: This phrase is remarkably close to the rabbinic adage that a scholar is one — ha-makkîr 'eth m^eqômô — 'who knows his own rank' (— and, in consequence, defers to seniority). See Aboth 6:6.

19. ויצגם: The root nsg does not appear in B.H. It is also rare in Sam. Hebrew. H2 has the more common /'md.

20. חטלל: Lit. 'drop dew,' Cowley, 11, 1v11.

- רמפתר: The elucidation of the name, provided by H1, is not given by H2. There are many such indications that H1 is a polished version of H2.
- חבתה: Alternately 'abhtāh or habhtāh (الحبت), 'the second priest, usually at Damascus (Cowley, II, lv).

21. רמפתר: Chronicle Adler renders 'ad yih^eyeh sôphîr rō'š bēn yādāyv; translated: 'Il devint le premier secrétaire devant le grand-prêtre.' The Pater seems to have been a rather more senior administrator, however, than that conveyed by Adler's 'secrétaire.' One feels that Adler's literal rendering of sôphîr has misled him here. The title sôphēr, in Judaistic tradition, has a far more comprehensive and juridical significance than is conveyed by the literal sense of the title. Indeed, it was the title assumed by the early Pharisaic legislators themselves!

The term Pater occurs among the titles of communal officers in the ancient Synagogue of Rome, as, for example, the Pater Synagogae (U.Kaploun, The Synagogue, Popular Judaica Library, 4).

23. רמפתר: Adler renders: v^elô ha-q^erî'āh ha-šēnîth; translated: 'C'était le second lecteur.'

The term migrā'āh, we suggest, refers to the specific duty or function of acting as precentor for the reading of the Law, or of teaching the correct method of reading. Verse 19 points out that an important part of Baba's hierarchic

reform was the appointment of people to act as guardians of the neglected traditions appertaining to the correct method of Scripture reading. The pater would then have been the "expounder" of Scripture, as opposed to the teacher of the skill of reading the law, a function referred to by the term miqrā'āh.

The Chronicler would then be asserting that P^erūba'î (v 20) was the Chief Expounder, followed by 'Amram (v 26). Third and fourth in the rank of Expounders are not preserved. The fifth Expounder was Yisrā'ēlî (thereby accounting for the fact that he is placed fifth in the arbitrary order). The sixth in rank is not preserved. The lowest in the order of seniority was Yoṣbî (v 22).

The term māqôm, used in the context of this list, refers exclusively to geographic situation, or administrative area, in relation to Mount Gerizim, not to rank (even though the term does also have this connotation; see on 5:17). This is made clear in v 21, where the leader whose administrative area was in closest proximity is described as having the first māqôm, and also in v 22, where Yoṣbî, although last in the rank of Expounders, yet occupies the second māqôm. The town of Yislāh (Silāh), associated with him, is a mere 12 km. N.W. of Mt. Gerizim, which would suit the designation māqôm ha-šēnî, in geo-administrative terms.

24. ג'יזכר: Probably Hiph'il 'He recorded,' reading vayazkēr.

הדימו תרומות: Cf. Nu 15:19.

25. ישראלי: Adler adds: v^ehū' sôphēr hāmîšî.

26. כופר ספאסה: Viz. Sebaste.

27. עמדם דרה. : 'Amram Darah is referred again in 9:12. Bearing in mind the great contribution of this man, it is suprising that the Chronicles are the only source of information, or tradition, regarding his date and activity. As a contemporary of Baba Kabbah, and a member of his hierarchic 'inner circle,' we may assume that the main stimulation and encouragement 'Amram (and his son, Marqah) required to foster their pioneering literary activity, came from Baba, and the hopes he raised for a comprehensive Samaritan renaissance.

On the slender basis of a reference to 'Amram as Kāhānān rabbāh 'amrām dārāh, in a Vatican Ms. of a piyyut, Ben Hayyim (L.O.L.S., III, pt.2, 12) opined that 'Amram was a High Priest. It is obvious that, from the sitz im leben of our Chronicle, wherein Nethan'el is the High Priest, Baba the effective leader of the community, and 'Amram but one of the seven members of the ruling praesidium (no more than sixth in the list of such leaders, and occupying only the second Miqrā'āh), that Ben Hayyim's contention cannot be substantiated.

הלה: Aphēl /alp.

בתי הרקאן: Lit. 'Stanzas of (strung) pearls.' Arabic سُرُج. Hebrew poetry of the Jews also adopted this metaphor, by employing the term harûz for 'rhyming verse.'

28. בתיים מרקא: Read bāttē marqāh, the final Mem intruding by dittography (in anticipation of the first letter of marqāh).

תמונה*: 'Appointment,' 'rank.' Rare noun, related to /mnh, 'to appoint.' Tal.Aram. m^emūneh, 'superintendent.'

1. יָתוֹב : 'Degree,' 'status,' 'position.' The noun usually employed is mêthûbhāh (see v.9) or mêthûbhîs (ibid.*). The Hebrew form occurs in 5:31, môšābhô.
2. תַּחַשְׁכוּ ל : 'Discipline them,' (H2: tikhlē^e_u.) This is a slight semantic shift from the shade of meaning that the /hśkh suggests in B.H., viz. 'to spare,' 'hold back.'
- וְהָיִיתָ פָּנִים ל : 'Lit. 'You shall be a face (front) to,' i.e., 'go before.'
3. לֹא תִכְיָרוּ פָנִים...לְאֱלֹהִים הוּא : Dt 1:17. Chronicle Adler inserts the continuation of the biblical verse.
4. אֲנֹכִי אֵדְרֹשׁ מִעֲמֹד : Dt 23:22.
5. אַרְבַּע אַנְשִׁים :* H1 has the correct grammatical form 'arba'ah, masculine form of the numeral. The H2 orthography was probably influenced by the elision of the first of the three succeeding vowel sounds.
- מְרָאִים :* 'Overseers' (?) H1: Pôq^edîm.
6. מִתּוֹךְ אֵת : Curious intrusion of 'eth after preposition.
8. תִּשׁוּב אֵת : Read tāšûbh 'el.
- מִלֵּא יָדוֹ לִכְהֹן : Ex 28:41 et.al.
- הַמַּתְמַשִּׁיחַ :* Forma mixta; noun māšīah in verbal setting. Perhaps read hammithmāšah.

§7

For a full discussion of the identity and role of the Mišpaḥath Haššibh'îm, as described in this section, see chapter 12.

1. יתקרו. * : ונוקהל ישראל ... עמה יתקרו. The H2 rendering is complex, and it is probable that some lacuna has occurred. The term yisrā'ēl hašš^emārīm may refer to the Samaritans (as opposed to 'Samaritans'); and the import of the verse is that among the Israelite Samaritans were some who called themselves (reading š^emēh for 'ammāh) Samaritans.
2. יתנו: P^e'al form of /ytn here used in transitive sense, 'to appoint,' 'set up.' Indeed M. Dahood, commenting on the phrase yāš^ebhū kiss^e'ōth (Ps 122:5), concludes, amid evidence from Ugaritic usage, 'that the verb yasabh can govern the accusative case' (M. Dahood, The Anchor Bible, Psalms III, 206).
- 'אשר הפקידם ... הכהן בנא רבה הזוכ: The subject is awkwardly separated from the verb it governs; but cf. 11:9, 15:3, 22:15*.
- שמי: * 'Discipline.'
3. במקומותם: H1, characteristically, simplifies the rare word m^ekhōrōthēhem in H2.
- מכרתיהם: * Noun m^ekhōrāh, only in Ezekiel (Ez 16:3, 21:35, 29:14). It has the sense of 'origin' (lit. place of digging out. See B.D.B. sub 11 כור).
- Baba's inability to dislodge the Mišpahath Haššiphⁱim from their position of influence and autonomous independence is explained by the term m^ekhōrōthēhem. They were well 'dug in'; their forebears having been associated with those areas from earliest times.
4. עריהם.. היא: Sing. pronoun with plural subject. Perhaps used collectively.
4. בנא רבה הזוכירים מטרים: The plural ha-zōkhîrîm actually qualifies 'the seven sages', mentioned at the beginning of the verse. The intervening phrase might be a gloss (but see on v 2 above).

מסעדים.6:

Pi'el. B.H. has only Qal form. It is conceivable, however, that we have here a plural form of the hapax legomenon mis'ād (I Kings 10:12), 'support.' The sense of the phrase would then be, 'These seventy were supporters of (lit. 'supports with') the priest Baba Rabbah.'

מסביר.6:

Josh. 7:21. The vagueness of this term is removed in H1 by use of the term mašbîr.

מסביר.6:

Irregular form of the noun sebher, 'grain' (Gn 42:1). In B.H. the term mašbîr means 'the seller of grain.'

וַיַּעֲבִד אֹתוֹ לֵב.6: Lit. 'they overtook him with.,' i.e. 'to lavish upon.' Clarified by H1's vayyitnû lô.

במחנות הפתוחות.6:

Curious expression. Aram./p_{hr}, 'to hollow out, scrape' (= hphr). The parallel with t^emûnîm (lit. 'buried,' 'concealed') is inescapable, suggesting that paḥrôth may have the sense of 'rare.' Alternately, the Aramaic noun paḥra' means 'earthenware,' and the phrase may mean that they gave 'earthenware gifts' to Baba. According to one report, Samaritans only ate and drank from earthen vessels on the Sabbath, not from metal ones. If a metal vessel became unclean, one might inadvertently purify it on the Sabbath. To prevent this, earthen vessels --- which cannot be purified --- were used (see K.Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch," AJTh, xv (1911), 413-14.). Does this suggest a Dosithean identity for the Mišpaḥath Haššibh'îm?

It is unlikely that paḥrôth means merely, 'beautiful' (/p_{hr} being an orthog. variant of /p'r).

1. ויפקדו : Qal or Niph'al. If Qal, in an active sense ('whom he had appointed') we have the problem of a singular suffix qualifying a plural subject (ha-hăkhāmîm). This is solved by reading vayyiphq^edēm, the 3rd pers. pl. suffix being supported by H2's rendering, y^ešavveh 'ōthām.

A Niph'al sense (reading vayyipāqdû) would be doubtful, however, since the basic structure and import of the sentence is active in sense, with Baba as subject.

* מברעות : Hapax in B.H. (I Kings 6:6), where it is used in the unequivocal sense of 'ledge, recess'. Here it is synonymous with š^egāgôth, in the sense of 'deficiencies.'

2. חפצותי : Noun hephšāh unattested in B.H.

הדבר הראש הגדול : Baba's emphasis on the importance of Torah reading was certainly a reaction to the lengthy period when such public readings were proscribed by the Romans, with serious consequences for religious knowledge and observance (see 1:18).

ומן כלילה : 'Scrupulously,' lit. 'out of whole(heartedness).'

על מקרת העשרה : 'According to the reading of the ten.' This abstruse phrase might suggest an attempt by Baba to introduce the prerequisite of a quorum of ten for the Reading of the Law, as in Jewish tradition. We would accordingly render the phrase as 'in the assembly of ten'. Cf. miqrā' qōdeš ('a holy convocation'), Ex 12:16.

Alternately, the reference in H2 to hā'eśrôth hā-'iqqārîm, 'the ten principles' might point to some system of cantillation or accentuation signs, on the Judaistic pattern of n^egînôth. Coincidentally, the invention of these signs is attributed to the first half of the 4th cent. (Encycl. Jud., 16, 1413).

- הגדול : A gloss, clarifying that by ha-dabhar ha-ro's Baba meant 'the chief matter,' rather than the first topic.'
3. המלמדים... שימו זכרון : A1: 'Remind the teachers.' The prescription to make a zikkārôn 'between you and between the teachers' suggests more than merely 'reminding them.' It appears to call for a regular (^eb^hkhōl 'ēth) revision course (zikkārôn) in which the appointed leaders are to instruct and 'refresh the memories' of the teachers.
- הנסייתם את התלמודים : 'And search the learned literature.' It is possible that a scribal error has occurred here, and we should read talmîdîm, 'disciples.' The nouns talmûd and talmîd are, occasionally, interchanged in Samaritan literature (see Cowley, II, lix). The verse would then call upon the scholars to conduct regular 'tests of the students' (for nassoth, 'tests,' see 9:4).
4. מקוה מים לטהרה : For a discussion of Baba's Miqveh, and especially the expression in our verse, l^e'ēth 'ittôth kol s^elôth, see our chapter on "The Administrative Reforms of Baba Rabbah," espec. pp. 443-453.
5. This verse has the hallmark of being a gloss.
6. בית כנוסה : Adler: k^enîsah.
7. הפרנג : 'The Franks.' The singular is used in a collective sense.
- בית המעבד : 'Place of Worship.'

הריפתיים* A curious nomenclature for the Franks (H1).
It might be connected with the name rîpnath
(Gn 10:3), son of Gomer, firstborn of Japhet.
B.D.B. (Lexicon, 937) quotes Josephus'
identification of Riphath with Paphlagonians.

More probably, however, our Riptim is a
transliteration of 'Ripuarians,' one of the
three main branches of the Franks. The
Ripuarians were the most successful of the
Frankish tribes, reaching their zenith in the
Rhineland conquests of the 5th cent. H2
preserves a tradition that the Riptim sent
officials to prevent the Samaritans from
observing their religion (see 11:1, 4).

מדד:* 'Dimension.' B.H: mad, mēmad, middāh.

בוצרה: Bozra in Edom. The name 'Albāṣrah appears
in the Asatir (ed. Ben Hayyim, ch.2, 1.21) as
a city built by Tubal Cain as a centre for
his tool-making industry. The original name
was s^ekhîphāh, or, according to another version,
s^ekhîphas. This is suggestive of the name
Scopus, and, conceivably, it was for that
reason that it was identified with Albāṣrah
the Citadel.

We cannot rule out the possibility that Bozra
is identical with Bostra, the birthplace of
Philip the Arab, who figures prominently in
our Chronicle. Bostra is identified with
Philippopolis in the Trachonitis (Victor,
De Caesaribus, 28, 1). For discussion of this
name, see I. Sonne, "Historical Sources," J.Q.R.
(N.S.), 26, 150-1; S. Lieberman, "The Martyrs
of Caesarea," op. cit., 249-251.

8. מאבנים ההיכל: Scribe notes his own error by dotting the last letter of mē'ābhānīm. Read mē'abhnē.

אנשי שאול: For the account of the hostility between Saul and the Samaritans, see J. Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No. II, 123-128.

10. כנסיית שבעה: Adler and H2 have 'eight Synagogues.' The H1 version was undoubtedly motivated by the uncertainty surrounding the eighth Synagogue (see v.18).

Vv. 11 - 19 are treated in detail in our chapter, "The Location of Baba's Synagogues According to the Account of the Chronicler."

§9

2. המקום המב: We have here a classical example of H1's predilection for pious attributions, as contrasted with H2's simple reference to hā-hār ha-kōdeš.

*ויעלים Arabic 'Alima, 'to make known,' or, perhaps, read v^eya'ālī, 'he shall submit (his request)'.

3. ויגידו לו על דבר משפט: Cf. Dt 17:9.

4. בקיבו: 'His designation,' cf. Nu 1:17.

5. והגלל: B.H. employs only the construct case of gālāl with prefixed b^e, as in biglal.

לא פנה פניו : Cf. Jer 2:27, 32:33.

ישמר את עצמם : Cf. I Kings 19:2.

במלאכות תרחקם : Note detached relative pronoun (cf. 4:19);
also singular verb after plural subject
(cf. 12:1*, 14:3*).

הקדוש יתקדש שמו : Pious epithets of H1 omitted in H2.

יִתְּרוֹר : Verb tûr or tā'ēr occurs in Sam. Aramaic in
sense of 'to pay attention to,' 'consider,'
'think;' see on 1:8, also Ben Hayyim, L.O.T.S.,
II, 507.

העוֹדוֹת עלמה : Read ôdôth (construct), 'existing things,'
'affairs.' Syr. ܐܕܬܐ (pa.) 'accustom;' ܐܕܬܐ
'usage.'

והוֹדוֹת : Contraction of v^ehā'ôdôth.

6. על עמו דמצא אתם. : This cannot mean that Baba appointed
priests over the people 'whom he had found,'
which would give no sense. We suggest that
this phrase has become transposed, and that
it should qualify 'the priests.' The verb mq'
is here used in the sense of 'gather together,'
'assemble' (cf. ûmāṣāh lāhem // yē'āsēph lāhem,
Nu 11:22).

The sense of the phrase would then be that
'Baba allotted the priests, whom he had assembled,
over his people.' This interpretation is also
supported by the use of this verb in 10:1*.

7. כרני הדת : The noun kōren occurs in the Ha-mēliš, the
Hebrew/Arabic/Sam. Aramaic lexicon, as the
equivalent of the Heb. mišpāhāh, 'family.'
The sense of our passage would then be: 'Who
were appointed over the religious and pious
families.'

8. הַרְאָא: H1 always employs the term rō'š, 'head,' in place of H2's ordinal ri'yšōn. (cf. 8:2).

לִזְאָה: Identified with Bethel in Bible (Gn 28:19), and with Mount Gerizim — and especially with a spot east of the lower ridge — in Samaritan tradition. It is there, at an area still called Luz by the Samaritans, that Passover is celebrated (J. Bowman, "Pilgrimage to Mount Gerizim," E.I., VII, 17). In the Tolidah it is again mentioned: lûzāh 'āšer hî' šōmrōn (ed. Bowman, 12x).

עַד מְקוֹם הַגִּלְגָּל: The continuation — 'āšer 'al ha-yām — supports the H2 reading, 'el ha-gilgāl. The reference is clearly to Gilgal, by the brook of Kānah (Josh 16:8), on the Sharon plain. See Josh 12:23.

נֶעְרָה: Adler supports the H2 reading, na'ānāh (perhaps Gr. neanis).

9. לְטוֹבְרִיָּה ... מַעֲסָכָר: The variation in geographical identification of boundaries between H1 and H2, coupled with the H1 corrective gloss (v^ehā'ēmeth...), indicates a confused tradition. On 'Askōr, see Montgomery, 20.

טִיְבֵרְיָס: This was the medieval orthography for Tiberias (Ben Zevi, 117).

אֲחֻזַּת מַחֲנַיִם*: A lacuna has occurred; read, 'āhūzath (naḥālāh mi-)maḥānayim.

10. בֶּן תְּהוֹם: Tolidah: tēhōm (—a common priestly name; see Tolidah, ed. Bowman, 12x, 13a). A.F: nēhām.

11. כִּפְר חַלְלִיל: Probably identified with k^efar qallîl, well-known Samaritan agricultural village, 3 kls. N.W. of Ma'ābharthāh.

בית השבט: Also called bēth šōphēt. A.F. (translating, rather than transliterating, the name) renders بيت الحكم. It is identified by Conder with the Talmudic k^ephar šōbhthī in lower Galilee (see Ber. Rabb. 85, 7).

*לביט: Read l^ebhêth.

טרד: This name, of Marqah's grandfather, is variously transmitted. A.F. renders برد (133) and صير (130). The latter is possibly an error for صير (see Ben Hayyim, "Piyyuṭ Šōmrônî miymê hā-'āmôrâ'îm," E.I., 4, 119, n.11).

טוטא: Probably originates in Roman name Titus.

12. הכהן מרקה. אב: Chronicle Adler adds supplementary detail regarding Marqah: 'Ce fut le pere de Marca, le grand savant, qui etait instruit dans toutes les sciences. Il avait fait un commentaire sur le Pentateuque, dont il nous reste un fragment sur les miracles que Dieu fit en Egypte, un fragment sur le cantique de Moise et un autre sur le second cantique de Moise.'

Adler makes the identification of our 'Amram with 'Amram, father of Marqah, a certainty —as does H2's comment: v^ehū' b^eqōšt.. H1 is more reserved, however, in its judgment, stating it merely as a tradition.

13. שמעלע ימא. H2's reading šimt^e 'îmāh is supported by Adler. The name is omitted, however, in A.F. It should be noted that the letters ṭ and ' are easily confused in Samaritan script. The name is curious, and might mean, "pleasant name."

מגבול ים ויין לפלשתים: Read, with H2, migbhûl yām dēn.

14. ער נהר מצרים: Adler reads nahal misrāyim. The Samaritan settlement in Egypt began with Alexander the Great's conscription of Samaritan troops to guard the district of Thebes (Josephus, Ant. xi, 340-346).
15. קיסריה: Caesarea was an important Samaritan centre from the 1st to the 6th cents.A.D. (see Ben Zevi, 99-100).
- אהרן בן זחר: Adler and A.F. read 'ahārōn ben 'ōhar. The latter form may have originated through the influence of the name 'ahārōn, which the scribe had just written.
16. לאל: Adler reads zā'ēl. The name la'el is known from Nu 3:24, which is rendered by the LXX as Δαήλ. This may explain the Adler version.
- אגבול מקדס הכרמים: Read, with H2 and Adler, migg^ebhul Ha-karmel.
- *תהוות: Perhaps connected with ta'avvoth (Gn 49:26), in the sense of 'boundaries.'
- צנינה: H2: ṣ^ephînāh. A.F. and Tolidah read ṣ^enînāh with H1; Adler reads ṣ^ephînāh, with H2.
17. נהר בקורה: H2: 'Alna'qorah. Perhaps identical with the village of al-Nā'ūra, N. of Jezreel Valley and E. of the Hill of Moreh (see Encycl. Jud., 2, 917).
- כופר מרואן: A.F.'s rendering helps us to identify this site. He reads mā'rōth. The town of Meroth, in Upper Galilee, is listed by Josephus as having been fortified by him in the year 66 A.D. (Vita, 188; Wars, 2, 573). It is probably to be identified with the well-known town of Meron, burial-place of R. Simeon bar Yohai (see J. Aharoni, Hitnaḥaluth Shivte Yisrael ba-Galil ha-Elyon (1957), 95^{ff.}).

The rendering of the Tolidah, k^ephar m^erôn, supports this identification.

18. בן צפור:

H2: ṣ^ephô; A.F: sābhôr.

נחל לית:

The identification is suggested by reference to the other boundary, Sidon. Clearly we are dealing here with the area of Mt. Hermon, the larger part of which belongs to Lebanon. Nahal Lîṭāh is probably the Litani (Leontes) Valley, to the West of the mountain.

בן מנחם:

H2 and A.F. render mākhîr; khaph and nûn being easily confused in Samaritan script.

19. בן שריון:

H2, cum Tolidah and Adler, renders šîrā'n. The fact that this leader's possession stretched as far as Lebanon prompts the suggestion that there may be a connection between his name and Siryon, mentioned together with Lebanon in Ps 29:6. It is thus conceivable that this leader inherited (or was confirmed in) his family holding by Baba Rabbah.

§10

1. מצא אתם:

See on 9:6.

ויחלק עליהם את כל ארץ כנען: A Joshua-Dosithean tradition.

See our discussion, pp. 301-305.

2. ארבע אלפים:

Both H1 and H2 are characterized by a looseness in gender agreement between adjectives and nouns, especially in the case where numerals are employed (cf. šîššāh mē'ôth*, 'ehād 'eleph (v 4) and

'ahath 'elep (v 5).

וְשָׁמַח מֵאֵת רֵשֶׁת שְׁנֵי: This is clearly a correction of H2's erroneous version which states that Baba appeared one thousand, eight hundred and sixty-six years after the entry into Canaan. The date of the entry into Canaan is consistently given in Samaritan sources as 2794 A.M. If Baba appeared, as stated, in the year 4600 A.M., then this must have been 1806 years after the entry into Canaan, in accordance with the H1 version.

Vv.4-5 are omitted in H2, whose chronology, as we have noted above, seems to have suffered in textual transmission.

4.

לְבָנוֹת אֵת שְׁלֹמֹה .. בֵּית מִקְדָּשׁ: The date of Solomon's Temple, according to Sam. tradition, was 3274 A.M., which accords with the statement that Baba appeared 1326 years after that event, viz. in 4600 A.M.

אֵת שְׁלֹמֹה:

A characteristic of H1 is its employment of the preposition 'eth with subject clause. It occurs again later in this verse, in the phrase, 'āšer qānāhû 'eth 'abhîv. See J.Macdonald, "The Particle 'eth in Classical Hebrew: Some New Data on its Use with the Nominative," V.T., XIV, 3 (1966), 264-275.

וְהָיָה מִקוֹם הַגִּלְגָּל: See II Sam. 24:16; I Chr.ch.21.

5...אֵלֶּף וְחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה לְגִלּוֹת: The first exile, according to Samaritan tradition, was in the year 3550 A.M. (lower chronology).

כְּהֹנֵת הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל עֲקֹבִיָּה: See the chronological list of High Priests, conveniently arranged by J.Macdonald (The Samaritan Chronicle No.11, Appendix V, 222).

6. למדבא מן הגלות: The first Return, according to the Samaritan tradition, was in the year 3595 A.M.

*:נסחת הראישובה /nsh occurs in Dt 28:63 in the sense of being 'torn away from one's land;' hence the development of a nominal form, nashāh, denoting 'exile.'

גלות בבני דנצר: Both versions are erroneous as regards this statement; for the exile of Nebuchadnezzar was, of course, the second exile, not, as stated herein, the first. The same error occurs in Chronicle Adler. The reference in H1 to the Pontificate of the High Priest Seriah is, however, correct. He ministered at the return from the first Exile (see Macdonald, loc cit.).

7. גלות השנייה... היא גלות מלך היוונים: The second Exile is popularly referred to in Samaritan sources as the 'Greek Exile,' possibly because of the dominating personality of Alexander the Great, and the traditions concerning his relationship with the community and their Temple (see Montgomery, 68), as opposed to the obscure period until the fall of the Persian empire.

It was probably this popular, though chronologically confusing, tradition that was responsible for the erroneous identification of the first Exile with Nebuchadnezzar.

8. לעמיר: 'Restoration,' 'rebuilding;' Arabic س.

9. *גלות המלך אסכנדר: The expression l^egālūth, which is omitted in H1, is erroneous, having crept in as a result of the many previous references to

'Exiles.' There was, of course, no Exile by Alexander.

10. ויצללו אתו:

The Samaritans were eager to dissociate themselves from any complicity in the death of Jesus, and, at the same time, to throw the guilt squarely upon the Judaeans. The discourtesy shown by the Samaritans to Jesus (see Montgomery, 157-164), and the latter's apparent contempt for their beliefs (op. cit., 161-2), may have thrown some degree of suspicion upon the community. This is indeed confirmed when we read the section of our Chronicle which covers the period of Jesus activity. The apologetic note which characterizes the account is most marked, as the following passage will illustrate:

Now Jesus the Nazarene did not consult the community of the Samaritan-Israelites at any time in his life. He did not stand in their way, nor did they stand in his. They did not impose upon him, nor he on them in any way. He was, however, the subject of vengeance on the part of his own people, his own community, from whom he rose, that is, the Judaist community. They hated him wholeheartedly; so much so that they were the cause of his execution, his crucifixion (J. Macdonald and A.J.B. Higgins, "The Beginnings of Christianity According to the Samaritans," N.T.St., 17, 11. See especially, sections 81 - 85.).

Vv. 11-20 appear to have come from a separate source. It is a self-contained unit, which fits uneasily into the context and seems to be more like a summary of Baba's achievements rather than a personal history. Its original purpose might have been to trace the origin of the Havtawi priests of Damascus. (Do we have here a clue to the original provenance of the Chronicle?)

11. בימי הסורים: Read bayāmim ha-tôbhîm.

הארץ כנען: Read b^eeres k^ena'an.

הספר:* The context suggests the meaning 'period,' /sphr 'to count.' In Mishna Nazir vii, 3 there occurs the phrase y^emê s^ephērô, 'the period of his counting.' Our noun would then be sāphēr.

12. גם עדת בני יהודה: There is no basis for the claim that the Judaeen community was under Baba's authority. Individual Jews, inhabiting border areas, or villages with a preponderance of Samaritans, might, however, have regarded it as politic to acknowledge him.

המתעקת .. שבעים הזקנים: Underlying this statement is an unmistakable polemical claim for the accuracy of the Samaritan transmitted text. The Judaists also made the same claim; and to this day, in the Jewish Synagogue, the verse, 'And this is the Law which Moses placed before the Children of Israel, according to the word of the Lord, by the hand of Moses,' is recited as the scroll is raised aloft after reading. For the Samaritans to have made such a claim, in this context, is understandable, bearing in mind that Baba's

reform regarding accurate reading of the Law followed on after a period of acute neglect, prevention of such reading and observance, execution of the religious leaders and teachers, and destruction of the Torah scrolls, during the persecution of Severus. It was thus imperative for the Samaritans to stress that they, nonetheless, still possessed an authentic tradition going back to the seventy Elders who disseminated the Law in the time of Moses.

מִיָּמֵי אֶלְדֵּרֵי הַתּוֹרָה וְהַחֲכָמִים הָאֵלֶּם * From the H1 version, 'ădôn ha-n^ebhi'îm, it would seem that the word ha-n^ebhi'îm has been omitted from H2. Moses is most commonly described as 'ădôn ha-n^ebhi'îm. This would, however, be rather mystifying, since it would provide us with a rendering: 'in the days of the Master of the Former and Later Prophets.' We know, however, that the Samaritans have never accepted any prophets other than Moses, and would certainly take no recognition of the Judaistic distinction between Former and Later Prophets.

It is therefore conceivable that the original version of H2 was not 'ădôn, but dārê, 'generations,' thereby providing the rendering, '(from the priests who functioned) in the early and later generations.'

The word dārê occurs earlier in the verse, and might well have been repeated. Alternately, 'ădôn hā-rī'yšônîm might mean 'lord of the first-mentioned (sc.in this verse)' — namely, the Elders — 'and the last-mentioned' — namely, the priests. Such a sentiment, upholding Moses' authority even over the priests

(notwithstanding the influence of Aaron),
would most likely have emanated from a
'Moses-Dosithean' tradition.

15. עבדי: Old Levitical name; see I Chr 6:29, II Chr 29:12, Ezr 10:26. Also in Nabatean Palm.
(see Cook, North Semitic Inscriptions, 87.).
- שבע: Benjaminite name, e.g. Šebha' ben Bikhrî (II Sam 20:1, I Chr 5:13), also in place-name, B^eēr Šebha'.
- אור: I Chr 11:35; also in name 'Ūr kašdîm, and as kernel of 'Ūrî (Ex 31:2), 'Ūrîy'ēl (I Chr 6:9), 'Ūrîyāh (II Sam 11:3) and 'Ūrîyāhū (Jer 26:20).
- עז: Variation of Levitical name 'Uzzāh (I Chr 6:14) or 'Uzzî (I Chr 5:31, 32).
16. פרו וישרצו וירבו ויעצמו: Ex 1:7.
17. חזקו ואמצו אל תיראו ואל תערצו: Dt 31:6.
18. פחדכם ומראכם ..: Dt 11:25.
- אשר הוציא .. מכור הברזל: Dt 4:20.
19. *דהסגיל: /sgl only in nominal form in B.H., as s^egūllāh, 'a possession.' Perhaps derived here as denominative.
- בפשוטיכם: A gloss, to clarify that it is a spiritual, not corporeal, existence that is conceived of in the Hereafter.
20. האנשיאיים: The Aliph in the definite article serves a similar purpose to that of Aliph Tawila in Arabic. Here, especially, to avoid the

sharp sound of the Masoretic dagesh in the Nun.

בהעם ישראל: Definite article with a noun in construct case!

21. ויפרק עול הברזל מעל צווארך. Dt 28:48.

וישבר מטות .. קוממית. Lv 26:13.

22. עפלו: /'pl 'to swell up,' 'surge forward', see on 1:20. The H2 rendering, 'āphlû..biśmāḥôth, elucidates the sense of 'swelling, or erupting, with joy.'

§11

1. הרפתחם*: See on 8:7.

2. ויחליצו להם*: 'Equipped themselves for war,' cf. Nu 32:21. It may also carry the sense of 'plundered them (sc. the enemy),' denominative of ḥālîsâh (II Sam 2:21). See B.D.B., Lexicon, 322, col. II.

וימחו צרבותם: Either, 'they swept away their ashes,' /ṣrb, 'to burn, scorch,' or, 'they blotted out their existence,' see 19:50* (= H1's šēm), 19:64*, 22:10*.

עת אחד: As in later B.H., 'ēth is occasionally construed as masculine (see B.D.B., Lexicon, 773).

3. זכרון למודע: For a full discussion of the practice referred to in this verse, see pp. 338-345 below.

עודה : * 'Occupation,' variation of noun 'iddān.

טף : * Apparently a variation of noun daph, 'board, timber.'

3. יעביר מן אש : * ya'ābhîrû min = yabh'îrû b^e, 'to burn in fire,' cf. Nu 11:1, 3.

חייב עשותה : * The exhortation contained in this verse, to observe the custom of the burning the Succah boards, 'at the right time; fathers, sons and little ones, according to the correct procedure of the community.,' has a polemical ring, suggesting that the ritual was, in fact, in danger of falling into desuetude, probably as a result of its origin and significance having been long forgotten. Hence the need to prop its importance by means of the solemn exhortation contained in the verse.

טף אימנותה על דהלכיהם : * 'Who walk upon the path (lit. boards) of their faith.' A play on the word taph is detectable. Perhaps burning the boards of the Succah booths was to be construed, in a figurative sense, as walking the board, or path, of faith.

Alternately, the phrase 'al taph may be idiomatic for 'eagerly,' /taphaph, 'to take a quick step.' Render: 'Who walk eagerly in their faith.'

4. רפיתיהם : * Orthog. variant of rîphtîm (11:1).

5. יתפשו על : In B.H. the /tphs takes the preposition b^e.

יקמץ על נגיש : * /qmz in the sense of 'to seize people' is an extension of the biblical usage, 'to take a handful (of flour),' Lv 2:2, 5:12, Nu 5:26.

6. וְהָיָה כִּי: * Cf. Ex 9:20.
7. בְּרַע דָּבָר: 'In an evil condition,' cf. Ex 32:12.
Preposition b^e as Beth essentiae.
- אֲשֶׁר הִקִּימוּ: Delete as dittography.
- הַקִּימוּ מֶלֶךְ חָדָשׁ: Cf. Ex 1:8.
- עֲדִיפָה: * 'Intense,' variant of 'ādīphā'.
8. יִתְשַׁפֵּעַ: * Lit. 'would flow (in abundance) from'
= 'result from' = 'be the consequence of.'
9. רִגְלָאִים: * Adj. riglā'î (N.H. rāgîl), 'accustomed.'
- חֲמִישִׁים: * B.H. hāmūšîm (Ex 13:18, Nu 32:17), 'in
battle array.'
- מִלְכֵי הַתְּרַפִּים: * Perhaps, 'idolatrous kings' (see Gn 31:19,
34:35), but more likely metathesis for
riḥtîm (see v 4 above).
10. בֵּינָה חִזְקָה וּבְזָרוּעַ בְּטוּיָה: Dt 4:34.
11. דָּכָה אַתָּם בַּמִּדְבָּה: Nu 11:8.
12. וּמָלֵא אֶת כָּל הָהָר עֲסָכָר מִן בְּבִילוֹתָם: In Akkadian, 'to fill a
mountain with corpses' is a common idiom.
13. וְכַחֲשָׁם: * In B.H. /khš is always intransitive.
14. Note the succession of Hithpa'el forms
in this sentence. An extreme example of
H2's predilection in this direction.
- וְאֵתְפוּרְרוּ: * 'They quaked with fear,' Cf. Is 24:19,
'to split.' Arabic فَرَزَقَ 'to shake.'

- * ואתחיל: Synonym of previous verb. /hûl, /hîl, 'to writhe in anguish,' Dt 2:25. There is no Hithpa'el form in B.H.
15. ויסף: Assimilation of Aliph; read vayye'ēsōph.
 אלפים ורבות: Idealistic hyperbole.
 עסכרים: 'Troops,' 'camp.' Arabic *سكرك*.
 The verses which follow, until the end of the section, have suffered much in textual transmission.
17. פא: Read pē'āh.
 בחרחים: Read beḥārābhîm.
 וברחמים: Read ûbħirmāhîm.
 בכבדנים: Read n^ekhônîm.
 * שפעת: Orthog. variant of ś^ephath, representing the peculiar Samaritan pronunciation of the pataḥ vowel.
18. הצרה: Read ha-ṣābhā'.
19. ויכרש אכתל: Text corrupt; read, vayy^egāreš 'eth kāl.
 : כי אויבי .. השמרים A verb has been omitted after ha-ṣ^emārîm; probably hāyû.
20. בה: Read bā'.
 : ויהי כי בה המגיד למלך הצדיק בוא רבה This phrase should be deleted as a textual intrusion, probably from 12:1.
 : בצר The context requires the sense of 'fled.' This, indeed, provides confirmation of the reliability of the M.T.'s reading nāṣû

(— hapax, // nā'û) in Lam.4:15. B.D.B. (Lexicon, 663, col.I) observes that 'the text is very dubious,' and suggests the meaning of 'to fly (?).'

Our text clarifies the exact nuance in which this verb was employed in Palestine, namely, 'to flee (= nûs). It is more likely, then, that the root is nus, rather than B.D.B.'s naḥah. Nus would then be a rare variant of nûs, possibly conveying a more urgent sense of (flight in) panic.

וידגדג:

The translation, 'he quartered,' is based upon a reading vayyidgôr (cf. Jer 17:11). Alternately, read vayyidgōd, a denominative of g^edūd, 'troop,' in the same meaning, as 'to station troops.'

ויורשים :

The second yodh is merely an orthographic representation of the sêrê vowel in a lengthened form.

צבה:

Read sābhāh.

אשר הקהל אליו :

'Who had quickly come to him.' Alternately, 'whom he had assembled,' reading hiqhilu (for defective spelling of Hiph'il, see Nu 20:10). In pronunciation, the soft breathing of the second hey is barely audible, which would explain its omission here.

21. *יבואו ל :

Lacuna. Restore with, l^emalkhê 'edôm.

22. ויעבירו .. :

For the lacuna, insert qôl. Cf.23:10.

מוסם:

Read môsām.

- ...מית: Read mithpaqqdîm, 'commanded,' on basis of 19:55*.
23. ויכרת: Elyptic for vayyikhrôth b^erîth.
- למן ... הזה: Read l^emin ha-yôm ha-zeh.
- יקחו: For /lqh in sense of 'donate,' see Ex 25:2.
- לצב: Read laṣṣābhā'.
24. ...הצי ... ב: Read ha-ṣaddîq bābhā'.
- 'עמדתה ... בה אדון': Read d^eniqb^erû bāh. 'ādôn...
- ארשי: 'Ancestors.' The noun is a contraction of the words 'al rēš, 'in the beginning.'
26. אתעמרת: Syr. ܕܡܝܢ 'to indwell,' 'inhabit,' 'colonize.' Also found in Ethtaph. form ܕܡܝܢܐ, 'to be made to dwell, to be settled (Payne Smith, Syriac-English Dictionary, p.418).

§12

2. עד כי חדל ... מספר: Gn 41:49.

The lacunae in this verse were originally filled by quotations from Ps 10: 1-14.

- אל .. חק: Read 'al tirḥaq; cf. Ps 10:1
- אל תעלים: Ibid.
4. ..בגאו: Read b^ega'āvath; cf. Ps 10:2
- בלבו לא חדרש: Cf. Ps 10:13.
- כעסנו: Cf. Ps 10:14.

5. אתה ההית : Read hāyîthā; Ibid.
 שבר זרוע : Cf. Ps 10:15.
6. יי' מלך עולם. : Ps 10:16.
 בכרים : Gloss, not in B.T.
 תאות : Ps 10:17.
 לתת אזנך לשמע את שיאלם : B.T: taqšîbh 'āzn^ekhā.
 לא יוסף עוד : Cf. Ps 10:18. B.T: bal yôšîph.
7. הושיע יי' : Ps 12:2.
 כי נשמדו : B.T: kî gāmar.
 כי ספור אמונים : B.T: kî phassû.
8. עד אנה : Ps 13:2.
 עד מתי תסיר : B.T: 'ānāh tastîr.
 עד אנה בשית עצות : Ps 13:3.
 כל יום : B.T: yômām.
9. ראה וענבה : Cf Ps 13:4; B.T: habbîṭāh va'ānēnu.
 אניד : B.T: hā'îrāh.
 בישון למות : B.T: pen 'îsan ha-māveth.
 פן יאמרו אויבינו : Ps 13:5.
 ואנחנו בחסדך : Ps 13:6.
 נשיר לשמך לטוב לנו : B.T: 'āšîrāh layhōvāh kî gāmal 'ālāy.
10. משה בן עמרם : H2 has no mention of Moses; cf. 3:26.
 *שופרים : B.H. always has the ôth-termination for the plural of šôphār.

11. וכל תבואה : Cf. Nu 10:9.
 לפני יי : Delete as dittog.
 זבועשתם : Read v^enōša'tem, cum S.P.
12. .. השקף : Cf. Dt 26:15. B.T: hašqîphāh.
 וזהל : B.T: ûvārēkh.
13. ויזרק : Departure from Biblical sense of 'sprinkling blood (of sacrifice). Here, 'to shed' -- in a purely secular sense.
 ויהי* : Single occurrence of Waw-Consecutive in H2; possibly under influence of biblical quotation in previous verse.
 נפש* : 'Gave them release (refreshment)'. Syr. نفس, 'refresh.' In B.H. only in Niph'al.
 ההו : Read hahū.
14. דרך דם הטמאה : H2 attributes a different commemorative appellation to the place -- 'ebhen ha-tāmē'. The noun 'ebhen might refer to the city of Shechem itself, which is known by the name 'ebhen, after the stone of Jacob; see 8:18, and pp.499f. below.

§13

The present section, comprising the Thanksgiving Prayer of Baba Rabbah, is an almost verbatim rendering of the Judaistic Song of David, found in both Ps 18 and II Sam ch.22. The main difference is that the Chronicler converts expressions into the plural in order for the song to represent a communal

vehicle of expression.

It is beyond doubt that the Chronicler was basing himself upon the version contained in the Psalter, not that of II Samuel. Evidence is marshalled in the notes which follow to prove this point (— a point whose ramifications are analyzed in our chapter entitled, "Judaistic Psalm-Verses in a Samaritan Chronicle," pp.320-326), by drawing attention to many instances of differences between the Samuel and Psalms versions, where that of the Chronicler coincides with the latter.

A characteristic of the Chronicler's treatment of his material is that of simplifying biblical phraseology which is difficult or unfamiliar (see on vv.11, 14, 18 and 19).

2. A variation of Ps 18:3 (II Sam 22:2,3).
3. Cf. Ps 18:4 (II Sam 22:4)
מחללים: Since this ptc.(Pu'al) qualifies 'God,' the conversion into the plural is unnecessary.
'י : B.T. omits 'eth.
4. Cf. Ps 18:5 (II Sam 22:5).
אפפר אחנר : B.T: 'äphâphûnî.
חבלי מות: With Ps 18. The Samuel version has mišb^verê
mäveth.
5. Cf. Ps 18:6 (II Sam 22:6).
סבנר לבנר: The full form of /sabhabh accords with the Psalms version. The Samuel version has sabbûnî.

חפשו בנה: B.T: qidmūnī.

6. Cf. Ps 18:7 (II Sam 22:7)

קראנו ליי: B.T: 'eqrā' yhw.

צעקנו: Under the influence of the Psalm version our Chronicler varies the verb in this stich. (The Psalmist actually employs the verb /šv^l.) The version of II Samuel, however, merely repeats 'eqrā'.

7. Cf. Ps 18:8 (II Sam 22:8).

ומוסדי: With Ps 18. The Samuel version has môsdôth.

8. Cf Ps 18:9 (II Sam 22:9).

אוקד: Explanatory gloss; /yqd being more common in Samaritan literature than /qdh.

ויט שמים וירר: Ps 18:10 (II Sam 22:10).

וישלח הציו... ויחרדו: Cf. Ps 18:15 (II Sam 22:15).

על צרינו: Suppl. gloss.

9. מאינינו הצילנו: Cf Ps 18:18 (II Sam 22:18).

ומשנאינו: With Ps 18. The Samuel version has no Waw Copula.

ואל מרחב הוציאנו: Cf. Ps 18:20 (II Sam 22:20).

הוציאנו: With Ps 18. The Samuel version detaches the object pronoun, reading: vayyôsi' lammerhabh ôthî.

10. יגמלנו: Cf. Ps 18:21 (II Sam 22:21).

ונוהיה תמים... מעורבנו: Cf. Ps 18:24 (II Sam 22:24).

עמ: With Ps 18. The Samuel version has lô.

11. ... עם חסיד : Cf. Ps 18:26 (II Sam 22:26).
 התמים : B.T: gebher (II Sam: gibbôr).
 עם טהור יתטהר : The Chronicler has here simplified the biblical version, which has 'im nābhār tithbārār (II Sam: tittābhār).
 יתפתל : The Hithpa'el form is clearly based upon the version of Ps 18:27 (tithpattāl), /ptl. The Samuel version (tittappāl) assumes a /tpl.
 It may be supposed that it is out of deference to deity that the Chronicler places his verbs in the third person.
 וזעם עובי יושלע : Cf. Ps 18:28 (II Sam 22:28).
 דממות : With Ps 18. Samuel version has 'al rāmîm.
12. חזק יאיר : Cf. Ps 18:29 (II Sam 22:29).
 יאיר : With Ps 18. The Samuel version omits vb.
13. כי בך : Cf. Ps 18:30 (II Sam 22:30).
 בך : With Ps 18. The Samuel version has b^ekhāh.
14. דרכי יי' תמימה : Cf. Ps 18:31 (II Sam 22:31).
 תמימה : The B.T. construes derekh as masculine: hā'ēl tāmîm darkô.
 צדיקה : Simplification of B.T: g^erūphāh.
 הבטחים : Simplification of B.T: ha-hōsîm.
15. Cf. Ps 18:32 (II Sam 22:32).
 זולתי אל' : With Psalm version. The Samuel version repeats mibbal'ādê.
16. Cf. Ps 18:38 (II Sam 22:38).
 נפרד : Read nirdōph.

17. יצעקו ואין מ' : Cf. Ps 18:42 (II Sam 22:42).
 יצעקו : With Psalm version. The Samuel version has yis'û.
 ונשחקם : Cf Ps 18:43 (II Sam 22:43).
 על פני רוח : With Psalm version. The Samuel version has ka'āphar 'eres.
 כחרש : 'Like a (broken) potsherd,' see Lv 6:21, Nu 5:17. B.T: k'ṭîṭ.
 בשליכם : Simplification of 'ārîqēm (Ps), 'ādîqēm (Sam).
18. תפלטנו : Cf. Ps 18:44 (II Sam 22:44).
 תשימנו : With Psalm version. II Sam. has tîsm^erēnî.
 עליונים לכל הגוים : B.T: l^erō'š gôyim.
 גוים לא ידענו : B.T: 'Am lō' yāda'tî.
19. This entire verse follows the version of Ps 18. The Samuel version transposes the two stichoi.
 יכחשנו : With Ps 18. The Samuel version has yithkahāšû.
 בני זרים : Cf Ps 18:46 (II Sam 22:46). B.T: b^enê nēkhār.
 יפלה : B.T: yibbōlû.
 מחדריהם : B.T: mimmisg^erôthēhem.
20. Cf. Ps 18:47 (II Sam 22:47).
 יי' : Not in B.T.
 ורם אל ישענו : With Psalm version. The Samuel version repeats šûr before final word.

21. ... האל הנרות : Cf. Ps 18:48 (II Sam 22:48).

בגלגל : B.T: lî

נדרר : ויכחשו .. An intrusion from Dt 33:29.

22. מפלחבו מאניבו : Cf. Ps 18:49 (II Sam 22:49). This phrase follows the Psalm version. II Sam. has umôšî'î mē'ôybhay.

מאניבו : Read mē'ôybhēnû.

מגאלבו : B.T: tašîlênî.

23. Cf. Ps 18:50 (II Sam 22:50).

נרבו : B.T: 'āzamēr.

בכל כוחיבו : Not in B.T.

24. Cf. Ps 18:51 (II Sam 22:51).

מגדל : With Psalm version. II Sam. has magdîl.

לבו : B.T: malkô.

לבן אהבו : B.T: lim^{ev}sihō. The latter two adjustments to the biblical text would have been made by the Chronicler in order to remove the personal (and theological) reference to King David before employing it as a communal song of thanksgiving.

והתהללות * Cf 4:10. התשבחו והמודא ..

* והורמת 'It was intensified' (lit. 'lifted up'), see 14:1.

1. קם בפני : Lit. 'It arose before,' i.e. 'It occurred to.'
 בליניהם : Delete; superfluous gloss.
 'כילחם אלסכ' :* Preposition omitted after /lhm.
 ולחמ :* /lhm taking direct object (see previous note).
 מנר :* Dialectal variation of minnêh, or read mimmenu, the first letter having been omitted by haplography from previous he'ârîm.
 והורמח :* See on 13:24.
2. (ראריה) עיר : The town of Dō'r (or Dôr), S. of Carmel, on the Mediterranean, is mentioned in the Bible (Josh 12:23, 17:11; Ju 1:27). This town was inhabited by Samaritans in the 4th cent. A.D. (see Ben Zevi, S.H., 99, and M. Avi-Yonah, G.R.P., 52).
 H2's omission of the name of any particular town plundered by these marauding Arabs seems to suggest that this was a general invasion of 'the cities of Canaan,' or at least of the area of Samaria.
3. ערים מתכוננה :* Sing. verb after plural subject. Cf. 9:5, 12:1.
4. ערבת הירדן :* The term 'ārābhāh is regularly applied in the Bible to the Jordan-Valley, 'either W. of River + adjacent plain; near ford (opp. Jericho),' or, 'to the Jordan Valley, E. of the River' (B.D.B., Lexicon, 787).
 H2's designation is most suitable in this context, pointing out, as it does, the direction in which the Arabs would have taken flight in order to reach their homes.
 It is also conceivable that metathesis has occurred here, and we should read 'ebhrath ha-yardēn (= 'ēbher ha-yardēn).

6. גרונבים בחטים .. שפיפון: Cf. Gn 49:17.
 וועלי ארה: Read without Waw Copula, cum Gn 49:17.
 ממסלם היתה: Mimšāl construed as fem., but possibly read memšaltām.
7. בהערבים: Non elision of definite article with preposition b^e; cf. b^ehā'ām (10:20).
 * מרל: Contraction of mđlh (= mah d^eleh), following the same semantic development as N.H: māmôn.
8. ... אז ישר: Vocabulary from the Song of the Sea (Ex 15), serving to cast Baba in the role of a second Moses (see on 1:6, 7).
9. אשיר: Dative tacked on to the verb, without the (biblical) preposition l^e.
 עזי וזמרת: Ex 15:2.
 אנוהין וארוממ: Ibid. The form 'anvehykhā represents the appendage of the object pronoun to the full form of the verb with final radical hey. The same phenomenon occurs in our Chronicle in the case of nouns (ending in eh) with pronominal suffixes; hence the forms qāsehhû (21:14), qāsehnû (17:13), miqvāhyv (22:15). These are due to the appending of the suffix to the absolute form, rather than to the construct ending ēh.
10. גיבור במלחמה: This is the reading of the S.P. The M.T. has gibbôr milḥāmāh.
11. יי' בבאותך ישמח מלך: Cf. Ps 21:2. M.T: b^e'āz^ekhā.
 ואין ביטועתך לא יחד: M.T: ubhîšû'āth^ekhā mah yāgil m^e'ōd.

12. 'ימינך יי' : Ex 15:6.
13. תאות לבי : Cf. Ps 21:3.
 כל מבטא שפ' : M.T: va'ārešeth s^ephāthāy. Chronicler simplifies uncommon vocabulary. See introductory note to §13.
14. כי תקדמני : Cf. Ps 21:4.
 בצר הסד : M.T: 'āṭereth pāz.
15. מי כמור : Cf. Ex 15:11.
 באדרי בקדש : Cum S.P. The M.T. has ne'dār.
 עשה פלאה : Cum S.P. The M.T. has phele'.
16. גדול כבודי : Cf. Ps 21:6
 שמח עלי : Chronicler simplifies biblical t^ešaveh.
17. כי המלך : Cf. Ps 21:8.
 לא ימוט : M.T: bal yamūt.
18. תמצא ידך : Cf. 21:9.
 תרעץ לכל שנאיך : M.T: timsā' sōn'eykhā.
19. פריהם : Ps 21:11. M.T: piryāmō.
20. רומה : Ps 21:14.
21. לקרת : Defective orthography.
22. נתן : Probably Inf. Absolute, n^ethōn.
 צדק .. עלינו : Unusual preposition with /šdq. The H2.

version, hētîbh — suggests that the context requires a causative meaning, 'to show justice towards.' Perhaps, therefore, we should read hiṣḏîq 'ālēnû. In Talmudic literature, the phrase hiṣḏîq 'ālāyv 'eth hā-dîn ('He vindicated divine justice') is very common. Viewed in this light, we have an explanation for our, otherwise problematic, preposition.

לשניות לקחות..: Quasi-Infinitives, with ûth-termination, in verbal-noun sense.

23. מה...היתה זה : מאת יי' : Cf. Ps 118:23.

המצליח : This appears to be a noun, 'prosperity' (= H2's niṣ'ānû). Alternately, the Hey might have arisen through dittography from previous word zeh. Maṣlîah would then be a participle: 'made us prosper.'

24. ומכוננו : Possibly a euphemism for māqôm as a reference to the Deity — 'His Omnipresence' (as common in Rabbinic literature); or, perhaps, 'His steadfastness,' from the same basic meaning of /kûn.

אשר כחשו את שואינו : Cf. Dt 33:29.

וישלחו : Read vayyišlah.

פניהם : In sense of preposition liphnēhem.

25. ויכחשו .. חדרך : Ibid.

1. ראיטיב : The context suggests the sense of 'blessed them,' lit. 'He invoked goodness upon them.'
2. עתה הלכו : Dittog. Read 'attāh l^ekhû.
 אחצריך : No transposition before sibilant. See on 3:12, 15:2, 24:5.
3. קרוב... לי : Unusual word order, with preposition well before adjective.
4. חצרים : 'Villages.' Cf. Lv 25:31; Josh 19:8.
 לבר : * Read l^ebal.
 יחדש : * Pu'al; 'be changed,' 'renewed.'
5. חסיד : * A rather strong word to convey the sense of 'acceptable.' Assuming that /hsd, in Palestinian tradition, also possessed this less benign connotation (than 'kindness'), might not the phrase šômēr ha-b^erîth v^ehahesed (Dt 7:9, 12) mean, more plausibly, 'who keeps his covenant and agreement.'
7. שלשים : * Perhaps read šāsîm, 'rejoicing.'
 זהו : Form /zhh = /zhr, 'joy,' (see Ben Hayyim, Tarbîz, 10, 354, n.6).
8. ראש כל שבוע : Explanatory gloss.
9. היה וכל : Delete Waw of v^ekhôl.
 ששונים : Strange participial form, from noun šāsôn.
 וישאר זה המעשה : This custom appears to be similar to the Judaeen institutions of Miśmārôth and Ma'āmādôth. Here, the priests went to Shechem while the laymen prayed in their own towns.

זֶהִים : * See on v.7.

הַאֲבֹדָה : * 'Removed;' lit. 'lost.'

10. אֲשֶׁר עַל שְׁמוֹ : המקום : We are not told which place 'bore his name.' If the reference is to Baba's Synagogue which remained standing until the 14th cent., it would be mystifying why it should have been kept closed at times other than when he was visiting. It might refer, however, to the specific residences assigned to him for use in each town, when paying a pastoral visit, as H2 especially seems to suggest. The fact that only priests were permitted to open it might have been merely a security measure in order to avoid defilement by impure persons.

The verse appears to have been transposed from another context. It fits ill into the present material.

11. יִהְיֶה : * Delete as gloss. The glossator seemed unaware that there was already a subject — 'fear' -- of the sentence.

12. אַז : Unusual as a relative of time. H2: kad.

לְמַלְחָמוֹת : See on 14:22.

13. בְּטִשּׁוֹן : * Occurs only once in B.H. in this sense of 'permit.' See Gn 31:28.

לְבָנוֹת אֵת בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁם : This echoes the tradition that the Emperor Julian granted permission to the Judaeans to build their Temple. See J.Juster, Les Juifs dans L'empire Romain, II (1914), 247.

14. נוכל על : In B.H. /yakhal takes the preposition l^e in the sense of 'to prevail over,' see Gn 32:26, Nu 13:30.

Vv.15-17 are not represented in H2. They constitute an extraneous tradition, and were probably inserted by the H1 compiler either for dramatic quality or to fill a lacuna in the original — a problem we frequently encounter with composite writing.

15. ... למה בשלם : Cf. Gn 44:4.

‘משיא וטרחי המלכ’ : Characteristic employment of a succession of construct nouns.

18. וילרב : Qal (Infinitive) in causative sense of 'to multiply.'

19. כסות : Adjective kas or kēs, 'covered,' hence 'secret.'

ויתנו לו ... להמיתו : 'They gave (their attention) to him ... to slay him.' Apparently elyptical nāthan lēbh.

נכליה : * Noun nekhel only in Nu 25:18.

ונכלה : * Pi'el; ibid.

§16

1. פרט הימים : * Perhaps, 'At this particular time.' Tal. Aram. p^erāt, 'singled out,' 'specification,' 'explicit' (Jastrow, Dictionary, 1224).

2. יצא ממנו : ולא : The custom of not moving out of one's residence on the Sabbath was based upon a literal understanding of Ex 16:29. The modern Samaritans 'stay strictly within doors on the Sabbath, except to go to the Synagogue (Montgomery, 33).
3. קעצים : Read qā'ēmîm.
 ואתוכלו :* Gn 37:18.
 על שאת :* Variation of lāsē'th.
 כלי מלחמה ... שם לא יכלו :* If we understand šām in its usual sense of 'there,' the verse would appear to be suggesting a prohibition against wearing weapons in the Synagogue. However, šām also has the sense of 'then' in our Chronicle (see on 2:21; cf. 19:40), in which case, the emphasis would be on time rather than place, viz. 'At that time (sc. the Sabbath) they would be unable to take up arms.'
4. כסות עיצתם : See 15:19. Here as abstract noun kassuth 'secrecy'.
 מפני : Used here in the sense of liphnê, 'before' (in temporal sense). However, note the comment of B.D.B. (Lexicon, 818) on the form mipp^enê: 'Frequently rendered before in A.V. R.V., and so confused with liphnê; but the min retains always its full force in the Heb.'
- As far as Samaritan Hebrew is concerned, B.D.B. is incorrect, as the present sense of mipp^ene makes patently clear. If this Samaritan usage was current throughout Palestinian spoken tradition, then B.D.B. is incorrect in its limitation of the scope of this preposition.

*: מִיּוֹם הַשָּׁבִיעִי ... וְאַתָּאמַר מִיּוֹם הַחֲמִישִׁי The confusion over the exact day of Baba's arrival, and the revelation of the Judaeen plan to him, is aggravated by H1's reference to 'the seventh day' (v 5), a reference which is itself contradicted in the same verse in the mention of the fifth day of the week. Mention of 'the fifth day of the week' is actually made in vv.4, 5 and 6 of the H1 version, which suggests its legitimacy.

It is therefore the opening statement of v 5 ('Now it was on the seventh day of the week that the Lord...revealed the hidden plan..') that must be regarded as suspicious. We suggest that it actually qualifies the statement made at the end of v 4 — 'before the arrival of the King Baba Rabbah to the town of Nemarah.' A glossator then inserted the note, 'it was on the seventh day of the week,' meaning the arrival of Baba Rabbah. Unfortunately, the glossators introductory word, hāyāh, was ill-chosen as a conjunction (he should have written, with Waw Copula, v^ehu' hayah, 'and that was (to be) on the Seventh day.' The absence of the conjunction was responsible for the tacking on of the phrase to the following verse, with the attendant confusion that this causes.

*: הַתְּלִית 'Deception.' Denominative of /tll, 'to deceive,' Gn 31:7.

6. : וּמֵאַחֲבָה גְדִלָה הִיָּתָה Detached relative pronoun; see on 9:5.

: מִמֶּנִּי Dittog. Read minnēkh ('from you') cum H2.

אחמך : * Samaritan usage is semantically weaker than the Biblical sense of 'desire,' 'take pleasure in,' 'delight,' with strong emotional overtone. Here it simply means, 'request,' 'wish,' 'demand' (see 18:8, 19:1*).

8. אגלי לך : Rare use of 'āz to introduce a relative clause of time, in the sense of 'when.'
Perhaps 'āz is used here for mē'āz (cf. Gn 39:5, Ex 5:23).

על לשוני .. תגיד : Lit. 'You will disclose it upon my tongue.' Either, idiomatic for 'in my name' = '(as having emanated) from my tongue,' or read 'al l^ešōnēkh, '(You will disclose it) upon your tongue.'

The phrase 'al pîykh (16:9) would appear to support our first suggestion, however.

לנפול את נפשי : The context seems to require a transitive and causative sense, as 'to cast my soul down.' The problem is avoided if the verb /naphal is here construed as Pi'el (l^enappēl), though this is unattested in B.H.

Alternately, the Qal usage may also be retained, with 'eth as introducing the subject (see on 10:4; also, 8:19, 13:1, 17:6) — a common characteristic in our Chronicle. The sense would then be, 'for my soul to fall...'

9. אדברך : * Rarely with accusative pronominal suffix; but cf. Gn 37:4.

במוצא שפתי : * Dt 23:24.

11. ותאמר אליה : Delete as dittog.

- נכמרר : * Cf. Gn 43:30. Subject: š^enē'ûth ('hatred was intensified'). In this sense, see also 16:23* vahātā'ēnu nikhmereth ('Our sins were intensified'). In B.H., it is rather employed in the sense of 'to grow warm and tender' (B.D.B., Lexicon, 485 col. 1).
- וחרוצים : * 'Will break in.' A semantic extension of the basic meaning 'to cut.' Here, 'to cut one's way in.'
- וכרת : * Read yikkārèth ('That their memory should be destroyed.').
12. תמושני חרדה : * Lit. 'that trembling does not feel me,' i.e., 'take hold of me.'
13. ויקם גיד הקנאה בפניה : Adler reads qām gîd ha-qin'āh vayyakh bāh, 'la veine au zèle se mit à battre en elle.' Our reading seems preferable.
The phrase qām gîd ha-qin'āh, to denote intense indignation, occurs in a Tašqîl of a Torah scroll in the Gaster collection. Quoted by Ben Zevi, S.H., 291 n.57.
14. לא זכרת לו : Lit. 'she did not remember to him.' A causative sense ('mention') seems to be rather required here, but Qal may also serve this purpose (see on v 8 above).
- בצורה : * š^erārāh is apparently a variant of šārāh.
15. אתבצר : * Uncommon usage. H1's rendering yiḥar 'appô provides the clue to the sense in which it is employed, although the exact nuance is unclear.
- מחמת : * Text corrupt, perhaps through lacuna. Read yiqqah š^enāthô.

17. לְנוֹשׁ בְּגָדִים בָּרִים : Adler adds: 'And he was dressed in his Sabbath clothes, white garments, with a Tallîth over his head.'

The modern day priest wears a Tallîth during the reading of the Law, though it contains no fringes (Montgomery, 32). The wearing of the Tallith during Prayer seems, however, to have been common practice in the medieval period, for laymen as well as priests. This is evident from a reference in Abu'l Fath (see quotation in Ben Zevi, pp.177-8) to the building of the Kinsa at Shechem by 'Aqbon b. Eliezer (V), who 'took his Tallîth from off his head (See Adler's reference, above, to the Tallîth being worn 'over his head.') and heaped earth from the pile beneath him into his Tallîth' — building the edifice, thereby, with his own hands.

Gn 15:17. וַיְהִי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ .. וְעָלְמָה

Either, 'in the twinkling of the eye,' reading /hāsakh, 'to hold back;' or, 'in a concealed spot,' lit. 'in (a place of) darkness to the eye,' i.e. hidden from view, /hašakh, 'to be dark.'

18. הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לֹאבִיָּה : Read ha-šemeš lābhô, Gn 15:12.

וַיִּמְשֹׁר : 'They searched for,' cf. Gn 31:34; also below, 18:6.

* דִּלְקוּשׁוֹת הַשָּׁבוֹת מִחֻלָּל Not in H1. As has been observed (see on 1:6), H2 adopts a more militant approach toward the enemies of the community.

* עֲפָלוֹן : 'Their eagerness, passionate desire,' see on 1:20.

20. וְסִלִּיחוֹת ... רִצּוֹן : H2 omits all such epithets of praise and reverence.

אורי מזה באתו: Read 'ê mizzeh bā'them, cf. Gn 16:8.

21. רתפל .. אימה ופחד: Ex 15:16.

וירגזה: Ex 15:14.

ויאחזם רעד ובמגו: Ex 15:15.

אתשברת:* No transposition of taw and sibilant.

אתשברת צלעם: 'Their rib was broken.' See on 21:8*.

22. ותכו לרגליו: Dt 33:3.

23. ויאמרו לו: Chronicle Adler attributes this confession to a small group of Judaeans who did not flee with the rest in panic and fear at their defeat, but who immediately surrendered and acknowledged their error. It is not clear from Adler whether the latter suffered the same violent end as their brethren who were brought back as prisoners after their abortive attempt to flee.

נכמרת:* 'Intensified,' see on 16:11.

24. ועשית עמם: Read v^e'āsīthī.

25. ויקרו: Orthographic variant; contracted form of vayyiqr^eū. For an example of elision of the Aliph as final radical, cf. mēhātō (Gn 20:6) for mēhāt^eō.

28. מעלי: Read mē'ālāyv.

29. עתי: Read, either 'ittī or 'ālay.

השיר:* Infin. Absolute: hāšēr, 'to leave over.'

30. עשית לו כאשר ..: B.T. has verse in plural.

1. תבואתים : * Apparently based upon the Masoretic K^ethibh form tābhô^hthāh (Dt 33:16).
2. וצא : * Common form of perfect /yq^hʾ/
- 3/4. קבצו כלית הבניאן : * Read qibb^ešû k^elē ha-b^enî^hʾān.
 וארשו : Common Sam. verb, 'to begin.'
 יעפלה : See on 16:18.
5. סופה גדלה : The legend of the whirlwind is related by the traveler Benjamin of Tudela (see M.Adler, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," J.Q.R., xvii (1904), 148).
 לביאן : Read libhnî^hʾān.
 וחזרע : Variant of /zrh, 'to scatter, fan, winnow,' Ex 32:20. This might, however, be a semantic expansion of the idea of scattering seed (zera^h), applied also, in the Sam. dialect to scattering or dispersing people.
 רוחות מנסבות : Singular participle with plural subject; see on 2:21.
6. יצא את הבית הזה : See on 16:8.
 אורשלים : * As in original form, Urusalim.
7. אז ישר ... לאמר : Ex 15:1. Samaritan orthography omits a second yodh in yāšîr; see S.P. (ed. Von Gall) ad loc.
8. The rest of this section, comprising Baba's Song of Thanksgiving at having frustrated the plan of the Judaeans to rebuild their Temple, is mainly based upon Psalm 25.
 ברים את ידינו : Cf. Ps 25:2. B.T: naphšî^h ʾeššā^h.

9. קויר לא יטרף: Cf. Ps 25:3. B.T: qōveykhā lō' yēbhōšū^ʔ.
 יטרפו הבוגדים: B.T: yēbhōšū^ʔ ha-bôg^edîm.
10. ארחיך חכמנו: B.T: ʾorhōtheykha lamm^edēnî.
11. הדריכנו: Cf. Ps 25:5.
12. רחמיר: Cf. Ps 25:6.
13. אל תפן: Cf. Ps 25:7.
14. צדיק וישר: Cf. Ps 25:8. B.T: tōbh v^eyāsār.
15. כל ארחות: Cf. Ps 25:10.
 לשמרי חקותיו ומצותיו: B.T: l^enōsrê b^erîthô v^eʿedôthāyv.
16. למען קדוש: Cf. Ps 25:11.
17. מי הוא אבש: Cf. Ps 25:12.
18. בפשו תלין בטוב: Cf. Ps 25:13.
19. סוד יי: Cf. Ps 25:14.
 ובריתו לשמורי אמת ספר קדשו: B.T: ʾubh^erîthô l^ehōdîʿām.
 The Chronicler has here varied the biblical text in order to incorporate a specific reference to his community.
20. שירו ליי: Cf. Ps 96:1, 98:1 et. al.
 בנים אתם ליי: Dt 14:1.
 ויהבו כבוד ועז ליי: Cf Ps 29:2.
21. בהר גריזי: Ibid., with typical Samaritan insertion of reference to Gerizim.

22. השמרים בשלום. ... יתן עז לשמרים. Cf. Ps 29:11, with insertion of Gerizim motif.

§18

For a full discussion of the episode of the talking bird on Mount Gerizim, as described in this section, see our chapter 5 (c): "The Legend of the Speaking Bird in the Light of Rabbinic Polemic."

1. חזקת יד : Cf. Ju 9:24.

.. בכיר העברי * : נמצא בספר הימים This reference, to a Hebrew source underlying our Chronicle, is of crucial importance for countering any suggestion that our Chronicle may be a Hebrew translation of an Arabic original, such as were made, for example, of Abu'l Fath's Chronicle.

This introductory source-reference, totally unexpected in the middle of a Chronicle (and omitted in H1), might well indicate a different source for the material which follows. There are, indeed, minor variations in style and approach to the material (see on vv.7, 12).

: בכיר 'Script,' (see v 8: b^ekhîr y^edêkhem); perhaps originally designating specifically the Majuscule Script, b^ekhîr in the sense of 'primary, major one.'

3. וישבו לאנה : 'To some place,' cf. I Kings 2:36.

כמו (קסיס) : Text dubious. The H1 rendering, 'such as qaśis' is improbable, a place by that name not being known. A possible rendering is, 'he shall return as a qaśis (= qaśiš, 'Elder'), though this does no justice to the high office of Episcopus attained by Levi, nor, had he been merely a Qaśis, would he have been enabled to turn the table on the Romans in the manner he did.

The H2 rendering -- bid^emūth gesem, 'as if by magic (lit. 'divination') is far more plausible. Levi's sudden appearance among the Romans could be construed as a miraculous act.

4. לעלות הר : The preposition 'el is omitted after Infinitive in both H1 and H2 (see also v 6). The verb /'ālāh is possibly construed in the sense of 'to go up to.'

* נבטש

Niph'al; 'we will be enabled,' lit. 'left alone.' See on 15:13.

5. והמחשפים : Read v^eha-m^ekhaśphîm (as in continuation: min khôšphê).

6. הר גרזים בית יקרא : Read bēth 'ēl yiqqārē'.

ויםשור על : 'Search for,' see on 16:18.

ויגוהר : Elision of hey of vayyaharguhu; see on 16:25.

מטלסם : Read m^eṭōlmās, 'formed;' Cowley (Gloss.), lvii.

7. כל הישר בעיניך עשה : Cf. Ex 15:26.

נשמע ובעשה : Ex 24:7, cum S.P. (The M.T. inverts the verbs; see on 4:3.)

ונושבו למה ההיגור בו :* This suggests that vv.1-6 were quoted from an extraneous source, being the dibrā 'ôdāh referred to in v 1.

וידמעיון ומצופת ראשיון :* Uncharacteristic multiplication of complimentary attributes, more associated with the style of H1 than with H2.

ידמעיון :* 'Our Supremo.' For a discussion of the origin of the title dema, see Ben Hayyim, L.O.T.S., III, pt.II, 148 n.12.

אעשה :* Read na'āseh.

8. לא תגעל בפשכם : Cf. Lv 26:30.

עמיון :* Variation of hāmîn, /h^hm^h, 'see, perceive.'

בכיר ידיכם :* See on v 1.

אשמרו אשמור : Delete one as dittog.

מקוה : 'His place.' Miqveh ("gathering place") and māqôm, are interchangeable in the Chronicle.

לא תחמד בפשותיכם : 'You should not make (unjust) demands (lit.requests, desires) of him.' See on 16:6.

The H2 rendering is, uncharacteristically, verbose.

10. בני אחיו : Read ben 'ahîv.

מתקור : 'Accompanying, 'gathering (together with);' cf. noun miqveh.

11. הכופרים עבודי הבעלים : A common form of denunciation; see 1:15.

עשוי התועבות : Cf. 2:17.

על דע דרך : Ibid.

פן תבקש אחריהם : Cf. Dt 12:30.

וְשִׁים בָּלָךְ : Read sim libb^ekha.

וְשִׁים תּוֹרוֹתָךְ : * Read, with H1, v^esim libb^ekha.

12. בִּיהוּה וּבְמֹשֶׁה : * Uncharacteristic inclusion of reference to Moses. H2 usually omits these, possibly as a reaction to the "Moses-Dosithean" manifesto. See 12:10.

וְנִיּוֹם בָּקָמָה : * Is there an attempt here to avoid alluding to the theological doctrine of Future Life, as in H1's 'ahārîth'. Another circumlocution, apparently to avoid such a predicament, occurs in v 15 (see below).

15. אֵת אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ : Read 'ēth 'āšer hālakhtā, or 'ēth 'āšer 'attāh hōlēkh.

וְנִיּוֹם דָּוָר ... בַּפֶּה : * H2 avoids using the term 'ahārîth', and its description of 'the day when all creatures will receive the recompense for what their soul attained' neatly side-steps the crucial issue of whether this recompense will be in this world or in the future world ('ahārîth').

18. רִיטוֹר : 'Spokesman,' Gr. ῥήτωρ, title of honour; a public speaker, pleader or orator.

מַצְלִיחַ בִּידָו : וְכָל אֲשֶׁר הוּא ... Gn 39:3.

19. מִמֶּלֶא : * Tal. Aram. mimmēlā', 'of itself,' 'for that reason alone' (see Jastrow, Dictionary, 773); exactly parallel to H1's ûbhiglal ha-dābhār ha-zeh.

20. לִלְקַטְטָנָה : Contraction of l^e'alqōstantînāh.

שֶׁבַע עָשָׂר : * Loosening of gender-agreement, especially in numerals, cf. 10:2, 3; 18:21.

21. הסכנה : Noun haskānāh, 'custom,' /sakhan, 'to be of service, wont, accustomed,' see Nu 22:30.

22. ויתורכו ממנו : Cf Gn 22:18.

* Lacuna after hā'ēdāh (?). We propose 'enāš k^evvāthêh, 'a man like him.'

23. אסקפ : Gr. Skopos, 'leader' (Supervisor). The verb /sqq occurs frequently in the sense of 'being high,' whence s^eqūphāh, 'The Most High (God)'. The noun 'asqōph occurs only once, however, in Cowley (— and was overlooked in his Glossary) in a hymn of Pinhas b. Isaac, the father of the scribe of our Chronicle (see Cowley, I, 109).

The noun Squpana occurs in Mandaic. Drower and Macuch conjecture 'smiter? entangler? (A Mandaic Dictionary, 335) in the phrase gramth lsqupana q-'l ailan hambaga hua (Das Johannisbuch der Mandaer, ed. M. Lidzbarski, 143:12) — 'I covered (entangled?) the entangler? (or smiter?) who was our enemy.'

Is it not possible, though, that squpana is also a derivative (like 'asqōph) of the Greek Skopos, and the meaning of the above crux would then be, simply, 'I trapped the the commander (or 'leader', Skopos) who was our enemy.'

בחנות : 'Rank, position,' cf. 5:6; also in Yadin, War Scroll, pp.46-7.

1. מדרשי אלך: 'It is my desire to go.' Imperfect replaces Infinitive; cf. 17:4.
 להראות: Read lir'ôth.
 :מהלכות*: Abstract noun, mahaikhûth.
 :אחמד*: See on 16:6.
 :אנשק הכושנות: H2, understandably, alters this to the inoquous verb 'to see.' Levi would hardly have disclosed to the Romans his spiritual affinity and reverence for the Synagogues!
2. :עסכרים*: See on 11:15.
3. :הנביאם*: Read hann^ebhi'îm; used here rather loosely in the sense of 'leaders,' prps. religious leaders.
 :בשרתו: Read l^esârthô.
4. :כקרב ... מעיר שכם: Read l^eir s^ekhem.
 :* להקרום מן: Non-elision of definite article after preposition l^e; cf. 10:20, 14:7.
 :נעריי: These were, clearly, military attendants or knights of the king's retinue. See J.Macdonald, "The Status and Role of the Na'ar in Israelite Society," J.N.E.S., 35 (3), 147-170.
5. :ויירא מאד ויצר לו: Gn 32:8.
6. :מגידו: 'Report, fame,' cf. 9:19.
 :מגידו ועוד: Dittog. of waw; read maggîdô 'ôd.
7. :להכיתו: Orthographic variant of l^ehakkôthênû, see v 8 (l^ehakkôth).
 :* ויתל בנו: /tll, cf. Gn 31:7.

8. מה נזכר בעשה: See on v 1.

The noun kēlîm is here construed as fem. See H2's kēlîm t^emîmāh.

9. להמלך: See on v 4.

מזאת הרשעי: Read hār^ešā^ʔîm.

מזאת הר' האלה: Double demonstrative; cf. on hāzēnû (1:20).

*:אירא Noun, 'fear.' Orthographic variant of yīyrā' (= yīr'āh).

*:יהוה 'The Giver,' /yhb, designation of Deity.

*:וירא את ענינו .. עמלנו ואת לחצנו Dt 26:7.

10. *בטקוף הרה: Read haram; see v 7.

:אל שכמה Preposition 'el' with noun bearing locative hey.

11. :וטטפות בין עיניהם Ex 13:10; Dt 6:8, 11:18.

This rendering is far from revealing. It cannot mean that the Samaritans appeared wearing their Phylacteries, since the Samaritans do not observe this ritual (Montgomery, 32; Ben Zevi, 148), and interpret the biblical injunction in a figurative sense. They did, however, at one time, wear game'as (q^emî^ʔîm) or amulets containing q^etāphîm, or brief digests of Torah passages. See J. Bowman, "Phylacteries," Tr. G.U.O.S., XV (1953-4), 170.

It is apparent that the H1 chronicler has made an attempt here to correct, or at least make some sense of, a most abstruse expression, ubh^eʔên ʔênāyv

ṭ' tāph ha-yir'āh m^e taphtēph, which seems to mean 'fear flowed between their eyes.' It is, however, strange that H1 should have used such a Pentateuchal expression, referring to the divine word being as vivid as 'frontlets between the eyes,' to convey the idea of visible fear on the faces of the Samaritans. (Was he, indeed, suggesting that on this particular occasion, if not in common practice, they actually donned tōtāphōth, by which he meant the Samaritan equivalent of the Judaistic phylacteries, namely the q^e mī'āh? It would not be inconceivable that, in a life and death situation, they would have resorted to the wearing of amulets to ward off the impending disaster.

מתרקה:

The /rqp remains unattested. Read mithrahēph, 'quaking,' cf. Je 23:9.

ט"ף היראה מטפח : * A noun tōtāph occurs in a poem published by Ben Hayyim, "Piyyūt Šōmrônî līś^e māḥōth," Tarbiz, 10 (1938-9), 351: Tōtāph rad min šidqāthôn. On the basis of Ben Hayyim's conclusion that this phrase means 'bounty came down because of their righteousness,' we may understand our problematic rendering of H2 as, 'an abundance of fear was manifested between their eyes.'

12. עיניו על גבות פניו : Read min gabbōth 'ēnāyv 'al pānāyv, cf. Lv 14:9.

13. כרניו : *

On /krn, see Ben Hayyim, Tarbiz, 10, 366.

14. כי לא הביטו: Lit. 'They did not see;' used here in the sense of 'expect' ('For they had not expected that..'). A similar semantic development occurs with /šāphāh, 'to look' > 'expect'.
- משיגותה:* Abstract noun, m^ešīgūth, 'attainment,' /nšg.
- הענינה:* Noun 'inyānāh, 'state'.
15. למלך אשא אתו: Read lammelekh 'ăšer.
18. אשר לא נאמר בה אחרון: Text problematic. Lacuna?
- גלולות:* Always with masc.termination in B.H.
- תמונות:* Ex 20:4.
- עינות:* Read hā'ēnayîm, 'eyes.' The termination has been confused with that of 'ayyîn in the meaning of 'a well' (pl. 'āyānōth, Dt 8:7).
19. ויעזר: Read vayya'an.
- אגילו:* See Ha-mēliṣ (ed. Ben Hayyim, L.O.T.S., II) 551.
- ענינו בפשוטיו:* Cf. Lv 16:29.
20. ויבדחו:* 'Turned aside,' Dt 4:19, 30:17.
- .. יכעסו אתו: Cf. Dt 32:21.
22. עור הנוחשת אשר ההוא: Words transposed. Read 'ōph
ha-n^ehōšeth hahū' 'ăšer...
24. ואתאמר: Read as one word, v^eith'amar.
26. ושלחו ... יחפטו: Imperfect for Infinitive, see vv.1, 8, above.

28. 'ועוד הנח' : Read v^eōph ha-n^eh...
- רגע אחת : B.H.always construes rega^t as masculine.
- זאת הלילה : There is a preference for zō'th as the demonstrative pronoun with both genders. However, it is generally only employed with masculine nouns when it preceeds them in the sentence; see 1:20, 2:9, 19:9.
29. אל הנערים : See on v 4 above.
- *אצילי : Noun 'āsīl, cf. Ex 24:11 ('leaders'). Only in Is 41:9 does it have the sense of 'borders' as required here.
31. שגיעון : B.H: šiggā'ōn, Dt 28:28.
- רעות רוח : Eccl. 1:14.
- נושן : 'Sleep' (B.H: šēnāh, šēna', š^enāth), cf. Lv 26:10, yāšān nōšān, but only in derived sense of 'inactive or stationary through age (= yāšān , to sleep).'
- ולא יחרון בו : Cf. Eccl.1:2, 2:11.
- יגר לראשינו : Lit.'it will assail our heads,' /gūr, 'to stir up strife, attack.' It is possible, however, that we are dealing here with a noun, y^egar (= makh'obh in H1). B.D.B. relates y^egar, 'heap' (Gn 31:47) to a verb with a basic meaning of 'to throw (stones together).' This would provide a suitable semantic sense here to a noun y^egar, presenting a (literal) rendering: 'an assailment for our heads.'
- טוב השנות : 'The best (part) of our sleep.' Note the definite article with a noun with possessive suffix.

32. וַהֲסִלִּיכוּ אֶת בַּחוּץ: For ṣeth read ṣōthō.
33. הַהֲעוּף: Read hā-ṣōph.
34. הַלֵּילָה הַזֶּה: B.H. construes laylāh as masculine.
 *וּנְבֹגַע יֹאכֵל: Read v^erega..., 'at the moment they had eaten.'
 *וַהֲגַמִּי אֹתָם: /gmy = gm' (B.H.), Gn 24:17.
35. לֹא יָדַע הַיָּמִין מִן הַשְּׂמָאל: Dn 12:7, Jon 4:11.
 *וַאֲסִתּוֹלַל: 'Prevailed over,' cf. Ex 9:17 (and below, 20:12).
37. הַדְּבַר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר: The reference here is to the speech of Levi in v 20 above.
28. אֲשֶׁר נָחַם בַּחֲכוּתָם: Lit. 'that he might be moved to pity in the matter of smiting them.'
 *אֵיךְ יִשְׁלַגּוּ לַפָּאָר: Lit. 'how they might attain to his side.' Perhaps, however, read l^ephatōthō, 'to persuade him,' cf Ex 22:15.
 *עוֹבְדֵם: 'Their work, doing, fate,' noun ʿābhād, Eccl 9:1.
40. שֵׁם: See on 16:3.
41. וְלֹא יִזְכְּלוּ ... כִּי נִבְהִלּוּ מִפְּנֵי: Gn 45:3.
42. וַעֲקַד: 'He knelt.' B.H., 'to bind,' whence 'to bind limbs together,' > 'to kneel.' Syr. ܠܥܩܕ 'bend.'
43. אֲמוֹתָהּ הִפְעֵם ... כִּי עוֹדֵר חִי: Gn 46:30. Rare example of H2 quoting verbatim a biblical verse.

47. גירתו: 'His exile,' from gēr, 'stranger.'
Alternately, 'his lodging,' cf gērûth, Je 41:17.
48. תונף וחורם: Ex 29:27.
בקול גדול רם: Read gādôl vārām.
לבב ... מרר: Cf. Dt 20:3.
50. קרובים ממני: 'Near to' (B.H. qārôbh 'el).
ונמחה את שמם מתחת השמים: Dt 9:14.
והכה צואר הנכ': Cf. Ez 21:34.
54. חלוצים: Nu 32:30.
חמישים: = hāmûsîm, Ex 13:18.
לא תשירו .. שריר: Nu 21:35.
תשירו: Contraction of taş'îrû; see v 63.
55. דגלי אימנותיכם: 'Ensigns of the faith,' see 1:12.
The reference is probably to its fundamentals or outward signs.
על פי חרב כנסו אתם: Interesting usage of /kbs, 'to tread,' in sense of 'to tread down, subjugate.'
B.H. employs verb exclusively in the sense of 'to wash' (lit. 'tread the clothes in water').
56. כחצית הל': Orthog. variant of kaḥāsôth.
ויצבאו: Nu 31:7.
57. כמטחורי קשת: Gn 21:16.
קרובים .. ממנו: 'Near to' (H2: qārbbhû min); see on v 50.
59. גיבור במלחמה יי' שמו: Ex 15:3. The reading accords with the S.P. The M.T. reads 'îš milhāmāh.

This battle-cry was used on other occasions by Baba Rabbah (see 21:4), The verse was regarded as efficacious in warding off evil, and was, therefore, popular as an inscription on Samaritan amulets (see J.Kaplan, "A Second Samaritan Amulet from Tel Aviv," I.E.J., 25 (1975), 25.

61. * אתחרקו ברחוקה Read 'ithrāḥaḳū ..., 'They fled far off.' (H1: 'They fled at their voice.') This reaction of flight in the face of a terrifying experience is paralleled by Ex 20:15.

* ולא נשאר .. עוף והחיה The direct influence upon the animal world of such unique moments is stated in Ex 11:7.

* : ונבקע Masculine form (?) of biq'āh; see on 20:25.

62. האיש: Read hā-ēš.

64. * מחוץ ומבית Unusual transposition of popular biblical idiom; cf. Gn 6:14; Ex 25:11.

* צרבת See v 50. The biblical sense of 'scab,' 'burning' (Lv 13:23), is hardly appropriate. Contextually its sense seems to be 'life,' 'existence,' 'presence.'

65. * יוקדו את עץ הסכות: For a discussion of this practice, see our chapter, "Samaritan Fire-Practices in the Light of a Mishnaic Accusation," p.338ff.

67. * רעינו לא נחסר: Cf. Ps 23:1.

* ליי' הארץ ומלואה: Cf. Ps 24:1.

* השכינה וכל היושנים בה: B.T: tēbhēl v^eyōš^ebhē bhāh.

69. * כי הוא על ימים: Ps 24:2.

* : ועל בהרים כוונה: B.T: v^e'al n^ehārōth y^ekhôn^enehā.

70. נשא את פנינו .. אליך : Variation of Ps 25:1. B.T: naphšî^ʔ
ʔessâ^ʔ.
71. אלהינו בר בטחנו : Ps 25:2.
ולא תרפנו : B.T: ʔal ʔēbhōšāh^ʔ. The identical substit-
-ution occurs in Baba's next prayer, 20:24.
יצחקו אויבינו : ולא : Simplification of M.T's ʔal yaʔalsū^ʔ.
See introduction to §13; also v 74 below,
for further examples of H1 simplifying
uncommon words and phrases from the Bible
(and also from H2).
72. כי כל קויר : Ps 25:3.
לא יטרפו : B.T: lō^ʔ yēbhōšū^ʔ.
יטרפו הנוגדים חנם : B.T: yēbhōšū^ʔ ha-bōg^edīm rēqām^ʔ.
73. יי' ישוענו ממה בירה : Cf. Ps 27:1. B.T: ...v^eyiš^ʔʔ mimmi^ʔ
ʔirā^ʔ.
- יי' בידו חיות נפשותינו : B.T: Yahweh māʔōz hayyay^ʔ.
74. כי קרבו הרשעים : Cf. Ps 27:2. Simplification of
B.T's, biqrôbh ʔālay m^erēʔim^ʔ.
75. כי יחן עלינו מחנה רב : Cf Ps 27:3. B.T: ʔim tahāneh^ʔ
ʔālay mahāneh^ʔ.
76. שאלה מאת יי' : Cf. Ps 27:4. B.T: ʔahath saʔalti....
שובתינו .. הר הנרכה : A neat alteration of the B.T's
šibhtî b^ebhêth yahweh. The biblical
/yšb/ is transformed into /šûb/, to conform
with the Samaritan aspiration of returning
to the sacred site.
77. וירום את ראשינו : Cf. Ps 27:6.

78. וְנִרְאָהּ .. וְלֹא עָתָה Cf. Nu 24:17.

בְּשׁוּרֵנוּ וְלֹא קִרְבֵּנוּ: Ibid.

דֶּרֶךְ כֹּכַב .. וְקָם שֶׁמֶשׁ .. וּמַחֲץ .. בְּנֵי שֵׁט: Ibid.

וְקִדְקֹד: Cum S.P. The M.T. reads v^eqarqar.

79. וְהָיָה אֲדָוָה ... חֵיל: Nu 24:18.

80. וְנִרְוֶה אֱלֹהֵינוּ ... לַעֲוֹלָם וָעַד: Characteristic doxology
of books of Psalms; cf. Ps 41:14, 72:19.

§20

1. עָרֵי (הַמוֹצֵל): 'The cities which had been saved.'
However, the H2 rendering of b^eassūrāh,
'in Assyria,' coupled with the fact
that the word ha-mûsāl is bracketed
— normally suggesting a place-name —
both indicate that indeed mûsāl is the
name of a town. No town of this
name, however, is preserved in Roman
sources, though we do have a reference
to a village, near Jerusalem, by the
name of Moṣah (Ἰερουσαλὴμ Μοῦσα), which
was established as a military colony
by Vespasian (Mishnah Sukkah 4:5;
M.Avi-Yonah, G.R.P., 82). Should this
identification be correct, then the H1
reference would be far more plausible
than H2's 'Assyria.' It would, indeed,
have been far more likely for a local
Roman garrison to have attempted to
take revenge than for a far-off
'Assyrian' force.

2. על הספר : Read ʿal ha-mispār.
3. פג לבו : Cf. Gn 45:26.
5. ושובר אספם : Lit. 'He broke their gathering,' noun ʿŌseph.
Perhaps the sense here is that of
splitting their military formation.
- מנוסת חרב : Lv 26:36.
6. עלת התמיד הקריב : Whether this represents an authentic
tradition or not, we have no means of
determining. The Passover sacrifice is,
as we know, the only one offered by
the community; and the H2 Chronicle, in
referring to the 4th cent. period, makes
no reference to any other sacrifice.
- Is it conceivable that Baba was inspired
by his victory to re-introduce the
daily sacrifices, which had long passed
into desuetude? The phrase ʿōlath
ha-tāmīd (Ex 29:42) is too specific for
it to be construed merely as a synonym
for 'thanksgiving offering.' H1 wisely
omitted this reference.
7. ערי (המוצל) : H2 renders here 'Alexandria,' and on
v 1 (where the identical phrase occurs),
'Assyria.'
10. ואפיל החרב בהם :* Cf. Ez 30:22, II Chr 32:21(= 'to
overthrow').
11. כהסכנתם : Read k^ohaskānāth^ekhā, 'As is Your wont,'
see on 18:21.

12. ' ויעתר לו יי' : Gn 25:21.

* :בקעתו Noun niq'āh; metathesis for na'āqāh.

* :ואסתולל See 19:35, 22:17.

14. וחולל : Variation of hālāl, Dt 21:1.

* :לא בפקד איש מהם Cf. I Sam. 25:7.

16. עד כי חדל לספר כי אין מספר : Gn 41:49.

* :מתכמרים We propose the reading mithkāmñîm,
'lying in wait (ambush), see Jastrow,
Dictionary, 646 col.11.

* :כחול הים .. יספרו הספרים Prosaic variation of
Gn 32:13.

18. זקני וראשי וטעמי עמו : Succession of nouns in construct.

21. * :מכרתים Hoph'al; 'Cut off' (detached from aid
and protection), cf. Jo 1:9.

22. * :אחשיג הדבר ... כי שואיר Unusual example of abrupt
intrusion of direct speech into a
reported context. This does occur
(after kî), however, in Gn 21:30, 29:33.

* :בועותים Perhaps, 'oppressors,' Aram./ûth.
Jastrow quotes the phrase maika' m^e'avv^etha,
'a tyrannous king' (Dictionary, 1060).
It might, however, be related to Hebrew
/ûth, 'to give aid, help,' cf. Is 50:4
(see comment of B.D.B., Lexicon, 736 col II.).
The Niph'al would here provide a plausible
sense of 'in league.'

24. ויירא ... ויצר לו : Gn 32:8.

The prayer which follows is an adaptation
of Ps 31.

24. פלטוני ... בטחתי : Cf. Ps 31:1.

לא תרפני : B.T: 'al ēbhōšāh; see on 19:71.

25. הצילני והיה לי ... לצור : Cf. Ps 31:3.

במהר : Equivalent of B.H's bimhērāh. There is a tendency in the orthography of the Chronicle to omit the final āh from feminine nouns (cf. biq^e'ā, 19:61; n^ehām, 23:5; śemah, 25:2).

כי צור לי אתה : A simplification of B.T: kî šal'î um^esûdāthî 'attāh (Ps 31:4).

26. טמנו לנו ... הוציאני : Cf. Ps 31:5.

וגם כל עמי : Supplementation, for adapting the Psalm to the context of the community's particular struggle

אשר טמנו : B.T: zû tāmnu. Here the Chronicler renders biblical poetic vocabulary (zû) into a more colloquial idiom).

כי אתה צור לנו : Simplification of B.T's kî 'attāh mā'uzî.

27. בידך ... ואמת : Cf. Ps 31:6.

פדי אחנו : Read as one word, p^edî'thānū.

רחום וחנון .. ורב חסד ואמת : Expansion of divine epithets (B.T: 'ēl ēmeth) on basis of Ex 34:6.

28. שנאנו ... בטחנו : Cf. Ps 31:7.

29. כי תראה את דלותינו : Cf. Ps 31:8. B.T: 'āšer rā'îthā 'eth 'ānyî.

וביך אויב : Ps 31:9.

30. מכוֹנְנוּ רַחֲמָנוּ רַחֲמָנוּ מְכוֹנְנוּ : Cf. Ps 31:10. B.T: hännēnû
Yhwh. The term makhon is an epithet of
 divinity, in the sense of 'Omnipresent,'
 as māqôm in Rabbinic literature. See on 14:24.
 כי כלו ביגון : Cf. Ps 31:11.
31. כשל בעוֹבֵינוּ : Ibid.
 ונמסו את עצמינו : Simplification of B.T: va'āšāmay 'ās'šū.
32. חרפה ... היינו : Ps 31:12.
 נשכחנו כמת מלך : Ps 31:13.
 ככלי דיק : B.T: kikhli' ōbhēd.
33. עליך בטחנו : Ps 31:15.
34. בידך רוחינו : Ps 31:16. Simplification of B.T: b^eyād^ekhā
'ittōthay.
35. האירה ... אושיענו : Ps 31:17.
36. אדוני לא בבוש : Ps 31:18.
 כי אליך אתפללנו : B.T: kī q^erā'thikhā.
37. מה רב טובך : Cf. Ps 31:20.
 הצפנת : B.T: sāphantā.
38. ועשית אתו לקוים את ישועתך : B.T: pā'altā lahōsīm bākh.
 תסתירם : Ps 31:21.
 בנסתרתך : B.T: b^esēther pāneykhā.
 מכעסות הרשעים : Simplification of B.T's mērūksē 'îš.
 מקבצת החטאים : B.T: mērībh l'šōnōth.

39. פסלמו ... ברור יי' : Ps 31:22.

40. ' : אהבו את יי' : Ps 31:24.

41. חזקו ואמרו : Ps 31:25.

§21

2. ישבי הקברות עקרוני : For 'igrûnî read 'izrûnî, cum H2;
see also v 6. Kôph and zayyin are easily
confused in Samaritan script.

בעלמות קולי : 'At the top of my voice.' Aram. noun
'êlā, 'height,' cf. 23:14*.

4. צבאים : B.H. always construes this noun with fem.
termination (cf. rûhîm for rûhōth, 2:19)

בחציצרות : Orthog. variant of hasôṣ^erôth (cf. l^ehakîthânû,
19:7).

גיבור במלחמה : See on 19:59.

ותחרד הארץ .. צעקותם : See 19:61.

5. כמוה לא בהיתה : Ex 11:6.

6. דלית שמעו כמו : Final syllable (hû) omitted; cf. 19:61,
20:25.

8. ותפל .. אימה ופחד : Cf. Ex 15:16.

* : אתשברת No transposition of taw and sibilant; cf.
iṭh^erîkh (15:2).

8. אתשברת צלעם : 'Their rib was broken' -- a striking idiom to denote the physical manifestation of intense emotional fear. This idiom occurs again in 16:21*. Cf. the English idiom, 'he was shattered (by what he saw).'
- לחצרות : 'Villages,' cf. 15:4 (ḥăṣērîm).
9. ביום ההוא ביד : Cf. Ju 6:1.
10. *הנפילה : 'War' (= H1's milhamoth). The noun is apparently a denominative of the verb /naphal, which verb is used consistently by the Chronicler with milhamah to convey the sense of '(war) breaking out;' cf. 21:2,5,15.
12. : בן אחי : Read ben 'āhîv.
13. בכלי הכסף : אשר ה' : Lacuna. We propose the reading 'ăšer hāyāh na'āsāh.
14. : קצההו : Several examples occur in our Chronicle of the possessive suffix being appended to the full (absolute) form of a noun ending in hey. Cf. q^eṣehnû (17:13), miqv^ehāyv (22:15).
15. : כי הרסו את בית כנשת הרומים : Both H1 and H2 refer here to one specific kinšāh which was destroyed by Baba. In the account of the battle (19:64), however, reference is made to 'all the Roman kinšāhs!'
- *אתמכה : The verb 'to smite' is construed as /mkh, rather than nkh. In B.H. there is no Hithpa'el form of this root.

16. ...דָּהָרוּ מַסִּים עֲלֵיהֶם*: Pregnant construction, for d^ehăvû sārê missîm (cf. Ex 1:10), 'who behaved as taskmasters toward them.'

וְאִגְדִּיל אֶסְרוֹ: 'His distress was intensified'. B.H. employs the noun 'āsôn in the sense of 'mishap, evil, harm,' especially with /qr' (qrh in Gn 44:29), 'to occur' (see B.D.B., Lexicon, 62 col.1). The context here suggests rather an emotion (or state of mind) which, in fact, approximates closer to the suggested Arabic root underlying the biblical noun 'āsôn, namely, أَسَى, 'to be sorrowful, distressed.'

17. מַלְכֵי (הַרְוּמִים) יָעַר: Read yād'û for yā'û.

: בָּנָא רַבָּה יַעֲרָה עֲשׂוֹת מִן מַכָּר בִּפְשׁוֹ וְאִנּוּ כָל עַמּוֹ בְּשִׁבְלֵי אֱלֹהִים: The rendering of A1 helps to elucidate this perplexing verse: 'And Baba Rabbah continued to labour as one who had sold his soul (= k^eman mākhār naphšô) and the souls of his people for God.'

Significantly, the H1 Chronicler probably had difficulty in elucidating the Aramaic version before him, and therefore omitted the entire phrase.

*: אֶתְקַשְׁטוּ: 'They realised' (lit. 'they knew the truth').

*: אֶסְרוֹ חֲזָק: 'In his intense distress' (see on previous verse).

*: מְחֻכָּל: Rare Hithpa'el. Derivative of nākhôn, 'ready, prepared.'

1. יָדַרְשׁ ... שְׁלוֹם Dt 23:7.

* אֶתְחַסֵּד

'It seemed agreeable, pleasing.' The noun hesed and the adjective hasid both have a non-pietistic sense in the Chronicle. See 15:5.

: יַעֲלִים עַל

Arabic 'alima, 'to be strong,' hence here 'to pressurize,' 'forcefully persuade.'

2. מֵאוֹמִים :

'Aims, objectives, reasons.' Noun mā'ûm. In B.H. employed only as indefinite pronoun.

* הַחֲזִי ... הַחֲזוֹת

/hzy, /hzh. The sense of 'deceitful plan' occurs in Je 14:14, hăzôn šeqer (// tarmîth libbām, 'craftiness of their intention.'

* תְּדַבִּירָהּ

'Persuasion(?)' The Hiph'il form of ḏbr (from which the noun appears to derive) occurs in the sense of 'to make submissive, persuade,' cf. Ps 18:48, 47:4; Jastrow, Dictionary, 278.

* נְבִיאָתָהּ

The noun has the general sense of '(religious) leader,' with no overtone of prophetic calling.

3. כִּי הֵם נִלְאָה :

Read kî hēm nil^eim, cum H2.

: הֵל הוּא

Interrogative particle (Arabic هَلْ); cf. Dt. 32:6, hal yahweh tigm^elû zō'th, and B.D.B. note (Lexicon, 210).

5. חֲסוֹת הָאֵף :

Abstract noun ḥammûth, 'heat of (anger).'

6. אֲנָשֵׁי מִשְׁפָּט :

Lit. 'the men of his judgment,' viz. his advisers' ('îš 'eṣāh, Is 40:13).

8. יתן את מיאלך : 'Will grant the request of.' Read šī'ālath.
For the construction nāthan š^e'ēlāh, cf.
I Sam 1:17, 27.

תחמדות:

Abstract noun, 'my desire.' The noun taḥmādāh occurs in a hymn of Marqah
(Mārāh d^e'ēlāhūthāh, Cowley, 846; Ben
Hayyim, L.O.T.S., II, 258).

בחזותה:

See on v 2 above. Here the noun occurs
in its literal sense of 'his presence'
(lit. 'the sight of him').

9. וזה היה בכנע מן מלך האדום : The expression b^ekhāna' is
perplexing. Either the sense is, 'this
was (written) with humility,' in the
ordinary sense of /kn', 'to be humble,'
but postulating a noun kena' ('humility'),
or, alternately, we may render, 'this was
(the letter) was (wrapped or folded) in
a bundle,' cf. Je 10:17 ('ispî mē'ereṣ
kin'āthēkh). The point of the comment
would then be that it was sent as a
confidential document (see v 12: rāzô,
'its confidential import'), well-wrapped
and sealed.

12. המלך (קסטנטנה) : The place-name was clearly added by a
glossator, as the construct relationship,
created by the addition of a place-name,
would not permit the addition of a
definite article with the Nomen Regens.

*סדר משפחתו:

See on 23:7.

14. אשר זממת לעשות : Cf. Dt 19:19.

כילדים רכים:

Gn 33:13.

הרף מהם:

Ex 4:26.

*: ויצפרו בניכים 'They will swiftly be(come) confused.'
/sphr is a denominative of sippor, 'a bird,' see Jastrow, Dictionary, 1298, col.11.

15. זילותו: See on 3:10.
מסכנותו: Abstract noun maskînûth; orthog. variant of miskênûth (Dt 8:9).
מצוקו: 'Our straits,' cf. Dt 28:53, 55, 57.
מוצרנו: Variant of noun māṣôr, which forms a common biblical couplet with māṣôq (see previous note).
במקוהו*: See on 21:14.
וחרקותו*: Read v^erahăqûth^ekhā.
... נבקש בחסר מהלכך * 'We petition that you do not go away,' lit. '...the desisting from your going away.' The noun hōser (or heser or hāsar) is employed as a negative particle (= l^ebhiltî). See also 22:17,23 (hīsrôn).
16. אויבה: Variant of 'ēbhāh, 'enmity' (Dt 3:15).
: ומכות אנשיהם: Makkôth employed here as Infinitive Construct, according to Samaritan usage of /mkh for /nh; see on 21:15.
17. חסר מפומך: Read mippûqăkh ('that you desist from going away'), /pûq.
*לבוותיו תרך: Sing. verb with pl. subject; see on 2:21.
הפרך: Cf. Ex 1:14.
18. הלך: Either Inf. Absolute (—which would be a stylistic rarity for H2) or read 'ēlēkh, cum H1.

20. ותכביל האש : For figure of quenching fire of contention,
cf. 11 Kings 22:17.

והשקע ... אש : Nu 11:2.

21. אחפץ הלכת : Read ālēkheth.

* : ונצפר בנטח מתקשר 'That we may speedily make an alliance
in security.' On ṣphr, see v 14.

22. על פיהם הבוראות : * : וזה דבר ילא ... על פיהם הבוראות In contrast to the
prosaic rendering of H1 on this verse, the
H2 rendering is unusually descriptive and
colourful: 'This situation would weary even
kings in whose treasures lie hidden and
visible riches, and who are obeyed by many
subjects.'

דישקו על פיהם : Cf. Gn 41:40.

23. קרוב : The preposition qārôbh ('near') is here employed
adverbially, in the sense of 'soon'. It is
thus the equivalent of b^eqārôbh. This is
attested to by both H1 and H2 usage.

בחסרון שובתי : For hesrôn as negative, see on v 15 above.

* : הזמן Hebrew equivalent of Aram. idiom hā'îdnā',
'this time, now.'

24. This verse, not represented in H2, is an
elucidatory gloss, to avoid confusion
over identity of Levi.

25. אנשים מן העם : H1 has it that the request was for 'some
of the people' to accompany Baba. H2, rather
improbably states it as a request for the
whole community to be permitted to accompany
their leader into exile (küllānû nēlēkh..)

ויק מיתוביך : Read viyqar.

27. וּלְמִדַּתְּ אֵתָּה אֶל בְּנֵיכֶם : Cf. Dt 11:19. B.T: .. 'ōthām 'eth ..

*: חֲצַר עֹלָמָה

'Worldly dwelling' (Arabic ḥadara, 'to dwell'); or, 'worldly confines' (Arabic ḥazara, 'to fence in'). For discussion of these roots, see J.A.O.S. (1939), 22-37; A.J.B.A., 11, 1 (1972), 102-3.

28. לֹא יַעֲזֹבְכֶם וְלֹא יִרְפֶּ' : Dt 4:31.

: וְלֹא יִבְזַפְכֶם

B.T: v^elō' yašhîthekhā.

: יִבְזַפְכֶם

Aram. /nzph, 'to chastize' (cf. zⁱph, 'to be angry'). More appositely, Arabic nazapha 'to weaken (by loss of blood)'.

Dt 20:3. *אֵל תִּירָאוּ וְאֵל תַּעֲרֹצוּ וְאֵל תַּחֲפֹצוּ

29. וְהִשְׁמַרְוּ פֶּן יִסּוּרוּ לִבְנֵיכֶם : Cf. Dt 11:16; B.T: pen yiphteh
l^ebhabh^ekhem.

30. הוּא בִּסּוּת מֵאֲתָו לְהַטִּיבָם בְּאַחֲרֵיתָם : Cf. Dt 8:16.

*: דִּבְחָר בְּכֶם וַחֲשֶׁק ... Cf. Dt 7:6,7.

1. 'מִמְצוֹת אֵת הַשֵּׁ' : Infinitive Construct here replaced by simple noun, used in verbal sense (verbal noun), 'from the commanding (lit. 'commandment') of his Samaritan people.'

- על לחו : 'Upon his cheek.' Aram. lôhâ', 'jaw, cheek' (Heb. l^ehî; Dt 18:3).
2. פקדנות : 'My deposit.' Abstract noun piqdānûth.
5. ומאחזים :* B.H. only preserves Pi'el participial forms with suffixed possessives; cf. Ho 2:7,9; Je 22:20.
- והנחם :* 'Comfort,' 'relief'; masculine form of nehāmāh, cf. 19:61, 20:25.
6. שניל הרז :* Read hārômez, cum H1. The Sam. kôtel is a passive form. Heb. rāmûz, 'hinted at, referred to' (= hazzôkhîr).
7. סדר קריביו :* Lit. 'family order' (or 'arrangement'); perhaps in the sense of 'order of succession' (cf. Tal. Aram. k^esîdrân). This meaning is supported by the family order as enumerated: '...his brothers, his cousins, his near relatives. and all the members of his family.' In 22:12 it is used, however, in the sense of the entire familial assembly.'
11. ויהי כמעט : In B.H. kimm^e 'ât has the sense of 'almost' (cf. Gn 26:10), 'hardly' (Ct.3:4). Here, however, the sense is 'shortly,' 'in a little while.' H2 makes this clear in its rendering b^erega 'âhath. B.D.B. (Lexicon, 590), indeed, read this sense into II Chr 12:7 (v^enâthattî lâhem kimm^e 'ât liphlētāh), though this is not followed by modern translations (see N.E.B: 'I will let them barely escape').
- כל אנשי צוה : For ṣābhā'. The variation in the orthography of this particular word is suprising; cf. 11:20 (ṣābhāh), 24:3 (ṣ^ebhā 'ēnū).

12. פוקידת : * 'The command of' (= p^eqûdath; see on v 6).
13. נשאר תארז מורח הך צהר : * 'His face (lit. 'form') was shining with brightness.' This description of Baba is omitted in H1. This is possibly another attempt to depict Baba in the image of Moses, 'the skin of whose face was shining' (Ex 34:29).
15. ערשיו : * 'His thrones.' Arabic عرش .

§24

1. ויבא בתוך הגבעה : 'he came to the hill;' a ballast construction.
אעיצו בא אלי : Cf. Nu 24:14. Here in 'Aph'el, though no Hiph'il form in B.H.
- שמה בוא רבה : * Read š^erāh, 'Baba Rabbah is (lit. 'lies') in our power.'
- בקמצת ירינו : * 'In our grasp,' cf. Lv 2:2, 5:12. Fem. form of biblical qōmeš.
- מן החזי : * 'Fitting;' N.H: min hārā'ûy.
- נעשהו : * Read as two words: na'āseh bô.
2. ירבו יסיתו : * Read ubhō y^emîthô, 'or to kill him.'
3. אנשי צבעינו : See on v 11 above.
- פחרו : * 'His glory,' Variant of p^e'ērô.
- נעדרו בחרב עסכר : 'When he uprooted the troops with the sword,' cf. I Chr 12:35,38 ('ōdrê ha-ma'arakhah) for military association of /'dr. One meaning of the verb 'dr is

'to cast out, reject, banish.' In Tal. Aramaic it occurs, however, only in the derived conjugations.

עסכר : Read askārîm.

4. וזה נזה : Colloquial idiom, 'quite apart from that.'

5. ואלא הוא ילאו בגיפותינו : * 'Our attacks did not weary him.' Strange use of subject pronoun (hû') for object 'ōthô. This might have been under the influence of the opening word of the sentence, where v^ehû' occupies a specially emphatic position.

ואצחק אתו שבועתינו : 'Our oath was regarded as righteous (reliable).' B.H. changes the taw to a more emphatic têth after first radical ṣādê in Hithpa'el, whence niṣṭaddâq (Gn 44:16).

לא יקראנו אסור : Gn 44:29.

6. ויבא תחת צל קורותינו : Gn 19:8.

* 'It is not right' (= H1's 'ên tôbh); see on 22:1.

7. איבנה הדירה : 'Dishonourable,' cf. hādûr (Is 63:1). The form hādîr appears in a poetic composition by Abraham Al'ayye: v^ezārah..v^ehōphî'a v^ehādîr (see Ben Hayyim, L.O.T.S., 3, II, 339).

בספירה : 'At times,' 'regularly.' See on 10:11*.

8. נעזבו אתנו : Read na'aṣrô 'ōthô, 'let us imprison him,' a reading supported by the continuation of our verse — ûbhên 'āṣārô kol y^emê ḥayyāv — as well as by v 9, 'āṣûr.

* 'The fire of enmity,' Aram. /dbb, 'to speak evil, be hostile.'

10. ואחוראשח : Read v^eiṭhnattēšt, 'wrath was removed.'
11. ער פיר ישק כל עמי : Gn 41:40.
12. *לציאתו אתו : Delete ʾōthô as dittog.
 *למען לא ירף : 'That he should not fail.' It is strange that Philip should have needed to offer such a feeble excuse — or any excuse — in order to justify his actions to the guards! Significantly H1 omits this phrase.
13. כי פקידים היו : An explanatory gloss, not in H2, describing the permanent guard which was stationed at all times around the walls of Constantinople, in order to control access to, and exit from, the city.
14. אלקה ואשובה אל ארצי : Ex 4:18.
 כי נכסף נכספת אל אני : Cf. Gn 31:30. In quoting the biblical verse verbatim, the Chronicler omitted to adjust the person of the verb.
 Read: nikhsaphtî.
16. *מסגיר עליו : 'Was imprisoning him,' cf. Lv 13:54 (where verb takes a direct object).
 *לחצרו ולקהליו : Read ûl^eʾāhālāyv, 'to his own confines and tents.'
- הצור והתמים בפעליו : Cf. Dt 32:4.
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1. זנג : * Usual Sam. variation of zvvg or zûg (Tal. Aram.), 'to marry.
2. ויעשו לו שמח : 'They made for him a festivity.' Masc. form of simhāh; see on 19:61, 20:25; 23:5, et al.
3. ויגוע .. ויאסף אל עמו זקן ושבע ימים : Cf. Gn 35:29.
5. מחץ : 'Illness' (H2: v^e'ithmāhēs, 'he succumbed to illness'). B.H. invests this root with the more violent and militaristic connotation of 'smite through, wound, severely shatter' (B.D.B., Lexicon, 563).
- And Baba Rabbah sensed that his death was near.' A slight semantic shift occurs in the usage of /ng^t: 'to touch the mind = to realise, to sense.
6. The phraseology of this entire verse is culled from Gn 24:2-4.
7. Phraseology culled from Gn 24:9.
10. אלהים עד ביני ובינך : Gn 31:50.
11. *אתעתק ... במות A refined reference to dying; 'was removed into death.'
12. איש היהודי ... בן לוי : That only Baba's son, assisted by a non-member of the community, should have been delegated the sacred task of preparing the corpse for burial, is not to be construed as a slight to a beloved leader. Samaritan tradition recommends the avoidance of defilement through contact with the dead. Ben Zevi records that the modern Samaritans frequently leave to

outsiders the preparing of the corpse for burial, and any other contact with it (Ben Zevi, S.H., 149). Levi, being the next of kin, was the only exception in this instance, aided by an outsider, Baba's trusted Judaeen friend.

14/15 מחנה:* Used here as 'a gathering (of mourners).'

8. THE CHRONICLE:

- (A) H1 AND H2 VERSIONS, AND THE PROBLEM OF DATING THE CHRONICLE.
- (B) JUDAISTIC PSALM-VERSES IN A SAMARITAN CHRONICLE.
- (C) THE LEGEND OF THE SPEAKING BIRD IN THE LIGHT OF RABBINIC POLEMIC.
- (D) SAMARITAN FIRE-PRACTICES IN THE LIGHT OF A MISHNAIC ACCUSATION.
- (E) LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF H1 AND H2.

(A) H1 and H2 VERSIONS, AND THE PROBLEM OF DATING
THE CHRONICLE.

The text which forms the basis of our study is a section of a Samaritan Chronicle, or Sēpher ha-Yāmīn. The Chronicle, in its H1 version, is MS.1142 in the Gaster collection of the John Rylands library, Manchester. Another version, H2, almost parallel, though employing a totally independent, Aramaic-orientated, literary style—as opposed to H1's usually pure classical Hebrew orientation—was found in the same collection, and is numbered MS. 1168. We have used the latter version as our major secondary source, and have reproduced it in the left-hand column of our text of the Baba Rabbah section of Chronicle II. We have also made constant reference to the other Hebrew Chronicles, to Abu'l Fath's Arabic Chronicle and to other, more modern Arabic versions, such as MSS.A1,2 (at-Ta'rikh), even though their contribution is inevitably circumscribed.

J.Macdonald, who also utilised H2 as a secondary text for his critical edition of the biblical texts,¹ was inclined to the view that H2 was a later version of H1.² He states that 'it seems likely that this Chronicle II version was possessed by a lesser known family, possibly not living in the Nablus area, but certainly under the influence of Arabic, though at a time when that language had not yet been totally assimilated by the Samaritans.'³

The present writer has been unable, however, to detect any traces at all of Arabic influence on H2, and, as a

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1 J.Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No.II (B.Z.A.W.), 1969.

2 Op.cit. 10-11.

3 Ibid.

result of his researches under the guidance of Professor Macdonald, the latter has now expressed reservations regarding his previous conclusions relating to the comparative lateness of H2 and its dependence upon H1. There are, indeed, stronger indications that H1 might represent a later revision, or version, of the H2 genre, in a form based upon the classical Hebrew style of the Bible — even to the extent of employing Waw-consecutive — and interspersed with Biblical, even non-Hexateuchal, quotations.

A fuller discussion on the characteristics of the two versions is given below.¹ At this point we would merely note the intriguing classical style of H1, and offer a speculative suggestion as to its motivation.

We must not forget that a move away from the Aramaic or Arabic vernacular and a return to pure Hebrew literary forms and structures would not be a phenomenon. A Hebrew renaissance along these lines took place in the ninth century A.D., in the case of the Midrashic literature of Palestine. A notable example is that of the P^esiqtā' Cycle, especially the P^esiqtā' Rabbathi. 'The date of its compilation is stated in the book to be 845 C.E. It is distinguished especially by the use of Hebrew words and expressions instead of the Aramaic employed by the earlier Midrashim, by its poetic style... which shows an acquaintance with the school of neo-Hebrew poetry which began to flourish in Palestine in the seventh century'.²

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1 See pp. 349-367.

2 M. Waxman, A History of Jewish Literature, I, p. 140.

It is conceivable, therefore, that H1 is the residual legacy of a parallel movement among Samaritan writers. The fact that only one MS. is extant to testify to the existence of such a trend does not surprise us, knowing the great losses of Samaritan manuscripts sustained during the Middle Ages.¹ On the other hand, H2, although replete with Aramaisms, still contains a sufficient admixture of (non Waw-consecutive) Hebrew for it to be assigned to the same provenance, as part of the same trend. Later in this chapter² we will discuss the thorny problem of the appearance of Judaean Psalm-verses in a Samaritan Chronicle. If there was a medieval Samaritan renaissance of the Hebrew language it might explain their willingness to cast as wide a net as possible, from early — if not, in their opinion, Biblical — literature. The book of Psalms would have been an obvious choice as a literary and linguistic reservoir, since, apart from, and because of, its natural, devotional appeal, it had the unanimous acclaim of all discerning literati, so much so that both Karaites and Rabbanites united in regarding it as the most important source for liturgical creation.³ The Samaritans would not have been ignorant of this development going on around them, which indeed might have contributed to a Hebrew renaissance in their own community. Possibly the Samaritans, like the Jews,

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1 See p. 471.

2 See p. 320.

3 See L.I. Rabinowitz, "The Psalms in Jewish Liturgy," Historia Judaica, VI, 109-122.

smarted under the Karaite charge that they were using 'the language of Assyrians and Arameans, which is the shameful language of the men of the dispersion. For its sake the Hebrews have neglected their own tongue, and in it they laid down the fruits of their wisdom and thought in a jargon, which caused them to misunderstand Scripture, to weaken in its interpretation, and to abandon its ordinary meaning.'¹

If the above trends and attitudes did influence the Samaritans to essay a return to purer, Hebrew, expression,² then our two versions of H1 and H2 might represent different stages in the development and perfection of such a Hebrew style. H2, with its evenly-balanced synthesis of Hebrew and Aramaic, would reflect an early stage of the literary renaissance, when the influence of the Defter, Marqah and other Aramaic sources was still dominant. H1, on the other hand, with its flowing, classical style — though still betraying signs of being an artificial Hebrew creation, with some Aramaic forms being retained — would represent a later stage of the process. This accords with our general view that H1 appears to be a later, revised and supplemented, version of H2.

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1 Ibn Quraish, Risala, Introduction. Quoted in S.W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, VII, p.6.

2 On the ancient opposition to vernacular Aramaic, see S. Pinsker, Liqqûte Qadmôniyyôth, II, p.146.

Any attempt to assign a date to the composition of our Chronicle is a hazardous exercise. The colophon, which we shall discuss below, is no help in this instance. However, the mixture of Classical Hebrew together with Aramaic words and grammatical forms readily suggests a 14th century composition, the period in which the revival of Hebrew among the Samaritans found its most prominent expression.

Among the writers of that period the ones who became the most accomplished in developing this new literary style were Pinḥās ben Yusuf of Shechem and his two sons, Eleazar and Abisha. Their poems were widely incorporated into the liturgy. Significantly, they took as their model and exemplar the poetry of 'Amram Darah and, especially, his son Marqah. Pinḥās ben Yusuf and Eleazar retained Aramaic in order to give an authentic flavour to the poetry they wrote in imitation of the style of Marqah. They regarded the "Verses of Marqah" as the purest expression of the spirit of Samaritanism; hence the appellation "the Samaritan Poet" when referring to Marqah.

This reverence for Marqah finds an unexpected echo in our Chronicle, in the list of the seven leaders appointed by Baba Rabbah to constitute his supreme council. The name of the sixth leader was 'Amram. Having stated this fact, our Chronicler then refers to a tradition that this was none other than the famous 'Amram, father of Marqah who was the master of scholars and scholarship,¹

.....

There follows a reference to some compositions of 'Amram, which leads the Chronicler to a lengthy note on the liturgical poems of Marqah, the daily, Sabbath and festival services in which Marqah's poems are recited, and even a detailed note that 'where a fifth Sabbath occurs in the month, another of his compositions is recited before the Scriptural reading during the course of the Midday Service which replaces the Afternoon Service.'¹ This emphasis on the importance of Marqah and his compositions fits uneasily into the context of Baba's administrators, especially as no biographical details are given in the case of the other leaders, and, more to the point, the leader concerned was 'Amram, not Marqah!

The inference is that our Chronicler was here betraying a special admiration for the poet Marqah by creating an opportunity to make reference to him and to his special place in the liturgy. An admiration for Marqah, combined with the mixed Classical Hebrew and Aramaic style characteristic of the 14th century revivalist movement, would point toward the circle of Pinhas ben Yusuf of Shechem (1308-1367 A.D.) and his sons Eleazar and Abisha as a likely provenance for our Chronicle.

The influence of Marqah upon our Chronicler is also evident in the Moses-orientation which characterizes both works. There is a tradition that Marqah's real

name was Moses, but that 'since his people refused him the right to use the name, Marqah was substituted as having the same gematriac value.'¹ The Memar Marqah exudes with glorification of Moses,² even commencing its theological treatment of Israel's history with the account of the Commission of Moses at the Burning Bush, rather than with the Creation.³ There is nothing to equal Marqah's preoccupation with the uniqueness and greatness of Moses in either Samaritan or Judaistic literature.

This Moses-orientation clearly influenced our Chronicler who, in seeking to glorify Baba Rabbah, depicted him as a saviour repeating for his community the glorious deeds of salvation performed by Moses. The Chronicle depicts Baba as invoking 'the merit of Moses, the son of 'Amram',⁴ in his petition for deliverance. He sees the oppression of his community as a counterpart to the Egyptian oppression:

'Grant us a new redemption... for we are descended from Your righteous servants. As You dealt gloriously with our forefathers, the Israelites, deal with us in Your lovingkindness, and as You redeemed them, so redeem us.'⁵

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1 Montgomery, p.294.

2 See especially Memar Marqah (Macdonald ed.) II, sec.12.

3 See Macdonald's discussion of this point, Memar, I, p.xlx.

4 3:34.

5 3:35-36.

The veneration of Moses appears in another passage which speaks of the heinous sin of the oppressors of the community in that 'they deny You and Your Prophet,¹ — a sentiment that breathes Marqan theology.

The relationship of the community toward Baba Kabbah is depicted as being similar to that existing between Moses and Israel. The oath of allegiance taken by the people is expressed in the words used by Israel when swearing allegiance to Moses — Kōl 'āšer tō'mar 'ēlênû nišma' v^ena'āseh.²

To further underscore his point, the Chronicler employs vocabulary from the 'Call' of Moses in order to represent Baba as a second Moses-figure. The following parallels may especially be noted:

וַיְהִי בַיּוֹמִים הָהֵם וַיִּגְדַּל בּוֹרַח	וַיְהִי בַיּוֹמִים הָהֵם וַיִּגְדַּל מֹשֶׁה
וַיֵּרָא בְּטֹבֹלוֹתָם וַיֵּרָא (H1, 1:6)	וַיֵּרָא בְּטֹבֹלוֹתָם וַיֵּרָא (Ex.2:11)
וַיִּתְחַכֵּם (1:7)	וַיִּתְחַכֵּם (Ex.1:10)
וַיֵּרָא אֶת שְׂרֵי הַמַּטִּים אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר	וַיֵּשִׁימוּ עָלָיו שְׂרֵי מַטִּים
עֲלֵיהֶם לַמַּעַן עֲנוּתָם (1:7)	לַמַּעַן עֲנוּתָם (Ex.1:11)
וַיִּמְרְרוּ אֶת חֵייהֶם (1:7)	וַיִּמְרְרוּ אֶת חֵייהֶם (Ex.1:14)

The judicial relationship of Baba to his seven leaders is depicted as paralleling exactly the respective relationship of Moses towards his seventy Elders. This is most forcefully conveyed by Chronicle Adler,³ which appends to 6:3 the instruction given by Moses to the Elders:

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1 3:12 (H2).

2 4:3. Cf. Ex.24:7.

3 P.90.

'And any matter that is too hard for you, you shall submit to me and I shall consider it' (Dt.1:17).

Other parallels between Baba and Moses are reflected in the fact that Baba's activity is said to have lasted for forty years,¹ as did the ministry of Moses. Also, the employment of the epithet 'king' (melekh) to describe Baba may have been inspired by Dt.33:5, where Moses is described as a 'king in Jeshurun'. Furthermore, as Moses retired to the seclusion of Sinai before receiving the Law, so Baba retires to the Chosen Mountain for a period of prayer and fasting before summoning his people to enter into a new spiritual covenant with God. Characteristically, when the Chronicler describes the joyous song of victory sung by Baba and his community, he introduces it with the formula of Exodus ch.15: 'Āz yāšîr (ha-melekh ha-Šaddîq Baba Rabbah) 'eth ha-šîrāh ha-zō'th.

This portrayal of Baba as a second Moses is, as we have observed above, in consonance with the outlook of Marqah, and might have found such clear expression in our Chronicle because of the influence of Marqah upon the 14th century circle of Pinḥās ben Yusuf of Shechem. It is conceivable, though we have no clear evidence, that the Moses motif was intended to be taken a stage further. Samaritan belief has it that, at the end of the present age, Moses will return in order to usher in the restoration of his people's fortunes and the kingdom of God on earth.²

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1 10:11.

2 See Gaster, The Samaritans, p.91; J.Macdonald, "The Samaritan Doctrine of Moses", Scot.Journal of Th.13, no.2.

Furthermore, in the 14th century, with the union of the old priestly orthodox and the Dositheans, the new Defter which was created was permeated with a glorification of Moses — a doctrine directly inspired and influenced by the Memar Marqah. Moses becomes a messianic figure; his very name is sacred, like that of God. On Moses' account the world was brought into existence, and after his worldly existence he was taken up alive into heaven. J.Bowman has observed that 'there is no such doctrine of Moses, however, in the eleventh century writings of the priest Abu'l Hasan.'¹ This information might add some weight to our theory that our Chronicle emanates from the 14th century circle writing under the influence of Marqah's doctrine of Moses and, in consequence, casting Baba in the role of a second Moses.

The casting of Baba in that role throws up the possibility that the Chronicler conceived of Baba himself as a Taheb figure, the promised 'Prophet like unto Moses',² especially in terms of the eschatological role of Taheb which Moses fulfils in Samaritan thought. The Taheb inaugurates the period of Rahûtā, when divine favour is restored to Israel. He is to be Prophet, Priest and King over the second kingdom. It is apparent that Baba's successes were interpreted by his contemporaries.

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1 J.Bowman, "Pilgrimage to Mount Gerizim", Eretz Israel, (1964), 7, 17.

2 Dt.18:15.

as a result of a new Rahûta secured by Baba. This comes over clearly in the songs of praise contained in the Chronicle. Like the Taheb, Baba is also consistently described as priest and king.

We learn from Josephus¹ that the Samaritans of the 1st century A.D. were — like many other sects of the period — awaiting the arrival of their Taheb, and that one pretender to the office actually appeared during the period of Pilate's governorship. The yearning could only have increased over the succeeding two centuries; and the person of Baba must have been viewed as the fulfilment of the promise and the embodiment of the ideal. The parallels between Baba and Moses, however finely they are drawn by our Chronicler, might well have been influenced by that attitude, and enforced by the Moses-orientation of the 14th century provenance from which our Chronicle emerged.

Whether this Moses motif ought to be viewed against the backcloth of Dosithean polemic² is an open question, one which our present knowledge of that sect — notwithstanding the recent reasearches of J. Isser³ — still makes it difficult to decide. A.D. Crown⁴ has attempted to trace the development of a Dosithean group which, under the influence of the Patristic literature, glorified Joshua and, contrasting him favourably with Moses, attempted to play down the role of Moses and develop a kind of 'Joshua Messianism'.⁵

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1 Ant.xviii, iv,1.

2 For discussion on Baba's Dositheanism, see below, p.445ff.

3 J. Isser, The Dositheans, 1976.

4 A.D. Crown, "Dositheans, Resurrection and a Messianic Joshua", Antichthon, 1, (1967), 71-85.

5 Op. cit., p.80.

Crown records a private suggestion of J. Bowman that Baba might have been regarded as a 'second Joshua'. His support for this theory is the slender fact of the abrupt end of the Juynboll 'Arabic Book of Joshua', which concludes after the time of Baba, thereby suggesting that 'the work may have been tailored to show Baba as Joshua's successor'.¹

Crown himself finds other, equally loose, parallels between the activities of Baba and those of Joshua, in particular the division of the land of Canaan among the Samaritans. While such a division is indeed referred to, none of the Chronicles, however, make more than a passing reference to it,² and all describe the division as an arbitrary arrangement serving the more significant aim of allocating administrative areas to the six 'Priests of the sons of Aaron'. This was clearly a spiritual division, as the context makes clear,³ and can in no way be compared to the great conquest of the land effected by Joshua, followed by his division of the land.

The reference to Baba's division of Canaan among the 'families of the Samaritan Israelites'⁴ is itself suspect. Such a complex and important reorganisation deserves a much fuller description than the bald statement contained in the Chronicles. Not only is the 'division' linked to a priestly parish-structure — as we have mentioned above —
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1 Op. cit., p.85.

2 Chr. II, 10:14; Adler, p.93 (Not p.95, as stated in Crown's note 97.).

3 See Chr. II, 10:19-24.

4 Adler, p.93.

but there are no references, as there are in Joshua, to the delineation of the various boundaries of the tribal, or 'family' possessions. More significantly, it is impossible to harmonize this tradition of a division of Canaan into family units, under the authority of six priests, with the other 'divisions' introduced by Baba as a fundamental part of his integrated reforms.¹ The latter, by contrast, are fully described, together with the names of the priestly and lay administrators of each 'division', as well as its location. The reference to another division, under six different priests, stands in total conflict.

The reference to a division of the whole land of Canaan is, in itself, suspect. The Samaritans only occupied a small part of the land, and nowhere in the Chronicle is it implied that they had designs upon the rest of the country. Chronicle 11, in its full description of Baba's administrative reorganisation, confines the 'division' to the recognised areas of Samaritan habitation.²

Crown's reference to a group of Joshua-Dositheans may explain the presence of such a conflicting tradition regarding the division of Canaan. It is conceivable that this tradition owes its genesis to a writer of the Joshua-Dosithean persuasion who, in an attempt to find points of contact between Baba and Joshua, described the former

1 See 5:16-31; 9:6 - 10:1.

2 See 10:1.

following in the footsteps of the Biblical hero, Joshua, by apportioning the land to the Israelite families.

Granting the validity of the Crown-Bowman hypothesis, which detects a Joshua-Dosithean outlook in the account of the life of Baba Rabbah, and even allowing for the infiltration of one such Joshua tradition into the material which comprises Chronicle 11, yet the overall Moses-orientation of this Chronicle suggests the possibility that it may have been written to serve the polemical aim of countering the Joshua-orientation of the other Chronicles by casting Baba in the role of a second Moses. Even if polemic was not, consciously, in the mind of the Chronicler, the Moses-orientation of Chronicle 11 does set it apart from the other Chronicles. It is unfortunate that Bowman and Crown had not been in a position to have read Chronicle II,¹ as then they would not have hastened to the conclusion that Baba may have been regarded as a second Joshua. The Moses-orientation of our Chronicle would have given them a wider perspective, and they would then have realised that the role of Baba is cast in accordance with the particular theological propensity — Dosithean or Orthodox Samaritan — of the Chronicler himself. The frequent references to Moses found in Chronicle 11, and especially the glorification of him as the instrument of the giving of the divine Law,² suggest that this Chronicle emanated from the period

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1 See Crown's statement that 'our sources for examining Baba's career are Abu'l Fath, Chronicle Adler and Chronicle Neubauer.' (Crown, *op.cit.*, p.84).

2 See 3:26, 10:24, 12:10, 14:25, 21:17.

following on after the unification of the Dosithean and Orthodox groups, when Joshua 'Messianism' had finally been abandoned.

The non-Dosithean character of Chronicle II is, in fact, clear from the various references to festivals. Great play has been made, especially by Bowman and Crown, of the fact that Baba is said to have celebrated only the Sabbath and none of the other festivals — 'again suggestive of the apparent Dosithean nature of his ideas'.¹

Significantly, Crown himself admits that 'the fact that only the Sabbath is mentioned could well be fortuitous'.² Furthermore, it cannot be over-emphasized that even if the other three Chronicles do lend themselves to such an inference, Chronicle II is sufficient to confound the suggestion. In this Chronicle we find references to the other festivals, and even to the minor Holyday of Rōsh Hōdesh. A significant reference occurs in the context of the regulations for the examination of candidates for the title of Hakham. Baba's instruction was that the latter should submit himself 'either on the day of the New Moon or on the days of the festivals'.³ References are also made to the festival of Tabernacles and the festival booths,⁴ to Shemini 'Āsereth — 'the conclusion of the festivals of the Lord',⁵ to the Day of Atonement⁶ and

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1 Crown, op. cit., p.84.

2 Ibid.

3 9:3

4 11:3(H2), 19:65.

5 19:52, 65.

6 5:27.

to the festival of Revelation.¹ The suggestion that, in accordance with Dosithean practice, Baba only observed the Sabbath is patently without basis. These references to the festivals also prove that our Chronicle was not composed under Dosithean influence and that there is no evidence to present Baba as a Dosithean, and certainly not as a second Joshua. The only Dosithean strand we have uncovered is the tradition regarding Baba's division of the land of Canaan.²

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As will be clear from the foregoing discussion, our Chronicle II is not an isolated work, but must be viewed in relation to the other extant Chronicles of Samaritan history.

As a result of the extensive researches of Professor John Macdonald a chronological classification of the Samaritan Chronicles was adopted,³ according to which our Chronicle was designated as number II, preceded chronologically by the Asatir and followed by the Tolidah.

A re-assessment of the interrelationship of the Chronicles has been made by A.D.Crown,⁴ who re-drafts Macdonald's table of Chronicles, though substantially

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1 5:29.

2 See, however, A.D.Crown, "Some Traces of Heterodox Theology in the Samaritan Book of Joshua", Bul. John Rylands Library, 50, 1, 178-198.

3 J. Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans, New Test. Library (1964), 40-49. See also note 1, p. 290 above.

4 Bul. John Rylands Library, 54, 2 (Spring 1972) and 55, 1 (Autumn 1972).

retaining the same chronological arrangement. The contribution of Crown would lie in his demonstration of the processes by which Macdonald's seven (types of) Chronicles were enlarged or composed, as well as their interrelationship.

Crown differentiates between two types of Chronicle II: our own Chronicle ~~---~~ which he calls Chron.IIM(Macdonald) — and IIA, which is postulated as the original Sepher Ha-Yamim. Chronicle VII (Adler and Seligsohn type, Rylands MS.257 type and J Book of Joshua type) is established as an apocope of Chronicle IIA. Chronicle Adler and Rylands MS.257 are admitted to be derivatives of an original Sepher Ha-Yamim.¹ Macdonald demonstrated, however, that Adler is not a derivative of our present Chronicle II; thus the enumeration by Crown of a Chronicle IIA, representing the original textual tradition upon which Chronicle VII type material was based.

The Chronicle II fills 281 folios. The first part, covering the Biblical books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings (II Chronicles), has been published, with full critical apparatus, by John Macdonald.² Together with A.J.B.Higgins, Macdonald also published a short section covering the period of the beginnings of Christianity.³

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1 Adler, "Une Nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine," R.E.J. xlv, pt.11, p.98; Rylands Sam.MS.257 fol.116.

2 The Samaritan Chronicle II (B.Z.A.W.), 1969.

3 "The Beginnings of Christianity According to the Samaritans," New Testament Studies, 18 (1971), 54-80.

No other sections have yet been published, and the present study, dealing with the period of Baba Rabbah, presents a critical treatment of folios 179-220.

The importance of Chronicle II has been highlighted by Macdonald, who, without reservation, regards it as 'the best and most accurate of all the Chronicles'.¹ This assessment is quoted, apparently with approbation, by H.G.Kippenberg.² R.J.Coggins, comparing Chronicle II with the other extant Chronicles, describes it as 'a more ancient and probably more reliable source'.³

A full general description of the nature of the Chronicle has been provided by Macdonald in the introduction to his edition. There is no need to duplicate this information here. We have also made some suggestions above regarding its provenance and theological inclination. One aspect of the Chronicle, however, still awaits clarification, namely the date when this sole surviving copy of the Chronicle was made, and the nature of its transmission.

No doubt, the high assessments of the value of Chronicle II, referred to above, were influenced not only by the quality of the published section, but also, in large

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1 Macdonald, Theology, p.44.

2 H.G.Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge, Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, xxx (1971), p.62 note 12.

3 R.J.Coggins, Samaritans and Jews, (1975), p.117.

measure, to the date attributed to our sole surviving copy of the Chronicle. Macdonald, basing himself upon the colophon, predicated the year 1616 A.D. The colophon reads as follows:

והנה הכלול מן כתב זה ספר הימים
 בלילת חדר וחמשה ימים מן חדש
 התשעי אשר היא שנת ששה ועשרים
 ואלף לממלכת ישמעאל על יד העבד
 המס' טוביה בן פינחס שמש כנשת
 שכם הקדושה אודי את יהוה

'Now the copy of this Chronicle was completed this night of the fifth day of the ninth month in the year 1,026 of the kingdom of Ishmael, by the hand of the poor servant Tobhiah son of Phinehas, Minister to the Synagogue of Shechem. I thank the Lord.'¹

The year 1,026 A.H., stated herein, corresponds to the year 1617 A.D., the year consequently taken by Macdonald as the date of our copy of Chronicle II.²

Doubt regarding the reliability of the date given in the colophon was expressed by Z. Ben-Hayyim in a review of Macdonald's edition of the Chronicle.³ Ben-Hayyim

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1 Chron. II, fol. 281 col. 2.

2 Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No. II, p. 69.

3 Z. Ben-Hayyim, "A Samaritan Text of the Former Prophets?" Lešonēnû, 35 (1970-1), 294-302.

expressed the opinion that the words ה'תש"ו had been inadvertently omitted by the scribe before the word ה'תש"ו. The amended version would then provide a date 1326 A.H., corresponding to the year 1908.

A reading of the last few folios of the Chronicle does, in fact, confirm the opinion of Ben-Hayyim. The Chronicler refers therein to a number of episodes connected with the High Priests and personalities who lived in the period leading up to his own day. He is particular to record the exact dates of their birth and death. All the dates specified are clearly 19th and 20th century dates. For convenience, and because the dating of our Chronicle is of such importance, we quote the final few entries:¹

- (i) ...וכן היה בשנת חמשה ושבועים ומאתים ואלף
לממלכת בני ישמעאל...
- (ii) ...וכן היה בשנת אחד ותשעים ומאתים שנה ואלף...
- (iii) ...ובשנת חמשה עשר ושלש מאות ואלף
לממלכת ישמעאל...

These dates correspond to the years 1858, 1874 and 1897 respectively, thus making it abundantly clear that a scribal omission has, indeed, occurred in the colophon. Reference (iii), which includes the phrase ה'תש"ח indicates, beyond any doubt, the nature of the omission, as suggested by Ben-Hayyim. Our copy may therefore be dated 1908.

Further evidence of this date is also furnished by the scribe's reference to his own ancestry. He informs us that

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1 Fol.281 col.1.

he is the fourth son of the Priest Pinhās ben Isaac ben Solomon. If we consult Cowley's genealogical tables¹ we see the scribe and his family listed at the foot of the Levitical family, thereby substantiating Ben-Hayyim's view that the MS. was produced at the beginning of this century.²

Ben-Hayyim, having established the comparative modernity of our MS., proceeded to write off Chronicle II as being, consequently, of little value. Ben-Hayyim even suggests that Chronicle II was produced 'probably by the same person who compiled the well-known "Joshua Book" published by M. Gaster in ZDMG 62 (1908).'

Ben-Hayyim's strictures, and lack of respect for Chronicle II, are reserved, however, for the Biblical material published by Macdonald.³ Ben-Hayyim would be the first to recognise the value of the later material contained in the Chronicle, its independent origin and the linguistic and historical value of a lengthy Hebrew Chronicle whose material is far richer than that of the existing Hebrew or Arabic Chronicles.

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1 Cowley, The Samaritan Liturgy, II, xlvi.

2 Cowley makes the priest Pinhās ben Isaac even more prolific than does our colophon. Cowley attributes five sons to him (though he does not give their names), whereas our scribe claims to have been one of only four children (אֲרָבָה בָּנִים לְפִנְחָס). Cowley's statement should be corrected accordingly.

3 Ben-Hayyim states: 'At any rate, the Joshua part of the Chronicle (my italics).. is identical with the "Joshua Book".'

The quality and significance of the Biblical portions of Chronicle II are outside the purview of our study. One point that has to be made, however, -- since it is relevant to both Macdonald's approach to his material as well as that of the present researcher -- is that it displays a lack of critical acumen to confuse or lump together the date when a copy of a MS. was produced with the period when the literary and historical traditions underlying the Chronicle were first conceived and/or committed to writing.

The fact that we acknowledge, on the evidence of the colophon, that our copy was made in 1908, in no way forces us to the conclusion that it is a 'modern Chronicle' with no historical or literary value as an independent source. Obviously, the final folios, wherein the scribe has brought the Chronicle up-to-date, are circumscribed in importance; but the rest of the material -- and especially the Baba Rabbah section, with its new insights into that period -- is of great and abiding interest no matter when a modern-day scribe discovered and copied his Chronicle.

Cumulative internal evidence indicates, beyond doubt, that our section of the Chronicle contains very old elements not found in any of the other Chronicles, and that it represents an authentic early expression of Samaritan historical tradition, couched in the medieval Samaritan Hebreo-Aramaic, familiar to us from other writings of the period.

Ben-Hayyim does, in fact, admit the possibility that the historical sections of our Chronicle might contain just such valuable source-material:

'Nevertheless, I say that even such a young source is worthy of close attention.. Sometimes there may be hidden beneath a young Chronicle information pertaining to an unknown early source, or there may be found in it some material known from an early source but preserved in a more authentic form, because the MS. used by the compiler was more reliable.'¹

Ben-Hayyim's reference to discovering 'information pertaining to an unknown early source' is, we believe, applicable in the case of our Chronicle. One particular reference could only have emanated from a very early source, since it reflects a ritual practice which was operative in the Chronicler's day, but which subsequently fell into desuetude, leaving no trace of its original existence — other than in Chronicle II.

The reference concerns the great victory won by the Samaritans with the help of Levi, nephew of Baba. Having routed the Romans, the memory of the victory was kept alive by a charming ritual practised by the Samaritan children. In commemoration of the beacons of fire, lit by Baba as a signal for attack, 'Samaritan children have set fire to the wood of their Succah-booths on the night of the termination of the festival

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¹ Z. Ben-Hayyim, op. cit., 298.

of the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly which concludes the festivals of the Lord. This episode has thus remained a memorial among them unto this day'.¹

There is no trace of this practice in either the Hillukh or the Masa'il al Khilāf. Furthermore, John Mills, who visited the community in 1855 and 1860, spending a few months among them and having 'daily intercourse with 'Amram the priest,'² has left us a detailed description of the ritual associated with the festival of Succoth and the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly. With reference to the latter, he states:

The Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly is kept strictly as a day of rest, a peculiarly sacred day when they go down to the Synagogue, and the Service book, adapted for the feast, is repeated by the priest.³

As Mills was careful to note any peculiar or unique custom practised by the Samaritans, it is certain that the ritual of setting fire to the Succah booths could not have been practised by the Samaritan children of those days.

I. Ben-Zvi was another scholar whose close relationship with the Samaritans extends over the past century. In his description of the community and their practices he makes no reference at all to the existence of such

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1 Chron. II, 19:65.

2 John Mills, Nablus and the Modern Samaritans, viii.

3 Ibid, 266.

a custom.

The use of the phrase '(This episode has remained a memorial among them) unto this day,' is, consequently, of supreme importance, pointing to an early date when this material was first chronicled. We have, naturally, no way of knowing when the practice was discontinued, but the fact that Chronicle II is the only source to refer to it is a significant pointer to its value as an early and independent source. Ben-Hayyim's description of it as 'a young Chronicle' is thus most misleading.

That our Chronicle is an abstract of an earlier Hebrew Chronicle is implied in a few passages. H2 introduces section 18 by referring to the source of the account which follows:

And we have found in a Chronicle of our ancestors, written in the sacred Hebrew script, reference to further exploits of our great king and leader, Baba Rabbah, which we will relate in this book.¹

The lengthy and detailed nature of the original Chronicle, from which our Chronicle II was abstracted, is expressly referred to in a later, unpublished part of the Chronicle:

And this episode of the activity of the accursed Dosis, which we have described in this Chronicle, is but a part of a

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1 H2, 18:1 -- רבמא בספר הימים דלארשון אשר הוא בספר העברי הקדש יזכר בו דברא עודה על גדלות המלך בבה רבה ארשון בספר אשר בזה הספר.

large work; but we have not elaborated upon the episode to provide all its details.¹

These references to an original Hebrew Chronicle, of which Chronicle II is a digest, suggest that we may well have before us a substantial body of material that has been reproduced from the original source which was hitherto believed to have been lost. In his introduction to his own book, Abu'l Fath lists among his sources a few Chronicles written in 'the Hebrew language' — *כְּתוּבֵי עִבְרִית* — which were obtained from the High Priestly circle in Damascus. He refers specifically to a Hebrew Chronicle containing a detailed description of the many deeds and exploits, some of them gilded with legendary material, associated with one of the greatest of the Samaritan leaders, Baba Rabbah.² The nature of our Chronicle, and especially the close relationship — in the Baba Rabbah section — between it and Abu'l Fath's Arabic account, suggest the possibility that parts of our Chronicle may well have furnished Abu'l Fath with the source material for his history.

In the context of this suggestion, the words of M.Gaster are apposite:

'From Baba Rabbah dates the renaissance, or better, the consolidation of the Samaritan commonwealth in the third or

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לזה הדבר אשר בארבו אתו כזה ספר הימים ממעשי הארז דוסיס הוא חלק מרב כי לא ארכבו את הדבר בכל מעשיהם.

2 Abu'l Fath, p.139.

fourth century A.D. In his time lived their greatest poets and writers.... Such an elaborate Chronicle of the fourth century had evidently been preserved in Hebrew among the Samaritans down to the period of Abu'l Fath (fourteenth cent.). Who knows whether it will not, sooner or later, come to light as so many other writings of the Samaritans hitherto unknown, and how much of it may be found in those already known.'¹

Referring to the reliability of material or traditions emanating from the Baba Rabbah period, Montgomery avers that 'only for the period of the Samaritan revival in the IVth and Vth centuries does there appear to be any genuine native tradition.'²

Assuming then that Chronicle II achieved its present form as a result of a redaction of primary (Samaritan-Hebrew) material, can we be sure that the redactor treated his source with respect and transcribed it in its pristine form? The answer is, naturally, that we cannot be so sure. However, there are a number of indications that he regarded the text before him as inviolate. This explains the many difficult and complex phrases that occur in the Chronicle, and which would

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1 M.Gaster, Studies and Texts, I, p.485.

2 Montgomery, The Samaritans, p.310.

normally have lent themselves to simplification. This also explains the lacunae in the text, which no attempt has been made to fill.¹ Furthermore, in instances where the scribe was aware that an inaccuracy had occurred in the Chronicle's transmitted text, he did not presume to correct it, but rather added a corrective gloss. To give but one example: In the list of the administrative boundaries² we are told that Baba Rabbah gave to the second leader a 'permanent possession from 'Askor to 'Tarblos'.³ The scribe or redactor — which scribe, of the many who must have copied the MS. down the ages, we do not know — adds the corrective gloss: 'This is actually from 'Askor to Tiberias.' The fact that he did not just correct the original is clear evidence of his high respect for the Chronicle. It also serves to refute Ben Hayyim's description of this work as 'a modern Chronicle.' Another important factor militating against this assessment is the uniqueness of much of the vocabulary and grammatical forms — collected in our word-list — which has no parallel in the 'modern' Samaritan-Hebrew idiom employed by writers during the past century in order to supply the requirement of scholars and libraries researching Samaritan literature, much of which was written in Arabic. The Hebrew of these translators inevitably betrayed the Arabic original, in the form of structures and phraseology

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1 See 11:22, 23, 24; 12:4.

2 9:6-19.

3 9:9.

which were clearly literal Hebrew translations of Arabic idiomatic expressions or characteristic forms. No translator, however competent, could completely disguise the Arabic provenance of his master-copy, especially when Arabic was, at the same time, his own native tongue. Yet, in our Chronicle, we have failed to uncover one clear example of an Arabic idiom underlying any Hebrew form. The conclusion is inescapable that we are indeed dealing with an original Hebrew Chronicle, perhaps of the genre referred to by Abu'l Fath as one of the sources for his own work.

The fact that our MS. is the sole extant copy of the Chronicle is indicative of its rarity. One would have expected that the original, used by the scribe Tobhiah ben Pinhas, would still have been available. That this is not the case suggests that it must have been in a serious state of disrepair when Tobhiah undertook his task of copying it. Perhaps the sorry state of the original actually prompted him to devote his attention to it.

Had the original remained, for centuries, the property of the Shechem community it is still inconceivable that no further copies of it would have been made! A solution to this problem may be obtained, however, by consulting folio 280b, where the scribe, Tobhiah,

speaks of his father's literary activities, and especially his devoted and indefatigable efforts to collect together from many sources the treasures of Samaritan literature. With reference to our Chronicle II, Tobhiah states: *הוא אסף קנן את נדחיה ספר הימים* — 'It was he (i.e. his father, Pinhas) who collected the copy of this Chronicle.' The use of the term 'collected' implies that the Chronicle had been obtained from an outside source, and had not been in the possession of the Shechem community. It might well have originated in either Damascus or Egypt, the other main centres of medieval Samaritanism.

Pinhas himself had no opportunity to pay any attention to the Chronicle he had collected. The merit of doing so was that of his son, Tobhiah. It is possible that Tobhiah only became aware of the existence of the Chronicle when examining the large number of manuscripts left by his bibliophile father at his death. This is suggested by the fact that our Chronicle was completed in 1908, just ten years after the death of Pinhas.

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(B) JUDAIST PSALM-VERSES IN A SAMARITAN CHRONICLE

One of the most mystifying characteristics of the Baba Rabbah section of Chronicle II is the liberal use made of passages from the Biblical book of Psalms. This is surely one of the most glaring literary examples of the infiltration of Judaist influence into the stronghold of Samaritanism. The infiltration of Judaist ritual practices has been well attested,¹ but the Samaritans have zealously maintained a policy of exclusiveness in the domain of literature, and have resolutely refused to come to terms with the many winds of literary change that buffeted them from the direction of the Judaeen centres of learning and culture. The classical example of this literary opposition to anything which smacked of Judaeen influence was the translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch into Arabic, accredited to Abu al-Hasan of Tyre (11th cent.). His translation fell into disuse because it was felt to have become influenced by renderings of the Arabic translation of the Rabbanite scholar, Saadiah Gaon.²

The Psalm-verses employed by our Chronicle are, in the context of Baba's prayers, petitions and praises of God. In this genre it would have been natural for the Chronicler to have employed passages from the Defter, or at least to have worked within its style

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1 Samaritan observance of the festival of Purim, for example, is referred to by Mills (Three Months Residence, p.266). On Samaritan wearing of fringes see A Spiro, "Samaritans, Tobiards and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo," American Acad. for Jew. Research, XX, 289

2 Encyc. Jud., 14, 754b.

and idiom. How then, do we explain the presence of these quotations from the Judaist Psalms in a Samaritan Chronicle?

Our starting-point will be a passage in the Midrash which refers to a discussion between a Samaritan and a Rabbanite theologian on the subject of the resurrection of the dead:

'The Patriarch of the Cutheans asked Rabbi Meir, "I know that the dead will return to life, for it is written, AND THEY (sc.the righteous) SHALL BLOSSOM FORTH OUT OF THE CITY (sc Jerusalem) LIKE THE GRASS OF THE EARTH (Ps.72:16). But when they arise, will they arise nude or in their garments?'"¹

J.Isser, quoting this passage,² makes the following comment: 'A lay leader of the Samaritans during the second century A.D. knew that the dead would rise! And he quoted Psalms — a book not recognised as canonical by the Samaritans — as his reference! Surely we cannot be so naive.'³

The employment of Psalm-verses in our Chronicle⁴ may, indeed, be viewed against the background of this passage, whose authenticity, unlike Isser, we have no reason to

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1 Mid.Ber.Rabb 94,b; Qoh.Rabb., V, 12.

2 J.Isser, The Dositheans, p.145.

3 Isser's quoted source for this passage — T.B.Sanhed.90b — is incorrect. This passage does not, in fact, make any reference to Cutheans, but is introduced by the words, 'Queen Cleopatra asked Rabbi Meir.' See note (1) in Soncino Talmud, Sanhedrin, p.60/.

4 See 3:12-14, 16-27, 20-21, 23-24, 29-33; 12:4-9, 13:2-24; 14:11-20; 17:8-22; 19:67-77; 20:24-41;

repudiate.

The topic under discussion in this instance is of crucial importance. Resurrection quite clearly had its place in mainstream Samaritan Orthodox Theology.¹ The usual proof-text, marshalled from Gen.3:19 ('To your dust you shall return'), was decidedly unconvincing, and Samaritan theologians would obviously have been keenly interested to see how their Judaist counterparts derived the doctrine, knowing full-well that they were equally hamstrung by the lack of a clear statement on the concept in the pages of the Pentateuch. The 'Patriarch of the Cutheans' was quite clearly in sympathy with the sentiment expressed in the Psalm verse he quoted, and the fact that this did not come from a source recognised as Canonical by his community did not invalidate the truth of the doctrine in his eyes. There is thus nothing suprising about his demonstration of the fact that he was aware that the Rabbis had appealed to that Psalm verse as a support for the doctrine of Resurrection! He is clearly speaking to Rabbi Meir in the latter's own language, taking up the Rabbi's theological exposition and probing it further.

It must also be noted that although the book of Psalms was not Canonical for the Samaritans, yet, as a book of hymns with few overt historical allusions and no theological or religious innovations, it contained

1 For the Samaritan doctrine of Resurrection, see J.Macdonald, The Theology of the Samaritans; also Encyc. Jud., 14, 739a.

nothing that was offensive to Samaritan belief. Quite the contrary; before the rise and development of their own Defter, the Judaist Psalms might well have been accepted by some Samaritan groups as a useful devotional manual or source in the period preceding the rise and development of the Samaritan Synagogue as a central institution. Our knowledge of this development is still limited, notwithstanding the contribution of Kippenberg,¹ though 'it is apparent that in Samaritanism, as in Judaism, the Synagogue played an important part, undergoing a similar development even down to minor details.'² This being so, the Samaritans would clearly have had need of hymns or devotional songs along the same lines as those which developed into the Judaist Book of Psalms and the Qumran Covenanters' Book of Hodayoth. That we have nothing of this type of literature from the pre-Synagogal period in Samaritanism is suprising. It is just possible that some Samaritan communities — such as the one presided over by the 'Patriarch of the Cutheans' referred to in the Midrashic passage — actually used the Judaist Psalms in their own worship. It is also possible that certain of the Psalms, or individual verses from Psalms, were the common possession of both communities. These may have originated as 'Northern Psalms', and come down as the

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1 H.G.Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge (1971). See, esp., pp.145-171.

2 Coggins, Samaritans and Jews, p.137.

common heritage of that part of Palestine, later to take their place as part of the Judaistic Psalter.

It would be contrary to all we have observed regarding the evolution of literary and liturgical genres to assume that the poetic and flowing 4th cent. compositions of Marqah and Amram Darah were inspired exclusively from within, with no borrowing or inspiration from a previously-existent, popular literary reservoir. It is quite conceivable that it was the Judaist (and, possibly, the Northern) Psalms which fired the poetic spirit of the early Samaritan liturgical writers. Restricted to the few books regarded by their community as Canonical, they would have been unlikely to have possessed the inspiration to develop, as they did, a new and rich orchard of liturgical composition.

The problem of the final separation between Samaritans and Jews — a still hotly debated issue — might also impinge upon this question of the use of the book of Psalms by the Samaritans. The observance of the festival of Purim by the Samaritans, as referred to by Mills,¹ is a clue to the lateness of the separation. Coggins avers that 'the decisive formative period for Samaritanism was the epoch from the third century B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era; it emerged from the matrix of Judaism during this time, with some measure of communication

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1 Mills, op.cit., p.266. Cf. Montgomery, The Samaritans, p.42; Coggins, op.cit., p.137.

continuing well into the Christian era between Samaritans and various Jewish groups. (my italics).'

This reconstruction of the situation would confirm our contention that the growing popularity of the Psalms, and their absorption into Jewish liturgy would undoubtedly have had some repercussions in the Samaritan community. The Psalms would have been known to the latter, and probably rehearsed and recited in Samaritan Prayer-meetings and early Synagogues. It was only with the cultivation of their own unique Deftar that the non-Samaritan elements were jettisoned. The Purim festival was able to survive, however, by a process of re-interpretation and a calendrical switch to a different month.¹ The Psalms, so closely identified by then with the spirit of Judaist Prayer, could not so easily be absorbed into the Samaritan ritual without incurring the charge of dependence upon Judaism. The Psalms or Psalm verses that had hitherto been regarded as Northern or common tradition might well have been preserved by the Samaritans of the early centuries of the Christian era. Hence the Talmudic reference to a Samaritan 'Patriarch' quoting the Psalms, and hence the employment of passages from the Psalms — with some minor variations — by the author of our Chronicle. This consideration can but enhance the uniqueness of the Chronicle; for if

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1 Mills, loc. cit.

these Psalm verses were indeed actually spoken by Baba Rabbah, then his generation would have probably been one of the last to use them, for before long the influence of the Defter, Marqah, etc., would totally have supplanted the use of the Psalms. This would then be an indication that in our Chronicle II there have survived literary traditions and elements which were actually contemporaneous with the period being chronicled.

One final point may here be made regarding this meeting between Samaritanism and Judaism in the area of a common approach to, and use of, certain Biblical books. From the Tosephta we learn that in ancient Palestine there were Samaritans who were regarded as acceptable and suitably-qualified to teach the Scriptures to Jewish children.¹ Such teachers could not have been ignorant of the other components of the Judaist Bible. Furthermore, if the suggestion that the Samaritan Targum is an adaptation of Onkelos rests on any valid foundation, this would also present a picture of educated Samaritan leaders, thoroughly instructed in Jewish Biblical writings and Biblical tradition. This would certainly have included the Psalms, and may be a further explanation of the appearance of passages from this work in a Samaritan Chronicle.

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1 Tosephta 'Abhōdāh Zārāh, 3,1:ספדו ללמדו ספדו ללמדו

(C) THE LEGEND OF THE SPEAKING BIRD IN THE CONTEXT
OF RABBINIC POLEMIC

One of the most dramatic episodes in the account of the Baba Rabbah period is that of the legend of the speaking bird. This is woven into the account of the return of Baba's nephew, Levi, to Samaria after an absence of thirteen years 'acquainting himself with every custom of Roman Faith' (18:2) in preparation for the longed-for day when the Samaritans would lead an insurrection against their hated oppressors.

The brazen bird is described as the main obstacle to Samaritan access to the Holy Mountain:

'For there was situated on that holy Mountain, Mount Gerizim Beth-El, a bird, like a dove, used for the performance of divination and sorcery by the Roman sorcerers. That bird was made of brass, and to any Israelite coming up to Mount Gerizim Beth-El the bird which they had made would call out 'Ibrayos. When the Romans used to hear the call of the bird they would arise and search for the Israelite person.....'

(18:5-6)

The sole motive behind Baba's decision to send Levi to the Romans was 'that he might ascend Mount Gerizim Beth-El, and direct all his efforts to breaking down

the bird that is situated there.'¹ There follows an interesting and colourful account of Levi's fortunes among the Roman clerics, where he attained to the rank of 'Great Skopos'. From the account of his return to Samaria, accompanied by a great entourage comprising 'leaders of the Roman people, their officers, some of the kings and all the army,'² it would seem that Levi is being depicted by the Chronicler as an overseer with special responsibility for kings. Who these kings were is not stated, although the reference to Levi having set out 'from the province of Constantina,'³ provides the clue. Toward the end of the Baba Rabbah section it is related that Baba was imprisoned in Constantinople, where he was welcomed by all the kings who were resident there.⁴

In a later chapter we analyse the Constantinople material⁵ and find it to be unhistorical as regards the life of Baba Rabbah. Baba died before Constantinople became the prominent Roman administrative centre. The reference to 'kings' living there is, however, historical, as we shall demonstrate.⁶ Levi's association with the 'Roman kings' suggests that the Chronicler is depicting

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1 18:3.

2 19:3.

3 *ibid.*

4 23:12.

5 See pp. 378-387.

6 See p. 385.

him in the role of supreme overseer of the nobles and 'many opulent senators of Rome and the Eastern provinces'¹ who were commanded by Constantine to take up residence in that city.

The conclusions that we have reached regarding the lack of historicity of the 'Constantinople period' in the life of Baba directly affect the Levi episode. Levi, likewise, could hardly have studied in Constantinople for thirteen years during the life of Baba, nor could he have become a city administrator. Baba died about 328 A.D.,² and Constantinople was not dedicated as the new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire until the year 330 A.D! It is thus apparent that our, or an earlier, Chronicler has taken the legend of the brazen bird and woven it into a further legendary setting wherein the hero is Levi who returns from the Roman court of Constantinople and, with the help of Roman nobles and soldiers, is instrumental in destroying the brazen bird and restoring access to the holy Mountain.

In a later (unpublished) section of Chronicle II it is related how this same Levi became an adherent of the heresy propagated by Dosis.³ It is conceivable therefore that this whole episode of Levi and the destruction of the brazen bird was fabricated in later Dosithean circles, with a view to glorifying their most distinguished convert from Orthodox Samaritanism.

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1 Gibbon's phrase. See below, p.385.

2 See below, p.373.

3 Chron.11, fol.475-479.

In the light of our foregoing remarks, we may separate two strands in the account of the brazen bird: first, the Levi-strand -- which, as we have suggested, might have come from a Dosithean source -- and, secondly, the legend of the bird, which, as a unified legend, challenges us to seek some explanation of its origin.

The description of the bird as 'like a dove' instinctively reminds us of the famous Talmudic charge that 'the Samaritans found a figure of a dove on the top of Mount Gerizim, and they worshipped it.'¹ This charge was levelled by a contemporary of Baba Rabbah, the Amora Nachman bar Isaac (d.356A.D.).²

The Talmudic report suggests that Nachman was giving his own, ex cathedra, interpretation of why social and religious intercourse with Samaritans is forbidden. The Talmud actually relates the proscription to an episode that is supposed to have occurred some two centuries earlier, in connection with a visit of R. Simeon b. Eleazar who was sent by Rabbi Meir to fetch wine from among the Cutheans:

'He was met by a certain old man³ who
said to him, PUT A KNIFE TO THY THROAT
IF THOU BE A MAN GIVEN TO APPETITE (Pr.
23:2). Whereupon R. Simeon b. Eleazar

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1 Tal.Hullin 6a

2 See H.Strack, Introduction to Talmud and Midrash, p.130

3 The 'old man', Montgomery rightly notes (p.191), is a frequent Talmudic figure, 'a sort of oracle, probably representing popular opinion.'

returned and reported the matter to Rabbi Meir, who thereupon proscribed them. Why? — Rabbi Nachman b. Isaac explained: because the Samaritans found a figure of a dove.....'

It is significant that the dove-worship charge is not related by the Talmud in the name of any previous authority. Had that, indeed, been the true motive underlying the attitude of Meir, he would certainly have publicized the matter. Instead, we have a very abstruse warning of 'the old man' to keep apart from them. No reason, however, is given!¹ Had there been any substance in the charge — had the charge even been made in the period of Rabbi Meir — it would hardly have been suppressed, to remain a mystery for two hundred years, requiring the elucidation of the 4th century Rabbi Nachman.

That the pre-4th century Rabbis knew nothing about dove-worshipping Samaritans is obvious from the fact that the slaughtering performed by a Cuthi was declared permitted by the distinguished authority Abbaye,² and from the fact that R. Johanan (d.290 A.D.) and his pupil Rav Assi had no compunction about eating of such meat.³ The Talmud, in offering an explanation

1 Indeed, the proof-text (Pr.23:2) would suggest that the import of the warning was merely to discourage the scholars from imbibing too much wine!

2 Tal. Hullin 3a.

3 Op. cit. 5b.

of Samaritan reliability, points out that the latter even go beyond the requirement of Biblical law; for, whereas Dt.12:21 does not specifically include birds as requiring ritual slaughter, yet the Samaritans do accept its binding character, and are, in general, more scrupulous than the Jews regarding these laws.

The relevance of this seems to have been overlooked by Montgomery in his discussion of the alleged dove-cult of the Samaritans.¹ Surely, had there existed such a cult it is inconceivable that they would have been regarded as suitable ritual slaughterers in the eyes of rabbinic law. Their slaughter would have been invalid for fear that the act was performed with idolatrous intention -- whether or not they adhered to the details of practical halachic requirements.

The inescapable conclusion is that the Rabbis before R.Nachman's period were unaware of, or totally discounted, any calumnious charge that the Samaritans indulged in any idolatrous dove worship. It was only in the 4th century, when relations between the Jewish and Samaritan communities were especially strained² -- exacerbated, perhaps, by the religious revivalist movement, and military activities, of Baba Rabbah, which threatened to upset the political stability of

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1 Montgomery, The Samaritans, pp.169, 320

2 Echoes of this are heard in our Chronicle; see 15:12-19, 16, 17:1-6

the whole region — that the Jews saw fit to make it abundantly clear to the Romans that the Samaritans were a totally separate religious entity, and that they were acting unilaterally in their current enterprises under Baba Rabbah. The most effective way of demonstrating the separatist nature of the Samaritans was to charge them with idolatry.

For the origin of the charge a number of suggestions have been made. Especially fascinating are the theories of Seiden and Ronzevalle, that Samaritan origins can be discerned in the primitive cult of Semiramis, practised under the form of a dove by the Hamathite colony in Samaria.¹ However, the fact that neither Mishnaic nor early Talmudic tradition knew anything of the existence of such a cult, which would hardly have suddenly sprouted in the 4th century Palestine without any antecedents, coupled with the fact that Baba's reforms, on the evidence of the Chronicle, involved no sweeping changes in the spiritual direction of the Samaritan community, other than an intensification of their trust and faith in God, suggests that the dove cult was not endemic to Samaritanism, but rather owed its calumnious reference to some event which had occurred at the time when the charge was first recorded, i.e. the 4th century period of Baba Rabbah and Rabbi Nachman b. Isaac.

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1 See Montgomery, p. 321

The conclusion we draw is that Nachman was himself the author of the charge against the Samaritans, but that he bolstered his antipathy to them by attributing the charge of dove-worship to the 2nd cent. Tanna, Rabbi Meir.

But what inspired R. Nachman to level this particular charge against the Samaritans? Might not the idea have been implanted into his mind by a contemporary report of an effigy of a bird on Mount Gerizim, which bird had become a cause célèbre among the Samaritans?

Might not the legend of the brazen bird, as related in our Chronicle, have been the spark which fired Nachman's imagination? Whether or not he had received a garbled version of the events, or whether he deliberately distorted the facts as a plausible piece of anti-Samaritan propaganda, is immaterial. For our purpose, the 4th cent. tradition of the existence of an image of a dove on Mount Gerizim has highly significant points of contact with the legend as described in our Chronicle.

Might not the brazen bird, 'like a dove,' have been, in fact, an emblem of the Roman eagle. This would have been erected to symbolise Roman occupation of the mountain, in the very same way that Herod had erected a large bronze representation of an eagle over the great gate of the Temple.¹

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¹ Josephus, Ant., XVII, 151.

The bronze eagle was probably posted at the main route up the mountain as a warning sign against Samaritan approach. It may or may not have had an inscription to that effect attached to it. We actually have a reference in our Chronicle¹ to the practice of setting up a brass notice, especially when the purpose was to prevent access to an area. When the Samaritans had succeeded in driving out the Judaeans from the city of Shechem, during the reign of Ptolemaeus Claudius (ca. 140 A.D.), they 'made a brass tablet in the holy city of Shechem, and inscribed upon it: NO JUDAEAN SHALL DWELL IN THE HOLY CITY OF SHECHEM.'

In the realm of the superstitions of the period, nothing could be more effective in warding off intruders than a bronze bird emblem. The two properties -- it being a bird as well as cast in bronze -- were both efficacious, it was believed, in repelling intruders. It must not be forgotten that our Chronicle does make it clear that the bronze bird, placed on the mountain, was an object of divination and sorcery.² We are entitled, therefore, to seek out its significance in the realm of superstition.

Birds were used, in Semitic magic, to make an enemy become a fugitive.³ This was wrought through transference of the birds' property of flight to the enemy. This also

1 Chron. 11 (unpubl.), fol. 345-6

2 18:5

3 R. Campbell Thompson, Semitic Magic (1908), 186

See, also, M. Gaster, Folklore of Mossoul, Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch., (1906), 106

underlies the common Talmudic application of the metaphor of a bird with reference to the soul. Its flight from the body paralleled that of the bird in flight, the soul having been regarded as a fugitive from the corpse defiled by death.¹

The position of bronze is also well attested, in Semitic exorcism, as an aid to driving away the undesirable. 'The suppliant would make a bronze image which would then be cast ceremoniously into a brazier. As with atonement, where the bird flies away with uncleanness, so the bronze image of the bird was believed to possess by transference, the properties essential to make sin or disease a fugitive.'²

To sum up our discussion: It is suggested that the legend of the speaking bird has to be separated from the account of Levi's glorious exploit, which we have attributed to a Dosithean source. We have highlighted a description of the bird in our Chronicle as being 'like a dove,' but not actually that bird, and we have suggested that it was, in fact, the Roman eagle set up as a warning against trespassers on the occupied territory of Mount Gerizim. (This would, indeed, have been a choice site for a Roman garrison.) At the popular, superstitious level, the symbol of the bronze eagle

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1 See, for example, Lev. Rabbah, IV, 5: 'God says to the soul, "Why have you sinned before me?" The soul replies, "It was the body which has sinned, not me; since I have come out of the body, I have flown about like an innocent bird in the air".'

2 R. Campbell Thompson, Op. cit., 202

would have been regarded as possessing repellent properties, and would, therefore, have been viewed with great awe. This fact became embellished into the legend that it actually shouted 'Ibriyos at the approach of any Samaritan. In hostile, Jewish eyes the Samaritan predicament, aggravated by the presence of the hated Roman eagle upon their sacred Mountain, was turned to effective polemical advantage. The Samaritans were consequently charged by Rabbi Nachman b. Isaac with having worshipped the bird. Perhaps too diffident to preach aloud any statement containing a reference to the eagle, in case it was misconstrued by the Roman informers, Nachman changed it to a dove. Although we have described Nachman's charge as polemical, it may be objected that the presence of such a piece of sculpture at the central shrine, and the fact that it may well have accompanied the head of the emperor-divine, would, according to the strict interpretation, have been regarded by the Rabbis as an infringement of the commandment against graven images.¹ There was thus some truth in the charge of idolatry, though this would have been totally discounted in any charitable assessment of the situation — which the Judaeans were obviously not prepared to make!

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1 See M. Grant, The Jews in the Roman World (1973), 81.

(D) SAMARITAN FIRE PRACTICES IN THE LIGHT OFA MISHNAIC ACCUSATION

According to ancient Jewish practice, the New Moon was only officially declared after two witnesses had presented themselves to the Jerusalem Sanhedrin and testified that they had seen the first sign of the horns of the new moon in the skies. Since the diaspora communities, especially Babylon, recognised the prerogative of Jerusalem to determine the New Moon — and consequently the date of any fixed festival occurring within the forthcoming month — they obviously had to be informed without delay which day had been declared the first day of the new month.

An early method of informing the far-flung diaspora communities was to kindle beacons on the tops of hills. The message was then taken up by fire-stations positioned 'from the mount of Olives to Sarteba, and from Sarteba to Agrippina, and from Agrippina to Hauran, and from Hauran to Beth Baltin. They did not go beyond Beth Baltin, but there the flare was waved to and fro and up and down until a man could see the whole exile before him like a sea of fire.'¹

The Mishnah states that this practice of informing by beacons had to be abandoned:

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¹ Mishnah Rosh Hashanah, 2:5

'Beforetimes they used to kindle flares, but after the evil-doings of the Samaritans they enacted that messengers should be sent out.'¹

This charge, that the Samaritans mischievously interfered with the process of Jewish observance, has always been accepted at face value. The bonfires that the Samaritans lit on the wrong day could only, it was believed, have been calculated to upset the Jews and create havoc with their attempts to convey to their fellow diaspora Jews the correct day of the New Month.

The discussion that will follow is not an attempt to exonerate the Samaritans in any way. Its purpose is merely to refer to one or two fire-practices that are obliquely mentioned in the Baba Rabbah section of Chronicle 11, to see these practices in the light of the part played by fire in Samaritan belief (and possibly practice) and to throw out the possibility that the Samaritan bonfires, referred to with such odium by the Mishnah, just may have been part of a serious and authentic Samaritan purification ritual.

Our starting-point will be the tradition and faint traces of the concept of purification by fire among the Samaritans. This is referred to by Montgomery,² although nothing substantial has yet been brought to

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1 Mishnah, loc. cit. 2:2

2 Montgomery, The Samaritans, 112, 319

light on this subject. Montgomery relates the prohibition against burning anything, imposed upon the Samaritans by the emperor Zeno, to this religious fire-rite that is supposed to have been part of their ritual.

An obscure fire-rite is referred to in our section of Chronicle II. After Levi had dispatched the Roman force on Mount Gerizim, we are told that Baba lit a beacon on top of the mountain as a signal for his community to take revenge on the Roman administrators who had persecuted them hitherto. The victorious slaughter that ensued was henceforth commemorated, we are told, by a fire ritual performed by Samaritan children; a ritual which, according to the Chronicler, had survived to his own day:

'From the day the Samaritan Israelite community did this to the Romans, Samaritan children have set fire to the wood of their Succah-booths on the night of the termination of the festival of the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly, which concludes the festivals of the Lord. This episode has thus remained a memorial among them unto this day.'¹

It does seem rather curious that the victory of Baba Rabbah should have been commemorated in such a manner, which can only be regarded as wilful destruction of a sacred ritual object!

The fact that this ritual was performed as a climax

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¹ Chron. II, 19:65.

to the festival of Tabernacles — the last day of which is the 'festival of the Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly' — prompts an immediate association with the celebration of Tabernacles among the Jews. One of the highlights of this festival in Temple times was the lighting of torches and candelabra. These are graphically described in the Mishnah,¹ which states that there were three golden candlesticks, of huge dimensions, in the Temple court which were lit on this occasion (called Simhath Bet Ha-Šô'ēbhāh, the rejoicing of the place of water-drawing), 'and there was not a courtyard in Jerusalem which did not reflect the light of the Bet Ha-Šô'ēbhāh.' It is generally believed that this fire ritual was originally unconnected with the ceremony of water-drawing, and owed its origin — before it was Judaized — to an original fire-festival connected with worship of the sun or Baal-Adonis-Tammuz.²

It is possible that although the Samaritans had, at an early period, absorbed this fire ritual from Judaism, they were, however, at a loss to explain its origin and significance (In Judaism it remains unexplained, but, merged into the Water-drawing ritual, became regarded as merely a way of intensifying the gladness of the occasion.), not having the accompanying

1 Mishnah Succah, Ch.5.

2 See J.Hochman, Jerusalem Temple Festivities, Ch.4; H.Schauss, Guide to Jewish Holy Days, 305 note 226.

Šô'ēbhāh festivity to which to attribute it. Each generation probably had its own way of explaining the ritual,¹ and our Chronicler has preserved a convenient explanation of the post-Baba period, which has related it to an event among the glorious exploits of that hero.

That the Samaritans should have absorbed a fire ritual from Judaism — there is the alternative possibility that the 'Tabernacles' fire-ritual was a common heritage from pre-Israelite, or early Israelite, days, before the schism — is not surprising bearing in mind their reverence for the spiritual properties of fire, as we shall presently demonstrate.

We must first turn to the second reference to a fire ritual in our Chronicle:

'Now the chiefs, who had been appointed over them by authority of the kings of the foreign nations, arrived to prevent them from carrying out the statutes of the holy Law... However, all the men of the Samaritan community rose up against them, quickly slew them and burnt them in fire. Simultaneously, in every city, in every town and in every place this act was committed against the chiefs of the nations... It took place on the night before the New Moon of the seventh (month), and the Samaritan Israelites established a commemoration of that event.'

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1 This is clearly demonstrable from the fact that an early tradition associates the origin of the custom with the act of King Saul in 'burning all the Succah-booths of the Samaritan community' (Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No II, 125).

What form that 'commemoration' took is obvious from the previous reference in our Chronicle to bonfires (of Succah-booths) being lit to recall the burning of their enemies' corpses.

The most significant aspect of the passage is the hint given as to when this 'commemoration' would have been celebrated -- 'On the night before the New Moon of the seventh month', in other words, on the eve of Rosh Hodesh and Rosh Hashanah! Is it just a coincidence that the Mishnah Rosh Hashanah charges the Samaritans with lighting bonfires on the eve of Rosh Hodesh in order to confuse the Jewish communities? Could it not have been that the Samaritans observed some fire ritual on that eve of the New Year -- according to Samaritan calculation, which may have differed in a day from the Jewish designation, based, as it was, upon the testimony of witnesses -- of which the Rabbis were unaware, and consequently interpreted the Samaritan action as deliberately hostile?

Again, it seems likely that the Samaritan Chronicler was linking a New Moon or New Year fire ritual to an event in the history of Baba's life. It is conceivable that the ritual was observed only on the eve of the New Moon of the seventh month, i.e. Rosh Hashanah, and that the Mishnah is inaccurate in implying that there

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was a Samaritan threat every Rosh Hodesh, or, alternately, it is possible that the Samaritans did observe such a fire ritual every eve of Rosh Hodesh. Either way, it is just possible, as we have stated, that the Mishnaic Rabbis have done the Samaritans an injustice in claiming that they had deliberately sabotaged the Jewish communication system. We do not rule out the possibility, however, that our Chronicler may have deliberately attributed this commemorative ritual to the eve of Rosh Hodesh/Rosh Hashanah in order to parry the Rabbinic charge of harassment at that particular time of the year.

Without wishing to enter into the thorny arena of the critical theories regarding the origin of the Feast of Tabernacles, if the regnant theory, as developed by P.Voltz¹ and S.Mowinckel², is correct, that its origin goes back to an old Israelite New Year festival, then it is possible that the fire rituals that are echoed in our Chronicle in relation to both Tabernacles ('The Day of Solemn Assembly') and the New Year might well have been a vestigial offshoot of the original parent festival of the New Year. In Judaism the fire element survived in the context of the Tabernacles' Šô'ëbhāh alone, and in early Samaritanism in the

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1 P.Voltz, Das Neujahrfest Jahwes (1912).

2 S.Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship (1962 tr.).

lighting of beacons on both the eve of the New Year and the conclusion of Tabernacles. At a later period of Samaritanism, when the origin and significance of the fire ritual was no longer appreciated, it was temporarily saved from desuetude by a process of re-interpretation, of the kind we have noted in our Chronicle, which related it to the commemoration of victories won by Baba Rabbah.

The connection between fire and the New Moon or New Year need hardly be stated. We may merely quote the statement of Mowinckel, referring to the Temple festivity of Šo'ēbhah, that 'like the sunfires all over the world it was originally meant to re-create and secure sun and light and warmth in the year to come.'¹ The first glow of the new light of the moon on the eve of Rosh Hodesh would, consequently, have been the appropriate occasion for a fire ritual as obliquely referred to in our Chronicle.

Samaritanism shares with Judaism the identification and celebration of the days of the New Moon and the New Year as periods of Atonement. The fire ritual, traces of which, we have suggested, have been left in our Chronicle, may have had some special significance, therefore, as a purification rite.

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1 S. Mowinckel, op. cit., 187

The concept of purification by fire is mentioned, as stated above,¹ by Montgomery. His evidence is, however, sparse. A cursory reading of the Memar Margah has convinced the present writer, however, that Margah not only knew of the concept, but that it also wielded a considerable influence upon him.

One of the clearest references to the doctrine of purification by fire occurs in Margah IV, 10:

— For a fire is kindled by my anger (Dt.32:22).
Sodom and Gomorrah were evil, unclean places;
the priest defiled, but the fire purified him.

Another reference makes it clear that Margah believed that death by fire automatically expiated even the most grievous sin, leaving the sinner guiltless and fit to receive recompense on the Day of Judgment:

— I will heap evils upon them (Dt.32:23), in the world. They will be burnt and in the Day of Vengeance they will be justly recompensed.²

Margah enumerates seven instances in the life of Moses where he was 'glorified by fire,' and one of the most frequently recurring attributes of Moses, referred to in Margah, is that he 'trod the fire' of the burning Bush.³ The purifying nature of that experience is akin to that of Isaiah, whose mouth was touched with burning coals, the consequence of which was to remove his guilt and pardon his sin.⁴

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1 P. 339.

2 Margah (Ed. J. Macdonald), II, 174.

3 Margah, bk. iv, 12; vi, 2, 3, 11 et. al.

4 Is. 6:7.

One would indeed have expected that the doctrine of purification by fire would express itself in one form or another in Samaritanism, bearing in mind its established position in the sacred literature of early and late antiquity.

In the Old Testament fire is a familiar image for divine judgment,¹ and in the Apocalyptic literature we find frequent references to the destruction by fire of the whole physical universe, as well as fire being the instrument of judgment upon sinners.² In the New Testament the concept is developed of the refining fire which tests Christians,³ and in post-New Testament apocalyptic we have the imagery of fiery trial, as well as to the eschatological river of fire through which all men pass.⁴ Trial by refining fire is similarly well attested in Qumran literature.⁵

The purifying and consecrating properties of the Temples were derived—it was believed by Jews and Samaritans alike—from the fact of heavenly fire having visited them. As regards the first Temple, this is expressly stated in 11 Chr.7:1. The Samaritans taunted the Jews that Ezra-Nehemiah reported no such fire in

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1 Dan.7:10, Is.66:15, Mal.4:1.

2 2 Bar.44:15, 48:39, 59:2, 64:7; Ps.Sol.15:16f.
Sib.iii, 54, 689-691.

3 1 Cor.3:13.

4 Sib.ii, 252.

5 1QH.iii, 29; 1QS.ii, 8; 1QH.v, 16; 1QM. xvi, 9.

the second Temple. The Samaritan smugness on this score was derived from their own Sanctuary on Mount Gerizim having been visited by fire in the days of Joshua. The Fanuta, or hiding of the divine face, was ushered in, according to their belief, by the extinguishing of the fire.¹

The lighting of beacons by the Samaritans on Rosh Hodesh and the eve of the New Year may, consequently, have been part of a fire ritual whose origin may lie in pre-Israelite, or at least, early Israelite, religion. It may have begun as a sun-festival ritual and developed as a purification-rite related to the themes of atonement, renewal and purification which are the basic motifs of those occasions. The Rabbis of the Mishnah may have been unaware of this Samaritan practice and its significance; and their charge that the Samaritans were purposely confusing their communities by lighting beacons on the wrong night may have been an unfortunate calumny.

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1 For further discussion on fire in the Temples, see A. Spiro, Samaritans, Tobiahs and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo, 305-307.

8 (E) LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF H1 AND H2(i) General Considerations.

J. Macdonald, commenting on the distinctive Aramaic of the Memar Margah, observes that 'in the first few centuries A.D. Aramaic was certainly the spoken and literary language of the Samaritans, and in this work (sc. the Memar) of that period there is revealed a form of that language, albeit through late MSS., possessing many interesting forms and loan-words, and many treasures of Aramaic syntax. Knowledge of the Aramaic of Central and Northern Palestine has never been as great as compared with that of Babylonia and Southern Palestine. Now the study of the Aramaic spoken by the large Samaritan population in Palestine can be further advanced.'¹

This claim may equally be made for the H2 (Aramaic) version of our Chronicle, which presents us with a feast of idiomatic speech which has clearly differed little from the spoken Aramaic of the early centuries A.D. We will make the claim, below, that the H1 version is either a revision of, or at least inspired by, the H2 original. Traces of the Aramaic substratum are clearly visible in many passages and forms.

If, as we have suggested,² H1's Hebrew orientation owes its origin to the medieval renaissance of Hebrew among the Samaritans, it may be assumed that the latter

1 J. Macdonald, Memar Margah, I, xxvii.

2 See pp. 290-292.

did not concoct a new and artificial form of that language, but that the Hebrew represented in their works represented an authentic literary tradition which had been preserved by them, possibly in works that did not survive the ravages of time. The Samaritans would then have been paralleling the Karaite development of Hebrew, the style of which was largely biblical, but also containing freely derived verb forms.

When Samaritan Hebrew was first displaced by Aramaic it became a literary language. We would do well to take note, however, of what has been said regarding the fate of Judaeen Hebrew in a similar situation: 'Although it became a written language, Hebrew did not remain petrified, limited to passages quoted in their original form and meaning, but lived an active life in written texts. New topics necessitated an expansion of the language, especially in the coining of new terms for concepts and subjects not found in the Bible' (Encycl. Judaica, 16, 1608).

Because of the loss of the largest proportion of Samaritan MSS. over the centuries as a result of persecution, we are unable to trace this development of the Hebrew language through its various stages. However, the H1 version of our Chronicle, with its

close affinity to the classical style, is certainly of paramount importance for the history of Samaritan linguistics, as representing a purist trend — or even movement — among Samaritan writers, paralleling that movement in Jewish literary history which, from Hayyuj (12th cent.) onward, changed the whole complexion and direction of Hebrew philology and literature.¹

The scope of this study does not allow, however, for a discussion of such wider issues, and we must content ourselves, therefore, with an analysis of the general linguistic characteristics of the two extant versions of Chronicle II — H1 and H2.

The most striking and basic difference between these versions is that H1 is couched in a distinctive Classical Hebrew style, characterized by the use of Waw Consecutive, biblical phraseology and quotations. Elements of secondary Hebrew also occur, and are easily discernible. H2, on the other hand, is an Aramaic orientated Chronicle, although inferior in quality to the Aramaic compositions with which we are familiar from the writings of Amram Darah, Marqah, Nanah and the Defter. Its phraseology is idiomatic, though often disjointed, ungrammatical and complex. This might well have been the result of a long and turbulent literary transmission.

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1. See S. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, VII, ch. xxx.

(ii) The Interrrelationship of H1 and H2

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned basic differences between the two versions, we incline to the opinion that H1, although a composite work, was compiled under the influence of the H2 version, which probably approximated closely to the official version of Samaritan history current in the medieval period.

H1's purpose seems to have been to present a new version, couched in the Hebrew idiom which reflected the outlook of the school of Hebrew renaissance writers of the previous period. A further purpose would have been to offer a revised version, supplemented with material gleaned from other sources, both oral and written. One of these sources before the H1 redactor probably contained the prayers which Baba is said to have recited on various occasions during his ministry, prayers which appear to have been culled from a version of the Psalter. These compositions do not appear in the H2 version, an omission which the H1 compiler was not prepared to tolerate. As a "Hebraist," he probably felt that the inclusion of these lengthy selections of Psalmody served the additional aim of fostering an appreciation of the finest quality of Hebrew literature.

The H1 compiler also addressed himself to the task of clarifying abstruse renderings in H2,¹ adding supplementary detail to H2's references (even to the

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¹ See on 7:3, 24:13.

² 5:27-29.

extent of providing explanations of the etymology of personal names¹), correcting its errors,² filling in its lacunae³ and heightening its dramatic effect by representing dialogue in direct speech, where H2 has it in a reported form.⁴ The H1 compiler also utilized the opportunity of including oral reports and traditions circulating within the community, but which did not possess the authority of literary substantiation.⁵ H1's disclosure of the practice of Samaritan children to make a bonfire of the wood of their Sukkah booths in commemoration of one of Baba's great victories, is a notable example of H1's particular contribution in this direction.⁶

The H1 compiler seems to have been strongly influenced by the "Moses-Dosithean" movement, or, alternately, one of his sources might well have emanated from that source. This would explain the very strong Moses motif in that version, clearly setting out to cast Baba in the role of a 'second Moses.' References to Moses are introduced by him at every opportunity. Where, for example, he is about to quote a biblical passage, he frequently introduces it by referring to the Law, 'which He commanded by the hand of the Master of the Prophets, His servant, Moses ben 'Amram, peace be unto him forever.'⁷

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1 See 5:20.

2 See 10:2, 9, 19:11, 20:6.

3 See 16:24-28.

4 See 1:19/20, 5:13, 8:1-3, 22:10, 25:9, 24:14.

5 See 8:18.

6 19:65.

7 12:10.

The H2 version is a chronicle in the literal sense of the term. Its author had had no other motive than to record events as they are supposed to have occurred, and traditions as they were handed down. It may thus be described as a secular account, as opposed to the H1 version which set out to present a type of Heilsgeschichte, especially nurtured by the inclusion of Baba's prayers and religious exhortations, which occupy a good deal of space in that version. This higher, spiritual aim comes over forcefully in the H1 chronicler's lavish embellishments of pious sentiments and expressions of divine adoration.¹

In line with this approach is the significant fact that whereas H2 always employs the tetragrammaton, H1, out of religious deference, never uses that sacred formula — even when quoting verbatim from the Bible.²

A difference of approach in the employment of epithets and attributes is also evident in respect of references to Baba Rabbah. H2 is comparatively sparing in its epithets, generally referring to him as, simply, Baba Rabbah. (From §18 to the end of the Baba Rabbah section, however, the single epithet gadlûth occasionally occurs.³

As we have observed in our commentary to 18:1 this end section is probably from a different source. The single extra epithet attached to Baba's name should not, therefore, be regarded as refuting the principle of H2's general niggardliness in reverential epithets.)

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1 See 9:2,5.

2 See 3:20,21

3 See 18:7; 19:10,13, et al.

H2, on the other hand, always appends an epithet of reverence to the name of Baba Rabbah. The simplest form of reference is Ha-Kōhēn;¹ the title Ha-Melekh is often added,² or Ha-Melekh Ha-Ṣaddîq.³ H2 never refers to Baba as Ha-Melekh, and rarely as Ha-Ṣaddîq. Again, after the mention of Baba's name, H1 occasionally adds the invocation, 'May the goodwill and forgiveness of God be upon him, Amen'.⁴ This is never included in H2, even though this must have been a common formula used by the Samaritans when referring to their revered departed leaders. This supports our contention that H2 is a 'secular' chronicle, whose purpose was merely to record history, without emotion or pious motivation.

Wherever possible, H1 utilizes a biblical quotation or turn of phrase. There is only one example, however, of H2 quoting a biblical verse.⁵

H1 is a more refined version, even toning down expressions which might appear irreverent. To give but one illustration: When referring to the various categories of people who would, or would not, qualify to use the title Kōhēn and Hākhām, H2 states 'the fools (sokhîlîm) among the priests...'. H1, on the other hand, refines this to, 'Any priest who is neither a sage nor a scholar...'.⁶ H1 is also far less

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1 See 5:1,13,16; 14:9,11. Cf. also "Ha-Kōhēn Ha-Gādōl"(7:6).

2 See 10:23.

3 See 14:1, 16:1, 19:5,62.

4 See 19:43.

5 5:14.

6 5:14.

militant than H2 in its descriptions of the pagan enemies of the community. The latter adds derisory and condemnatory remarks, which H1 chose to omit.¹

H1 is totally independent of any of the Arabic versions. It is clearly not a translation of any such version. Abu'l Fath, followed by other Arabic versions, approximates far more closely to the H2, Aramaic-orientated, version, even to the extent of rendering in reported speech those passages which H1 has converted into direct speech. Similarly, the Arabic versions do not have Baba's prayers.

In an number of instances, where H1 clearly could not make sense of the H2 rendering, it was forced to abandon the attempt and omit the phrase altogether.² Had the H1 chronicler had access to an Arabic version, he would have frequently had no difficulty with such phrases, which read smoothly according to the Arabic elucidation.

(iii) A Linguistic Survey

1. Verbs

- (a) The verbal noun sense is not usually conveyed, as in biblical Hebrew, by an infinitive with prefixed b^e or k^e. We have noted the propensity toward abstract nouns with ûth termination.³ This is extended to an

1 See 1:6, 1:15, 16:18.

2 See 21:17.

3 See Word List (III).

approach which transforms the simple verbal idea into a more complex verbal noun situation. Thus the phrase, 'in order to take us and our children and our wives into captivity,'¹ becomes, 'for the taking of our children, and the seizure of our wives' —

וּבְגִלָּל לִקְחוֹת אֶת בְּנֵינוּ וְלִשְׁבִּיּוֹת אֶת נָשֵׁינוּ.

Verbal nouns, with the power of governing like a verb, are not unknown in the Bible. Witness the form 'דָּעָה אֶת יִי', where the secondary form of an infinitive acquires the value of a noun.² Its use in our Chronicle, however, is a distinctive feature.

- (b) The simple infinitive is also commonly replaced — even where the ordinary verbal idea is intended — by a second verb in the imperfect tense. Hence the forms: דָּרְשׁוּ יַחְלוּ (17:4); אֶשְׁאַלְךָ תְּרַחֵם (3:11). This also occurs after nouns: 'It is my desire to go' is expressed as אֶלְךָ מְדַרְשִׁי (8:26, 19:1); 'It is my desire to send,' as אֶלְךָ מְדַרְשִׁי (18:2); 'It is good for us to be,' as טוֹב לָנוּ בֹהִיָּה (2:14). Also after participles: 'They are seeking to destroy' is expressed as, מִקְשִׁים יִשְׁמְדוּן (1:17). Again, although this is not unknown in B.H.,³ in our Chronicle it is a distinctive feature.

- (c) There is a strong tendency to place the main verb as late as possible in a clause — even after the object pronoun it governs.⁴ This occurs in both H1 and H2.

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1 14:22. See also 9:1, 10:2 et al.

2 See G-K (115a), 354.

3 Op. cit., 385.

4 See first example, below.

Examples:

- (4:1) אשר לפניו בעצם היום הזה הקהל
 (3:22) ולזכרון את שמך הקד' דרשים לבו ימנעו
 (16:18)* דלקדשות השבת מחלל
 (11:9)* אשר להשמידו מבקשים

An awkward word order is often obtained in situations where the subject of a fairly lengthy clause is inserted at the very end, as in the following example:

(7:2) אשר הפקידם על כל קהל ישראל השמרים הכהן בנא רבה הזוכיר.

The same occurs in situations where adjectives are well separated from the nouns they qualify. Note the position of ha-zôkhîrîm in the following example:

(7:4) ושבעת החכמים אשר בחר בם הכהן בנא רבה הזוכירים.

- (d) There are many examples of both abstract and concrete plural nouns, whether they be masculine or feminine, being construed with the feminine singular of the verbal predicate. This construction is also not unknown in B.H.¹

Examples:

- (12:1)* אתה .. המגידים; (9:5) מלאכות תרחקם
 (22:17) לבבותינו תרך; (14:3) ערים מתכווננה ורחבה

- (e) There is a particular predilection in H2 for using Hithpa'el forms. Where H1 has, for example, a past participle Qal, כחובית, H2 employs a Hithpa'el participle, מתחבטת (see 9:7). Where H1 has a Niph'al, נחסר, H2

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¹ See G-K (145k), 464.

employs a Hithpa'el, אֶתְחַסֵּר (see 19:31). In 11:14 we have an extreme example of a succession of six Hithpa'el forms, where H1 has a simple Qal form:

H1: וַיִּחַר לָהֶם מְאֹד וַיִּקְצְפוּ ..

H2: וַתִּגְדְּלוּ הַמַּלְכִּים וַתִּגְבְּרוּ וַתִּתְחַזְקוּ וַתִּתְאֲמָצוּ וַתִּתְפַּוְּרוּ
וַתִּתְחַלְלוּ.

Another aspect of the Hithpa'el, as employed in our Chronicle, is that, in verbs whose first radical is of the sibilant group, there is no transposition of the taw and the first sibilant, as occurs in B.H. Hence such forms as מִתְשַׁבְּצִים (3:12), אֶתְחַזְּקֶיךָ (15:2) and אֶתְשַׁבֵּר (16:21, 21:8). Furthermore, unlike B.H., which changes the taw to the more emphatic têth, after first-radical sādê (as niṣṭaddāq, Gn 44:16), our Chronicle makes no such adjustment. Hence the forms אֶתְחַזְּקֶיךָ (15:2) and אֶתְחַזְּקֶיךָ (24:5).

- (f) There are examples in our Chronicle of verbs which, in B.H., do not take a simple accusative, but only a dative, whereas, in our Chronicle, they appear as accusatives in the form of pronominal suffixes. Hence, אֶשִׁירָךְ, 'I will sing unto you' (14:9) and אֶדְבַּרָהּ, 'I will speak of it' (16:9*).

- (g) H1 employs a curious circumlocution in order to avoid a passive construction. The sense is converted into active mood by the help of the preposition 'eth, which, in our Chronicle is used to signify the subject of the sentence.¹ Thus, in 17:6, the context suggests

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1. See on 10:4.

quite clearly a passive sense -- 'The house was taken out of the possession of the Judaeans.' The Chronicler, however, expresses this as: יָצָא אֶת הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה מִיַּד הַיְּהוּדִים, lit. 'the house went out of the possession...'

Again, in 16:8, to avoid having to say 'I will be the cause of my soul having been cast into great suffering,' the Chronicler creates an active situation by means of the preposition 'eth: אֲנִי הַגִּלְלִי לַנַּפְשׁוֹל אֶת נַפְשִׁי בְּלַחַץ, lit. 'I will be the cause for my soul to fall into great suffering.'

2. Nouns

(a) We have already noted the propensity for nouns with uth terminations to convey an abstract sense. These occur more frequently in H2, though H1 is not unaffected by this usage, as Word List III demonstrates.

(b) There are a few examples of nouns in the construct case taking a definite article; hence the forms

הָאָרֶץ אֲחֻזָּתוֹ (2:19/20*) and הַבַּיִת יִשְׂרָאֵל (10:20*).

In the first of the above examples it will be observed that, in addition, there is no elision of the hey and the prefixed preposition b^e. This is, in fact, quite common. Thus, הַבַּיִת לַהֲקָרִיב מִן (14:7), הַבַּיִת לַהֲמַלֵּךְ (19:4) and הַבַּיִת לַהֲמַלֵּךְ (19:9).

- (c) The Chronicler's sense of style did not preclude him from expressing himself by a succession of nouns in the construct case — זקני וראשי ושוטרי עמו (20:18), where B.H. would have rendered: זקני עמו וראשיו ושוטריו. Another example occurs in 15:15, 'משאי וטרחי המ'.

- (d) A number of examples occur of words, ending normally in āh, losing this final sound. The apocopated pronunciation is reflected in the orthography, as shown in the following forms:

בקע (for בקעה), 19:61
 במהר (for במהרה), 20:25
 בוחם (for בוחמה), 23:5
¹
 שמח (for שמחה), 25:2
 מצר (for מצוה), 4:3

- (e) There are a number of examples of nouns which are construed in one passage as masculine and in another as feminine. Thus: בעת ההיא (19:45), but עת (4:21). Also, nouns construed in different genders from those of the Bible. Thus, for example, גרע is construed as feminine (19:28) and כל' as feminine (19:8). Regarding such variations in gender, we are advised to note the observation of M.Dahood that 'the frequent concurrence in Ugaritic and Hebrew of the same noun in both masculine and feminine gender cautions the Semitist against

1 The occurrence of the phrase שמח גדול (14:6) suggests that the above forms may not be purely orthographic variants, but independent masculine alternatives.

treating a noun as always masculine or always feminine.¹

There are also frequent variations in the gender of the plural suffix appended to a noun. Thus we find הַרְוּחִים (2:19) and הַרְוּחוֹת (4:10); מַגְפִּיֹּת (3:21) and מַגְפִּיִּים (4:21). The particular termination seems to be arbitrary, and does not convert the noun itself to the gender of the termination.

- (f) We have already drawn attention² to forms which appear, anomalously, to be plurals (especially of feminine nouns) but which have singular possessive pronominal suffixes attached, e.g. חֲקוֹתָיו (1:17) and תּוֹרוֹתָיו (1:15). The long \hat{u} vowel, in the second syllable of these words, is, we have noted, nothing more than an orthographic variant of the long vowel \bar{u} , both being closely related, in the Samaritan pronunciation, to the sound \bar{u} , which is the sound actually represented in the orthography — not the long \hat{u} of the plural.

- (g) As regards number, we find frequent examples of plural nouns with singular adjectives. Hence the forms: הָאֱלֹהִים הַמְרִירָה (2:21*); בְּרַחֲמֵי הֵיתָרָה (14:22); כָּלִים חֲמִימָה (19:8) and יְרוּחוֹת מְנוּשָׁה (17:5*).

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1 M.Dahood, The Anchor Bible (Psalms III), 43.

2 See our note on 2:1.

- (h) There is an occasional freedom in the gender of adjectives. This is especially the case with numerals, as the following examples will illustrate:

ארבע אלפים (10:3); ששה מאות (10:2);
שבע עשר, חמשה מאות (18:20, 21).

3. Pronouns

(a) Relative Pronouns

Very frequently the relative pronoun ʾāšer (or Aramaic d^e) is omitted, and the attributive relation is expressed by simple co-ordination.¹ Hence:

כל איש מכם לא ישמר ויעשה (4:19);
אדרש אני ממניך לא תלכי (16:6).

Conversely, we also have an example of a double relative situation, as in אשר הנכון לו (5:8). This form may have arisen, however, through textual corruption.

The normal relative pronoun ʾāšer, when it stands as a relative of time, is frequently replaced by the word ʾāz. Thus:

כי אז אגלי לך את הגלל (16:8);
והמלכים אז בלאו לקחת המוס (15:12). In both these examples ʾāz stands for kaʾāšer (when).

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1 See G-K (155b), 486.

(b) Subject Pronouns

Subject pronouns are occasionally omitted when serving as the subject of a participial clause, especially when the subject has once been described, or is obvious. Thus וְכִי בָלָאִים בָּזְזָה הַיָּמִים (1:20).

The subject pronoun is sometimes inserted after a verb in order to give extra emphasis. Thus: כִּי לֹא יֵצְאוּ הֵם (5:9).

(c) Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronoun, as it occurs in our Chronicle, exhibits the familiar biblical characteristics, but also some that are unique and can only be explained as a suspension of the syntax, especially governing the feminine demonstrative zō'th.

Thus, we find acceptable forms, such as הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה (18:3), זֶה הַמַּעֲשֶׂה (15:9), הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת (18:14), זֹאת הָאֵשׁ (1:17), אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמָיִם (10:15), אֱלֹהֵי הָעֶרְלִים (1:15), אֱלֹהֵי הָעֶרְלִים (1:15*), אֱלֹהֵי הָעֶרְלִים (1:15).

Occasionally the definite article is omitted from the demonstrative pronoun where the normal rule of grammar would demand its appearance. Thus הַדָּבָר הַטוֹב (18:12).

The demonstrative zō'th is freely used, without any consideration of its gender or number. Hence the biblically anomalous forms: בָּזְזָה הַיָּמִים (1:20), זֹאת הַמַּלְחָמָה (21:10).

In one instance, the influence of the demonstrative pronoun zō'th is so strong that it influences the

person and number of a following prepositional suffix; hence, ... זאת המוכחות והמגילות והנכסיהן (3:1*). The third person sing. suffix of ה, is clearly the result of the influence of the demonstrative sing. zō'th.

Occasionally we have a double demonstrative. Again, the lack of agreement between the two, in number or gender, does not seem to offend. Hence the forms, מזאת הרשעים האלה (19:9) and בזאת הימים הזיכור (1:20).

A most curious example of a double demonstrative occurs in the expression ואלה היא זאת הטובה (4:20), with the addition of hî' as copula.

The demonstrative zō'th is clearly the favourite of our chronicler, possibly since it was felt to convey a stronger emphasis than zeh. The importance of conveying emphasis outweighed even considerations of number and gender. It should be pointed out, however, that although zō'th occurs with masculine nouns, such licence is only extended where the demonstrative precedes the noun, as in zō'th ha-ma'ăśîm (2:9), zō'th ha-laylāh (19:28*).

An interesting demonstrative adverb occurs in the form הַנּוּנָה, 'now' (22:23). This seems to be a hebraized form of the Aramaic הַנּוּנָה.

4. Negatives

- (a) Negatives are expressed in the usual manner. A negative sense is also conveyed, however, by

employing the noun ḥāsar or ḥisrôn (as constructs) before a verbal noun idea. The literal sense of the construction is then, 'lack of, absence of, desisting from,' as, for example, חסר מהלכך (22:15, see our note ad loc.), 'that you should not go away' (lit. the lack of your going).

- (b) To express the double negative 'neither...nor,' we have the construction ולא... אין in H1, and ולא... לית in H2 (see 3:11).
- (c) There is a penchant for placing the negative adverb as early as possible in the sentence, as וצוה לא אחד יתן המוס (11:22*). In this respect, H2 reveals the tendency even more, as a comparison of their respective versions will demonstrate:

(6:6)* ולא היה זה היתוב בימי הרצון

(6:6). וזה היתוב לא היה בימי הרצון

5. Glosses

Attention is drawn in our commentary to the numerous glosses that have been inserted into our Chronicle. While the H1 redactor is particular about making his version as informative as possible by the aid of such glosses, he is not always too sensitive as to whether, or not, his gloss blends syntactically or stylistically into the context. A glaring example

of this occurs in 7:4, where the insertion of the gloss makes for considerable awkwardness:

ושבעת החכמים אשר בחר בם הכהן בנא רבה הזוכירם
 The gloss — ăšer rabbāh — here separates the noun ha-ḥăkhāmîm from its adjective ha-zôkhîrîm, providing the awkward expression Baba' Rabbāh ha-zôkhîrîm.

6. Purpose Clauses

In addition to the usual ways of expressing purpose clauses, our Chronicle frequently employs the particle 'ad as introductory formula. In this respect it has the same sense as l^ema'an, 'in order to.'

(8:6) ויבן עוד .. בית כנשה עד יצלו בו העם

(11:1*) ובאו פוקידי הרפתים עליהם עד ימנעו אתם

It should be noted that the above account of the linguistic features of the Chronicle makes no claim to being comprehensive. The scope of this study has been limited to the Baba Rabbah section of Chronicle II. Any comprehensive treatment of the Chronicle's linguistic characteristics would, of necessity, have to consider the entire Chronicle. It is hoped, however, that our account will serve as a useful introduction through having highlighted some of the more general and significant aspects of the Chronicle's linguistic approach.

9. PROBLEMS OF THE DATING OF THE
HISTORICAL BABA

PROBLEMS OF THE DATING OF THE HISTORICAL BABA

To ascertain exactly when the great leader Baba Rabbah lived is well-nigh impossible. We are reliant exclusively upon our Chronicles, there being no external references to him in any of the known contemporary or later sources.

The Chronicles -- especially Chronicle II -- are replete with rather loose points of contact with Roman history, especially in respect of the names of the Roman emperors with whom Baba is supposed to have had dealings. The chronology, however, is confusing, and a number of glaring contradictions must be admitted. A consequence of this is that we have to approach the Samaritan Chronicles judiciously and critically. R.Coggins is certainly accurate in his observation that 'it is certainly not possible to take the Samaritan account of events as straight history'.¹

Internal Samaritan historical data are also very sketchily presented in the Chronicles; thus we do not even know the age of Baba when he assumed leadership. Montgomery is patently in error when he observes that 'his activity is said to have begun in his 40th year'.² No such statement is made in any of the Chronicles. Montgomery has clearly confused the age of Baba Rabbah at his call with the duration of his ministry, which is repeatedly given as 40 years.³

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1 Coggins, Samaritans & Jews, p.121.

2 Montgomery, The Samaritans, p.102 n.73.

3 Neubauer, p.404; Adler, p.93; Chr.II, 10:11.

Even the convenient number of 40 years for the duration of Baba's 'reign' is suspicious. Viewed in the context of the Moses-Baba motif — expressed nowhere so clearly as in our Chronicle, which even employs the biblical phraseology of the Call of Moses¹ in order to depict Baba as a Moses-Taheb figure² — the number 40 may be seen as a contrived attempt to parallel the duration of the ministry of Moses.

We have noted that, according to the evidence of our Chronicle,³ Baba's father, Nethan'el, died only a short time before his son, who ended his days in Constantinople. The duration of Nethan'el's reign is given as 32 years. Thus there arises the additional, though related, problem of harmonising a figure of 40 years for the 'reign' of Baba with a concurrent reign of 32 years for his father Nethan'el. Any attempt to allocate independent, successive reigns to these two leaders throws the carefully-wrought genealogical lists of the Chroniclers into total disarray.

In the light of these considerations, as well as of our discussion regarding the respective leadership roles of Baba and his father,⁴ we can only conclude that the figure of 40 years for Baba's 'reign' is an artificial attribution, paralleling the 40 years of Moses' ministry.

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1 See p.296.

2 See W.A.Meeks, "Moses as God and King", in Religions in Antiquity (Ed. J.Neusner), 1968, 354-371.

3 Chr.II, 25:4,5.

4 See p.411ff.

The allocation of 40 years of exclusive leadership to Baba would, in fact, presuppose that he was a man of over sixty years of age when he died, assuming that he was a young man in his twenties when he assumed leadership of the community. This would be very difficult to harmonise with the fact that Baba's son, Levi, was clearly only a child when Baba died. This is clear from the oath Baba extracted from his Judaeen friend that he would look after Baba's son after his death, that he would 'return him to his relatives and not suffer him to become polluted through uncleanness'.¹ It is highly unlikely that Baba had attained the age of sixty when his son was born. The evidence would rather suggest that Baba was still a young man at the time of his death.

Furthermore, allowing for the authenticity of the figure of 32 years for the exclusive leadership of Baba's father, Nethan'el, who died just before Baba, plus a period of 40 years of exclusive activity for Baba himself, this would force us to postulate a life-span of over 92 years for Nethan'el (20 yrs. when he assumed office, plus 32 years of ministry, plus 40 years of his son Baba). This is extremely unlikely in the light of the general life-expectancy at that period, as is evident from the lengths of reigns of the High Priests. Taking as a sample the ten High Priests who preceded Nethan'el — from Shem'āyāh until 'Aqbōn — we arrive at a combined total of 266 yrs.², which provides an average of only 26 years per

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1 Chr. II, 25:6.

2 Shem'ayah (10 yrs.), Tobhiyah (8), 'Amram (9), 'Aqbon (30), Phinehas (40), Levi (45), 'Eleazar (32), Baba I (28), 'Eleazar (41), 'Aqbon II (23). The list appears in Neubauer, 402-403.

High Priestly reign, which in turn suggests a life-expectancy of not exceeding fifty years.¹ The identical average is also obtained by taking as a sample the ten High Priests from 'Aqbon, Baba's brother, until 'Eleazar.²

A clue to the approximate age of Nethan'el when he died is, in fact, provided in our Chronicle. His last act was to instruct his son, Aqbon, to give his daughter in marriage to the son of Baba Rabbah. This marriage is said to have been arranged 'when he learned that his son, the righteous King Baba Rabbah, was imprisoned in the city of Constantinople'.³ This was clearly a hurried arrangement of a child marriage in order to calm the spirit of the unfortunate prisoner, Baba, by satisfying him that all arrangements had been taken care of for the future of his lineage. We have already noted that Baba's son, the bridegroom, was of tender age, as must have been the bride. Thus, Nethan'el's grandchildren were but youngsters at the time of his (and Baba's) death. He is unlikely, therefore, to have been a man of ninety.

The truth is rather, as we have suggested,⁴ that the numbers given in the Chronicles for the reigns of Baba and Nethan'el cannot indicate independent, consecutive reigns. Baba assumed leadership of the community during the course of his father's ministry, and the 32 years activity attributed to Nethan'el must have overlapped quite considerably the period of Baba's leadership. It is conceivable that the 32 years

1 The average of 26 years per reign is reduced to 24 yrs. if we follow Chr.II and Scaliger who allocate only 25yrs to Levi.

2 See Neubauer, 404-5.

3 Chr.II, 25:1.

4 See p.369-371.

comprise Nethan'el's early period as High Priest, before Baba rose into prominence, as well as the final period as caretaker while Baba was incarcerated in Constantinople.¹ Baba's own rule probably covered a period of no more than twenty years, and he was little more than forty when he died.

A period of twenty years for Baba's ministry is in perfect harmony with the Chronicler's tradition that Baba ministered during the reigns of the three Roman emperors, Severus, Gordianus and Philippus. The reigns of these three emperors spanned a period of 22 years (222-248 A.D.). This figure allows for an overlap of the reign of Philippus, who, on the evidence of the Chronicle, outlived Baba by a few years.

A number of conflicting factors have to be considered in an attempt to provide a date for the life of Baba Rabbah. We use as our starting point a specific chronological note incorporated into the Chronicle. Baba Rabbah was such an important historical figure in Samaritan eyes that the date of his "appearance" (niglā'ūth) is given not only in relation to the creation of the world, but also in relation to major events in Samaritan and — suprisingly — Jewish history. These include references to the concealment of the desert sanctuary,² the building of Solomon's Temple,³ the first and second exiles,⁴ the rebuilding of the second Temple⁵ and the appearance of Jesus.⁶

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1 For a discussion of the historicity of this tradition see our discussion below.

2 10:3.

3 10:4.

4 10:5-7.

5 10:8.

6 10:10.

Baba's appearance is stated to have taken place in the year 4600 A.M.¹ The subject of the chronology of Chronicle II has been fully treated by John Macdonald,² whose findings need not be duplicated here. Suffice it to observe that the dating of 4600 A.M. for Baba's appearance is also stated to correspond with the year 1050 since the first exile and the year 308 since the "appearance" of Jesus. Assuming the traditional dating of 722 B.C. for the first exile, Baba's appearance would then correspond with the year 328 A.D. This accords with the figure of 308 years since Jesus, since the "appearance" of Jesus was regarded to have taken place in the year 20 A.D.³

On the basis of our conclusion above, that the duration of Baba's ministry was no more than 20 years, we may state that, purely on the basis of the internal chronological reckoning of the Chronicle, Baba's ministry would have to be dated circa 308 - 328 A.D., and the term "appearance" should not, therefore, be given too literal an application.

We need hardly take seriously in this context the dating of the chronological list of Samaritan High Priests worked out by Theodore Juynboll.⁴ Having placed Baba's father, Nethan'el, in the period 333 - 365 A.D., Juynboll then assumes an independent, succeeding reign for Baba Rabbah; and, lumping Baba together with his son Levi, Juynboll allocates a period of one hundred and nine years to them both! He

1 Chr.II, 10:2; Tolidah, p.404.

2 The Samaritan Chronicle No.II, Appendix V. p.220-223.

3 Macdonald, op.cit., p.221.

4 Th.Juynboll, Commentarii in Historiam Gentis Samaritanae, 127-8.

consequently dates Baba between 365 and 474 A.D. It need hardly be pointed out that none of the Chronicles lists Baba's son, Levi, as a High Priest. Baba was, of course, succeeded by his brother 'Aqbon. The absurdity of Juynboll's reconstruction is seen clearly by his subsequent dating of Baba's brother, 'Aqbon, whose reign Juynboll supposed to have followed on after that of Levi, namely from 474 to 494 A.D. According to this arrangement, the father Nathan'el, who died in 365 A.D., according to Juynboll, would have been succeeded by his son, 'Aqbon, after an interval of one hundred and nine years!

The unreliability of Juynboll's dating becomes further manifest when we test it against some of the traditions accepted by all the Chronicles. To give but one example: Juynboll dates the reign of 'Aqbon II, grandfather of Baba Rabbah, as 310 - 333 A.D. All the Chronicles record, however, that that 'Aqbon sent a delegation to meet the King Ardashir (Artaxerxes) of Persia in the wake of his successful campaign. Now Ardashir invaded Parthia in April 227 A.D., and spent the next three years consolidating his position in Media.² In 230 A.D. he overran Mesopotamia and threatened Syria and Cappadocia. Chronicle II states that the reason for the deputation was that the High Priest 'Aqbon 'feared the king'.¹ This presupposes victories gained by the latter in the region, and may be identified therefore with the Mesopotamian foray.

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1 Chr. II, fol. 357.

2 H.M.D. Parker, A History of the Roman World, p. 111-112.

The Chronicles are also in agreement that Baba set himself the task of throwing off the repressive yoke of Alexander Severus. It was indeed against Severus that Ardashir undertook his campaigns, and a Samaritan delegation to the one commander who would be regarded as an ally would have been a logical piece of diplomacy.

If the Samaritan tradition, regarding a peace delegation sent by 'Aqbon to Ardashir, is authentic — and Juynboll does not reject its historicity — then the High Priest 'Aqbon must have lived during the first half of the third century A.D., not, as Juynboll computes, the fourth century. Juynboll is thus a century out in his reconstruction of the High Priestly dating, and this goes a long way toward explaining why he dates Baba Rabbah so late.

Juynboll's chronology is not, however, without some value. It serves as an additional list which may be used critically in any treatment of the length of years for the reigns of the High Priests, though even there only as a support or corroboration for one or another of the main Chronicles. To take but one example: Chronicle Neubauer¹ allocates a reign of 45 years to the High Priest Levi, 'in whose days Hadrian, king of Rome, came'. Chronicle II allocates only 25 years to this Levi. Juynboll's source, the Codex Scaliger, agrees with our Chronicle, and may be viewed therefore as a useful buttress. We shall, indeed, presently avail ourselves further of Juynboll's suggested chronological relationship

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1 Chronique Samaritaine, p.403.

between the Samaritan High Priests and the Roman emperors in order to attempt to unravel a serious discrepancy in the historical data contained in our Chronicle.

We suggested above a dating of 308 - 328 A.D. for the ministry of Baba. Assuming that he was a man of 20 years when he assumed leadership — in order to do justice to the traditional '40 years' associated with him — ¹we would therefore conjecture that Baba was born circa 288 A.D. This date will be seen to fit the chronological data of the Chronicles admirably.

According to the Chronicles, 'Aqbon II ministered for 23 years and Nethan'el (Baba's father) for 32 years. If the delegation to Ardashir was sent about the year 230 A.D., near the commencement of 'Aqbon's reign and at the height of Ardashir's activity in the region, then, by adding together the stated years of the reigns of 'Aqbon and Nethan'el (total 55 years) we come remarkably close to the date 288 A.D. which we postulated for the birth of Baba Rabbah!

It is important for us to attempt to harmonise the Garman episode — which Juynboll already recognised as of great chronological value — with a dating of 288 - 328 A.D. for the life of Baba. According to Juynboll's source, the High Priest whose son Garman permitted to be circumcised in defiance of the Roman prohibition was Nethan'el, and the child in question was Baba Rabbah. We would then date the

1 This is also in line with our observation (p.410) that Baba's support came mainly from the younger generation, who were his own contemporaries.

Garman episode as having occurred in 288 A.D.

References to a Bishop Germanus, who attended the Council of Neo-Caesarea in 314 A.D. and Nicaea in 325 A.D.¹ are indeed in consonance with this dating. However, it should be pointed out that Chronicle II and Chronicle Adler attribute the episode to the circumcision of Baba's nephew. They state that it took place after Baba's death, when his brother 'Aqbon (III) was High Priest. Now, assuming the child was born but a few years after Baba's death, circa 330 A.D., this would have been but five years after Bishop Germanus' attendance at the Council of Nicaea, and therefore closer, in terms of possible external corroboration, than the earlier tradition associating Germanus with the birth of Baba. For we cannot be sure that Germanus had already assumed his high office as early as 288 A.D., our suggested date for the birth of Baba according to the internal evidence of our Chronicle.

The date 288 A.D. for the birth of Baba is also consistent with the stated duration of the reigns of the five High Priests between Hadrian and Baba. These were² Eleazar (reigned 32 years), Baba I (28 yrs.), Eleazar (41 yrs.), 'Aqbon (23 yrs.) and Nethan'el (32 yrs.). Adding the total for their reigns — 156 years — to the year 132 A.D., the Hadrianic rebellion, we arrive at the desired year of 288 A.D.

Our discussion so far has taken the form of an attempt to harmonise the various chronological and historical traditions in order to establish a date for Baba Rabbah at

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1 Montgomery, p.101-2.

2 Neubauer, p.403.

the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth centuries A.D. The evidence we have sifted so far has enabled us to support this thesis without too much difficulty. However, we have to face the fact that our Chronicle also presents us with a number of historical traditions which cannot be harmonised with a Baba Rabbah who reigned at that period.

The most obvious difficulty is presented by the names of the Roman emperors with whom Baba is said to have had dealings. The emperors are named as Alexander, who was succeeded by Gordianus, who was succeeded by Philippus. These are, unmistakably, the emperors Alexander Severus (222 - 235), Antonius (Gordianus) III (238 - 244) and Julius Philippus (244 - 248). These reigns can obviously not be harmonised with a late third and early fourth cent. Baba Rabbah.

Furthermore, Philippus is referred to as 'the king of Constantinople',¹ and much space is taken up by the Chronicler with an episode describing how Philippus imprisoned Baba in that city until the end of his life. The anachronism is glaring: Philippus, a mid 3rd cent. emperor, could not have been 'king of Constantinople', when that city was not founded until 324-6 A.D., nor dedicated as the new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire until the year 330 A.D., by the emperor Constantine! Conversely, a Baba who lived out his years in Constantinople could not have had dealings with any of the emperors mentioned in the Chronicle, the

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1 Chr.II, 22:6,

latest of whom died some eighty years before the inauguration of that city as the capital city of a Roman emperor.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Chronicler, or the redactor of the material, had little historical sense or knowledge of Roman imperial chronology. This is supported by the fact that he attributes to Alexander Severus political activity spanning the administration of both Nethan'el and Baba Rabbah. The comparatively short duration of Severus' reign would have rendered that an impossibility.

In fol.363 (unpubl.) we are told that 'in the days of that High Priest, Nethan'el, there came upon the community of Samaritan Israelites many very great evils which would weary the tongue to recount. This was in the days of the accursed kingdom of Alexander...'¹

Following after this account, we are told (fol.365) about the birth of Baba Rabbah, and fol.402 discloses that the war between Alexander Severus and the king of Chaldea was the principle reason why the former 'was unable to wage war against the righteous king, Baba Rabbah' (14:1).

According to the Chronicler's reconstruction of history, Alexander Severus would have had to have reigned for a minimum of twenty five to thirty years to have been concurrent with Baba's birth, adolescence and leadership, whereas Severus reigned for a period of no more than thirteen years, from 222 to 235 A.D.

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1 Fol.363: בימי בהנת זה הכהן הגדול נתן אל היתה על
עדת בני ישראל השמרים על האמת רעות רבות ולא הלשון
מן זכרונם וכן היה בימי ממלכת הארור (אסכנדרוס) ..

Our harsh judgment of the Samaritan Chronicler, as devoid of historical sense, is not based purely upon the single case of chronological confusion before us. His ignorance is displayed elsewhere, as, for example, in the account of historical periods which were notable and glorious for the community, but which the Chronicler describes with a remarkable absence of national pride, attributable only to ignorance of the true historical circumstances.

We may refer, for example, to the Byzantine period, which, in Abu'l Fath's description, is represented as one of unmitigated despair and impotence as regards Samaritan national aspirations. The picture that is painted is one of a lowly, harassed, restricted and weak community, subjected to the whims of foreign rulers and devoid of independent spirit. The emphasis is exclusively upon the persecutions and restrictions imposed upon the wretched community, in sharp contrast to the preceding glorious era inaugurated by Baba Rabbah.

From the Chronicler's account one would never have believed that that same community, during the period described — a single century, from the end of the 5th to the end of the 6th cent.A.D. — initiated and sustained three large scale rebellions against the Byzantine authority, with no small measure of success, or that they possessed the numerical and physical strength, as well as the military acumen and organisation, to offer Chosroes II fifty thousand troops for his campaign in Palestine, on the evidence of Malalas.¹

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1 A.D.Crown, "The Samaritan Diaspora to the end of the Byzantine Era", A.J.B.A., II, 116.

It is, indeed, surprising that a historian of Abu'l Fath's ability should have been unable to draw upon traditions and historical reminiscences, albeit of a legendary character, which would have enabled him to have painted a brighter picture of Samaritan achievement during that period of great activity and vigorous struggle. The only explanation is that, during the seven centuries of decline which separated Abu'l Fath from that last great period of Samaritan self-assertion, most of the historical records must have been destroyed or lost, and that the historian, with the paucity of records at his disposal, had been unable to piece together the positive aspects of the Byzantine period.

We do not have to search far in our Chronicles for other examples of confused chronology of the kind we have uncovered in the account of the Baba Rabbah period, particularly in the attempt to delineate Samaritan history against the backcloth of Roman imperial history and chronology.¹ Tolidah, for example, devotes a mere two lines to a period of over one hundred and fifty years. Of the period 474 - 622 A.D., it has the following to say:

'In the twelfth year of that Nethan'el, Zenon, king of Rome, plundered Mount Gerizim and built a tower on it. He dwelt there and died there, and they buried him on the top of the holy hill. Peace be upon him'.²

'Abu'l Fath adds the comment: 'And he was the last of the Roman kings to enter this land'. The Tolidah itself,

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1 See, in this connection, D.Sidersky, "Note Sur la Chronologie Samaritaine", in Journal Asiatique, 10, 513-32.

2 Tolidah, Ed. Bowman, col.18x . Cf.Chr.II, fol.522.

however, contradicts Abu'l Fath's statement in its reference to the travels of the emperor Heraclius — or 'Arq'lay, as he is called — through Palestine. Heraclius was, undoubtedly, 'the last Roman king' to enter Palestine, before the Arab expulsion of the Byzantines from that land.

In this example of Samaritan chronological confusion, two characteristic shortcomings may be discerned: the first, a confusion between the names and identities of the particular Roman emperor concerned, and, secondly, a contraction of (150 years of) history into a few lines, in the face of a paucity of source material. We suggest that a solution to our central problem of the dating of the historical Baba Rabbah may be discovered by taking account of these characteristic approaches of the Chroniclers to their material, as revealed in the examples we have quoted.

Our Chronicler's limited historical knowledge of Roman history enabled him, with impunity, to set the final episode of Baba's life against the 'background of Constantinople, and to make the emperor Philippus one of the dramatis personae, although that emperor died some eighty years before the inauguration of that city.

The Constantinople motif may have served a polemical purpose, either of camouflaging the true circumstances of the end of Baba's life or to enhance the 'Moses-Taheb' motif which is strongly in evidence in Chronicle II.¹

The visit of Baba to Constantinople is one of the most mystifying episodes of the whole saga. No plausible reason

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¹ See pp. 295-300.

is given as to why Baba should have brushed aside the attempts of his father and all the leaders of his community to dissuade him from undertaking such a dangerous mission. The Samaritans were strong and victorious at that juncture, and there was no military or political crisis confronting them that they had not hitherto experienced, such as would necessitate a personal meeting between Baba and the emperor to resolve. Quite the contrary; the Chronicler preserves a tradition that when the royal summons arrived, Baba addressed the envoys in the most confident and courageous of terms:

'I am well able to wage war against the king of Constantinople for the whole of my life. Also, my Samaritan Israelite people are innumerable and the men of the army are stout-hearted'.¹

It is perplexing, therefore, how to explain Baba's determination to go to Constantinople, especially as it is clear that he did suspect that a trap was being set for his life.²

Another mystifying aspect of the episode is the fact that Baba steadfastly refused the request of the Samaritan leaders that he take with him an entourage 'so that they may know your glory, and honour your high status'. The stated motive of the Romans in extending the 'invitation' to Baba had been precisely

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1 22:9,10.

2 22:23.

that they 'might see Baba's glory'.¹ The natural and expected response to this should, consequently, have been for Baba to have been accompanied by bodyguards and splendid entourage. Baba's justification for going alone² sounds in no way convincing.

These cumulative problems, both internal as well as chronological, point in a direction which would call into serious doubt the accuracy and credibility of the whole Constantinople episode. The options are either that it merely serves as remplissage, to round off the life of Baba Rabbah in the absence of any well-attested historical traditions regarding his last days, or there may have been a polemical motive underlying the legend. If the great and glorious hero of the Samaritan community had met with an inglorious end on the field of battle, this fact would hardly have been admitted by a partisan and biased Chronicler, seeking to inspire his comrades by depicting their history in the brightest of colours.

Assuming the Chronicler belonged to that school of theological thought which sought to identify Baba as a Moses-Taheb personality, a divinely-sent deliverer, his motive in writing-in a 'Constantinople period' — in preference to admitting that the great man had ultimately led his people to defeat at the hands of the Romans — would be understandable, and, possibly, even excusable.

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1 22:8.

2 22:26.

Similarly, someone writing from such a theological perspective as that of our Chronicler — who frequently employs a Moses/Baba association through the employment of Exodus terminology culled from the call of Moses — would find points in common between Moses, 'whose burial place no man knoweth'¹ and Baba, who also left his brethren to live out his last days estranged from the community he had led and loved. We therefore relegate the Constantinople episode to the realm of legend, a legend whose creator was unwilling, and probably unable, to harmonise it with his other sources which place Baba as contemporaneous with three emperors of the mid-third century A.D.

Although we dismiss the historicity of our Chronicler's tradition, or legend, regarding the imprisonment of Baba Rabbah in the city of Constantinople, it is, however, apposite to observe that the tradition, associating that city with the imprisonment of foreign kings, does, in fact, rest upon a firm historical basis..It was, indeed, in that way that the city's population grew, rapidly and dramatically, to overtake that of Rome itself. Gibbon tells us that 'many opulent senators of Rome and the Eastern provinces were invited by Constantine to adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had chosen for his residence. The invitations of a master are scarcely to be distinguished from commands; and the liberality of the emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience. He bestowed on his favourites

1 Dt.34:6.

the palaces which he had built in the several quarters of the city, assigned them lands and pensions for the support of their dignity'.¹ This piece of historical information was probably known to our Chronicler, and on the basis of it the tradition of Baba's "invitation" to Constantinople, and subsequent incarceration there, was created.

The chronological problem we have attempted above to unravel, regarding our Chronicler's anachronistic reference to the existence of the city of Constantinople as early as the period of the emperor Philippus, may also be accounted for on the assumption that he was, similarly, misled by a tradition that had gained widespread credence, identifying Philippus as the first Christian emperor of Rome. This tradition is recorded by Eusebius,² and probably owes its origin to the fact that Philippus had displayed great friendship to Christians, that he had corresponded with Origen and had permitted the Pope Fabianus to convey the ashes of his predecessor from Sardinia to Rome.³ This tradition may well have been responsible for the confusion in the mind of our Chronicler, who, having correctly associated Constantinople with the first Christian emperor, lumped both traditions together, and consequently Philippus with that city.

Having accounted for, and removed, the difficulty of the apparent conflict between a Baba who lived in the reign

1 Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, II, 154-5.

2 Eusebius, H.E., VI, 34.

3 Gesta Pontific. Rom., I, 25 (Ed. Mommsen).

of Julius Philippus (244-248 A.D.) and the same Baba who is supposed to have lived in the Constantine era, we have succeeded in narrowing down somewhat the chronological discrepancy. We are still left, however, with the difficulty of conflicting internal traditions, one of which describes a Baba Rabbah who ministered between 308 and 328 A.D. (according to our reading of the literary evidence) or 4600 A.M. (the stated date for the "appearance" of Baba), and another tradition which places him in the reigns of Severus, Gordianus and Philippus. Having already demonstrated the general historical incompetence of our Chronicler, we are in a position to explain the genesis of the obvious chronological confusion in which he was groping.

There is a general uniformity in the Chronicles regarding the chronological order of Samaritan High Priests in the pre-Baba period. Confusion invariably sets in -- as we have already encountered it -- where an attempt is made to relate those reigns to those of the Roman emperors. Thus, the High Priest 'Aqbon I is described as having ministered during the reign of the emperor Hadrian (דאדאן'אדאן). 'Aqbon ministered for 30 years, and was succeeded by the High Priest Phinehas, who ministered for 40 years. Phinehas was succeeded by Levi, who is said to have ministered during the reign of (another?) Hadrian (דאדאן'אדאן) 'who besieged Jerusalem'.¹ This Hadrian is said to have been a contemporary of Judah Ha-Nasi (end

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¹ Fol 345.

of 2nd and beginning of 3rd. cent.).¹ This is perhaps the most blatant example of the Samaritan Chroniclers' inability to place their native sources into a general historical sitz im leben.

It is inevitable that any Samaritan attempt to work forward, using either of the two Hadrians as a 'fix' for determining the interrelationship of Roman imperial chronology and Samaritan High Priestly lineage, is bound to prove abortive in the face of such confusion.

Some path through the confusion is possible, we believe, when we discover that a High Priest, referred to in some sources by the name of Baba² and in others by the name of Tobhiah,³ ministered some sixty years after the second (Samaritan) Hadrian, contemporary of Judah Ha-Nasi. The chronology is set forth in the Chronicles as follows:

'Aqbon (reigned 30 yrs.)	contemporary of Hadrian I
Phinehas (reigned 40 yrs.)	contemporary of Antoninus
Levi (reigned 25 yrs.)	contemporary of Hadrian II
	and Judah Ha-Nasi
Eleazar (reigned 32 yrs.)	
Baba/Tobhiah (reigned 28 yrs.)	

Now, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that our Chronicler's lack of historical acumen was further

1 Adler, "Une nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine", R.E.J. 45, p.84:

בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם חֲדָשׁ עֹדָה בְּנֵי יִהוּדָה בְּנִיָּאן בֵּית מִדְרָשׁ
בְּעִיר טַבְרִיָּה וְנִשְׁמָא הָרִיב הָיָה שָׁמַר הַחֲכָמִים יִהוּדָה
וְיַחֲזִיר לֹא שָׁמַר וְיִקְרָא אֶת שָׁמַר שְׁמֵר הַמַּשְׁנֶה.

2 Tolidah and Shalshelath.

3 Abu'l Fath and Neubauer. Chr. II employs both names.

aggravated by this perplexing tradition that Baba lived at a much earlier period than generally regarded. The Baba/Tobhiah uncertainty made it difficult to state categorically that he was a totally different leader, bearing the same name; and our Chronicler may well have regarded that reference as identical with the great Baba. He may consequently have felt impelled to do justice to both traditions by attempting a synthesis of the conditions attending the two periods and by setting side by side a chronological tradition giving the date 4600 A.M. for Baba with an historical tradition placing him in a much earlier context.

A glance at the chronological table above provides the clue to the Chronicler's modus operandi. If the High Priest Levi was indeed a Contemporary of Judah Ha-Nasi — and bearing in mind that the chronology for Judah, which places him some 60 years after Hadrian, is accurate — then Baba I would have commenced his ministry some 32 yrs. (for the reign of Eleazar) later, plus a few years for the end of Levi's reign. This brings us squarely into the period of Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.), and Baba's ministry of 28 yrs. would consequently span the reigns of his successors, Gordianus and Philippus!

We have referred, in another chapter,¹ to the composite nature of our Chronicle, as witnessed by the marked differences in the style of the Hebrew/Aramaic, differences in titles employed to describe Baba Rabbah, differences

1 See pp. 349-363.

in emphasis, depicting Baba either as a warrior or as a reformer, and so on.

Assuming that our Chronicle achieved its present form as a result of a combination of two main sources and possibly also some secondary traditions, we would then have the overall clue to the problems with which our Chronicler was struggling. Any redactor would have had difficulties in constructing a Samaritan "history" from such a disparate body of material, embellished with polemic, legend and suspect historical epic. A Chronicler — such as that of Chronicle II — with little or no historical flair would have found the task insuperable.

If the thesis that we have argued is valid, then we have succeeded in accounting for the various chronological discrepancies which loom very large in the pages of our Chronicles. The kernel of the discrepancies we have attributed to the Chronicler's attempted rationalisation and synthesis of two historical periods in which the name Baba occurs. The Constantinople tradition, which would further postdate Baba's activity, we have rejected as unhistorical, while attributing its origin to a specific area of Samaritan polemic or, possibly, to the influence of a popular Roman tradition identifying Philippus as the first Christian emperor. Any 40 year period for Baba's activity as an independent leader we have shown to be in total conflict with all the data

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provided by, or implied in, the Chronicles. On the basis of internal evidence we have regarded the figure of 40 years as referring rather to the total number of years that Baba actually lived. For his life we have suggested the dates 288 - 328 A.D., his independent reign covering the last 20 years of that period.

10. BABA RABBAH — NAME OR ACCOLADE?

BĀBĀ RABBĀH — Name or accolade?

The name Bābā (Bābhā') is extremely rare, even in Judaistic circles. Josephus refers to a prominent Judæan family, known as "Sons of Baba", who resisted the surrender of Jerusalem in the time of Herod (Ant.XV 7,10). There is only one scholar in the whole of the Talmud — one Bābā' ben Buṣā' (B.Patra 3b) — who bore that name.

In the Palestinian Talmud the name Bā' occurs as a regular variation of 'Abbā', and several scholars bear that name.¹ Bābā, being a reduplication of the name Bā',² may therefore be construed as the equivalent of 'Abbā', "father". (Cf. Per. בבא, Mand. Baba, "father".)

The term 'Abbā' was used commonly in Judaistic circles as a title for distinguished persons. We have Abba Mari, Abba Saul, Abba Yudan, etc. In the same spirit, the term 'father' became a title of reverence in Christianity. It is not inconceivable then that Bābā is merely a Samaritan variation of 'Abbā', employed as an honorific title for the great national hero.

The term Bābā Rabbāh in this context would then be closely reminiscent of the title 'Abbā' Rabbāh, "Grandfather" (Targ.11 Esth.VII, 10; Tal.Yeb.21b), though in the Samaritan usage its sense would be much wider, and understood as "Great Father".

While such a connotation can be read into the name Bābā Rabbāh, yet the occurrence of the simple name Bābā in our

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1 H.Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, p.120.

2 M.Jastrow, Dictionary, p.136 col.1.

Chronicle¹, without any qualifying epithet, would militate against regarding it as an honorific title, such as "The Great Gate", as suggested by Montgomery.² Indeed, the Chronicle makes it clear that Netan'el called his son by the single name Bābā (1: 2). The epithet Rabbāh seems to have been an accolade, added later as a token of distinction, as will be demonstrated presently.

It is more plausible then that Bābā was not a title, but a proper name. It was apparently a Semitic term of endearment, occurring in Phoenician,³ Akkadian (babu), Arabic (babba), Ugaritic (bb, P.R.U.117), Hebrew (bēbhay, Ezer.2:11), Aramaic (bibus , Dura 64) and Pal.Aram. (bāba', bēbay). As firstborn son, it would be understandable for Netan'el to call him by a name suggestive of special endearment.

The word Rabbāh is certainly not a proper name. There are no other examples of double names featuring in the list of Samaritan High Priests of those days, neither is there an occurrence of the simple name Rabbāh in any of the lists extant, even though this was a common name in rabbinic literature.

The evidence is thus in favour of regarding it as a title or accolade. The designation "hā-rabbān" was applied to some distinguished leaders; it is a title borne by two authors whose works appear in the Deftar, Jacob hā-rabbān (d.1348) and Joseph ha-rabban of the same period. The source and significance of the title rabbān is unclear, but it seems to be associated with Damascus.⁴ The definite

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1 Cf. 1:2,4,6,8,10,13; 2:1.

2 The Samaritans, p.102 note 73.

3 Cf. Benz, "Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions", (Rome, 1972) p.33.

4 Cowley. II. p. xxxii.

article and Hîn-termination would suggest that its connotation is not one of unparalleled distinction, but rather is it a professional attribution, suggestive of special scholarship and religious expertise. Rabbāh, on the other hand, is an epithet with a wider and more generalized connotation, suggestive of a greatness which transcends the ages.

The name Baba Rabbāh occurs uniformly in our Chronicle. A variation of the title Rabbāh, as found in the Tolidah¹ in the form Haggādōl, and the application of this latter attribute to only one other Samaritan leader — ʿIqbôn — suggests that the terms Rabbāh and Haggādōl are synonymous, and that they have some special honorific nuance which will only become apparent on comparing the historical Sitz im Leben of both these leaders, decorated with the same title.

In the medieval Samaritan Aramaic, the terms Rabbāh and Haggādōl are synonymous designations. This may be demonstrated by the juxtaposition of these terms in the Tolidah:

אלין אנון ראשי בחורי שוטי ישראל
ונשוב עורי לדכרן כהניה רביה:
עמרם הכהן הגדול

Although the titles Rabbāh (pl. ravrāyāh) and Haggādōl, when applied to High Priests and used together with the noun hakkōhēn, have no other significance than to designate their high office², yet, when used independently, as an

1 Ed. Neubauer, Chronique Samaritaine, p.403; Ed. Bowman, Transcript (Univ. of Leeds, undated), col.16א, 1.3).

2 Viz. as a professional rank. Cf. כהנותה רביה (p.398), כהנה הגדולה (p.412), כהנה רבה (p.401) etc.

appendage to a proper name, they can only be construed as complimentary epithets denoting distinction and greatness.

The Tolidah certainly construed the appellation "Rabbah" as an honorific designation, as is shown by the fact that it uniformly refers to Baba as Baba Haggadol, a designation never rendered in this way in our Chronicle. Any suggestion that the Tolidah form might be elliptical for "Baba [Hakkōhēn] Haggadol" — a form in which other High Priests' names are recorded¹ — is untenable, since the addition of a High Priestly title would be superfluous and out of place in the Tolidah context of a list consisting only of High Priests, wherein no others are referred to by their titles.

It is clear then, that we are not dealing with a mere ellipsis but rather that the designation Rabbah or Haggadol is titular in intent.

The Samaritans had a problem when it came to finding a suitable designation for Baba. They could not call him by the usual title of leadership, "Kohen Haggadol", since Baba was not a High Priest. We may here point out a very common error found in the works of most writers on this period, that of referring to Baba Rabbah as a Samaritan High Priest.² Baba is nowhere referred to as a High Priest, nor, on the evidence of our Chronicle could he have been, since his father Netan'el, the High Priest, died only after Baba had completed his lifetime's activity and had already been incarcerated in Constantinople (25: 1,4).

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1 Cf. Tol. p.411: פִּינֹחַס הַכֹּהֵן ; p.412: עֲמֵרָם בֶּן אֶחָד בְּנֵי הַגִּדּוֹל
הַגִּדּוֹל. Similarly untenable, for the same reasons, is
the suggestion that Baba Rabbah might be elliptical
for עֲמֵרָאֵל כֹּהֵנָה רַבָּה [כֹּהֵנָה] רַבָּה, parallel to the form
(Tol. Ed. Bowman, Ms. T. (Unpubl) col. 14^a).

2 Cf. Encyclopedia Judaica, Vol. 4, p. 17.

A number of alternative titles are found in the Chronicle.¹ These include the following combinations:

הַרְבֵּי רַבִּי הַרְבֵּי (9:5,8)	הַרְבֵּי רַבִּי הַרְבֵּי (17:2)
הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (10:22)	הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (11:14)
הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (16:32)	הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (17:1)
הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (22:8)	הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (10:23)
הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (25:5,11)	

The sense of the term Melekh must be understood through Samaritan eyes. It did not imply 'royalty', in the dynastic sense, that it did for the Judaist. The Samaritans refer to the Judges of the biblical period as "Kings".² Thus, the term Hammelekh for a Samaritan meant no more than 'leader', 'chief' or 'commander'. In similar vein, the Chronicle consistently speaks of 'the Roman kings' when it means no more than district governors.

Elsewhere we refer to the recurring motif in our Chronicle, depicting Baba as a 'Moses-figure', with the implied suggestion that he, Baba, is the (or 'a') leader or prophet like Moses, foretold in Dt.18:15,18. Now the term "Rabbāh" is used frequently in the Memar Marqah to describe the Prophet Moses.³ He is referred to as הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי - 'The Supreme Prophet'. Our Chronicle refers to him as הַרְבֵּי הַרְבֵּי (22:28). The ascription to Baba of the titles הַרְבֵּי and הַרְבֵּי (Tolidah) would be in keeping, therefore, with the Moses motif as it is represented by our Chronicler.

The epithet Rabbah was current in Judaistic circles, from where the Samaritans might have borrowed it. The Judaists had their own problem of finding suitable titles for their leaders. They employed the title "Rabbi" (in Babylon a

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1 These combinations, other than the title הַרְבֵּי, are restricted to H1. H2 consistently refers to Baba simply by the appellation Baba Rabbah.

2 Cf. J. Macdonald, The Samaritan Chronicle No. II, pp. 101-103.

3 Cf. J. Macdonald, Memar Marqah, vol. 1, p. 97.

variation, Rabh or Mar was employed); and when the scholar was elevated to the position of Nasi - president of the Palestinian colleges - they employed a variation of the title Rabh, in the form of Rabbah ("Our teacher"), although the suffix eventually came to be seen as meaningless, and was dropped.

The term (Baba) Rabbah is employed occasionally in rabbinic literature as a designation of a senior teacher or specialist teacher — דבר דא צריך רב — "A thing like this requires a specialist"¹. Similarly, where two scholars share the same name, the epithet Rabbah is appended to the name of the senior (e.g. ר' חייא רב, ר' הושעיה רב).

It is in this sense that we may understand the title Baba Rabbah, namely "The Master Baba", with the overtone of seniority and supremacy over all other leaders. It is indeed in this sense that the epithet Rabbah is applied to Moses in the Memar Margah: ימחור חילה ורבה משה (p.153).

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We mentioned above that the accolade "Great" is accorded to one other leader, in addition to Baba: the High Priest 'Aqbôn. It is apposite, therefore, that we should glance at the situation which gave rise to the award of the title Haggadôl to 'Aqbôn, as this might well shed light upon the specific qualification for such an award, and will be helpful in determining the specific contribution

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1 Bābā Mesī'a 101a.

or aspect of Baba's activity which was regarded as his most abiding and significant achievement, and for which the title Rabbāh was chiefly awarded. Before proceeding to draw any conclusions from such a comparison, we have first to unravel a chronological discrepancy regarding the identity of the particular 'Aqbôn who was the recipient of the title Haggādōl.

It will clarify the discussion if we commence by listing the chain of High Priests from Baba to Netan'el the fifth:

Baba Rabbāh
 'Aqbôn iii
 Netan'el iv
 'Aqbôn iv
 Eleazar, father of Miriam
 'Aqbôn v, builder of the Kinsha
 Eleazar vi
'Aqbon Haggādōl (vi)
 Eleazar vii
 Netan'el v

Our discussion focusses upon the attribute Haggādōl conferred by Tolidah¹ and Abu'l Fath (who calls him أبو الفتح) upon 'Aqbôn vi.

Abu'l Fath acknowledges² that one of his principle sources was a work called الكتاب. Whatever version of Tolidah was before him — and Bowman, referring to his Ms.T., appears convinced that "part of (his) actual Ms. was undoubtedly in the hands of Abu'l Fath"³ — we may assume that the latter had no other literary or oral

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1 Eds.Neubauer p.405; Bowman p.18).

2 A.F., Annales Samaritani, ed.Vilmar (Gotha 1865), p.xxix.

3 Loc.cit.p.i.

tradition regarding the award of a title to 'Aqbon vi, but merely copied the name 'Aqbôn Haggādôl directly from the Tolidah ms. or mss. before him. This method of Abu'l Fath, with regard to other sources, has already been clearly demonstrated by Gaster, who observes that "it will be found that Abu'l Fath copies out verbatim the work of his predecessors"¹. J. Macdonald² notes that Tolidah was one of the sources of which Abu'l Fath made critical use. On the point under consideration, however, he will be seen to have departed from his critical approach!

Our certainty on this particular issue is based on the fact that Abu'l Fath has nothing at all to report regarding the details of the life of this 'Aqbon, who, nevertheless, was sufficiently celebrated in his eyes to be awarded the honorific title Haggādôl. It is beyond doubt, therefore, that Abu'l Fath was slavishly following the Tolidah's chronological list, and hence his enigmatic attribution of the title Haggādôl to 'Aqbôn vi, notwithstanding the fact that he had not even one snippet of information which would justify the accolade to that particular High Priest.

The historical accuracy of the attribution of the title to 'Aqbôn vi comes under suspicion, however, when we consult Chronicle V, the "Shilshelat" or "Chain of the High Priests". In that work³ he is listed

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1 Gaster, Studies and Texts (London, 1925-8) vol.iii p.485.

2 Macdonald, Theology, p.47.

3 Published by Gaster in Studies and Texts, vol.iii, p.134.

merely as 'Aqbôn vi, with no attribute.

It is our Chronicle which provides the key to the solution of the problem of the total absence of any tradition to account for the accolade Haggādôl awarded by Tolidah and Abu'l Fath to 'Aqbôn vi. Referring to the previous 'Aqbôn, the fifth, builder of the Kinsha, Chronicle II states as follows:

ויהי אחרי מות הבן הגדול אלעזר ויבן תחתיו
 בנו עקרון אחרי הגדול כי מה ארץ והוא נער
 קטן. ויהי כי גדל עקרון הבן תחת אביו והיה
 כל ימי בחנותו ארבע ועשרים שנה. ויקראו כל
 העם את שמו בחולות הכנענים ע ק ב ו ן
 ה ג ד ו ל, והוא אשר בנה בית כנשת יקר...

(folio 504, unpubl.)

It is clear from this passage that it was not 'Aqbon vi, but 'Aqbôn v, the builder of the Kinsha, who was decorated with a title reserved hitherto for none other than the illustrious Baba. The title 'Aqbôn Haggādôl was clearly bestowed in recognition for devoted services and courageous leadership, especially in resisting the bitter opposition to his scheme for the rebuilding of the Kinsha.

Samaritan tradition has carefully preserved full details of the activities of this 'Aqbôn v and his heroism. Of 'Aqbôn vi, however, H1 has only one terse observation to make:

ויבן תחתיו הבן עקרון ותמי
 כל ימי בחנותו שלשים שנה

Chronicle II is thus the only source to preserve the authentic version, attributing the accolade Haggādôl to 'Aqbôn v, builder of the Kinsha. This is obviously

of the greatest significance in assessing the reliability and independence of our Chronicle in relation to the other main sources for Samaritan history.

We are now in a position to assess the import of the designations Rabbah and Haggadol. It was a type of canonization, awarded to the two men who did most to fire the imagination of the Samaritan community, to raise their faded hopes, to restore their national pride and to arouse them from spiritual lethargy.

The deeds of Baba Rabbah we have no need to recount here. The esteem felt for 'Aqbôn, builder of the Kinsha, comes over forcefully in the (unpublished) Chronicle II account of his life. The Elders, whom he summoned to disclose his plan to build a large Kinsha, describe him as něšî' 'Ēlōhîm — "A prince of God in our midst" (fol.507) — a phrase used to describe Abraham. They swear allegiance to him with the formula used by Israel at the Sinaitic Revelation: וְכָל־כִּלְיָיִם וְכָל־בְּרִיתִי וְכָל־נַפְשִׁי וְכָל־מַלְאָכָי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָדִי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאָרְצִי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָמִי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֶרְצִי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בְּיָמִי וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר־בְּאֶרְצִי — "Whatsoever you say to us, we will hear and obey" (Ex.24: 7). 'Aqbôn succeeded in galvanizing the people into a task force to undertake the building — "the men by day and the women by night". His unique saintliness enabled him to pinpoint, by miraculous means, the exact location of the doors of the Jerusalem Temple which had remained hidden from human sight since Hadrian had carried them away (fol.510). 'Aqbôn's diplomacy and spiritual charisma is fully revealed in the competent manner with which he conducts his dealings with King 'Sqptws, ultimately converting him into an ardent sympathiser.

The parallels between Baba and 'Aqbôn are unmistakable, and, historicity apart, the Chronicler certainly wrote about these two leaders in a style which would place them in a similar category, enjoying equal eminence and distinction. As administrators, diplomats, spiritual innovators and builders of Synagogues, their reigns constituted high water-marks in Samaritan fortunes, the like of which they were never again to know. The appellation "The Great" -- Rabbāh and Haggādōl -- was meant to express something of the unique regard in which those two leaders were held in Samaritan history and tradition.

11. THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OFBABA RABBAH

THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS OF BABA RABBAH

The account of the reorganization of the religious life of the Samaritan community by Baba Rabbah is contained in sections 4 and 5 of our Chronicle. Unfortunately, the account abounds with textual problems, caused, probably, by the composite nature of its transmission. We have, in addition, variations in the titles of officials between the texts of H1 and H2, as well as information in one version which is missing from the other. Nevertheless, by application of the critical process, we believe that we are able to reconstruct the essential details of Baba's reorganization of the Samaritan hierarchy.

According to the evidence of our Chronicles, the main burden of Baba's reform was directed toward a wholesale revision of the hierarchical structure of the community. The situation confronting Baba in his day was of an almost total breakdown of communal discipline, organization and leadership, especially in the area of religious expression. This situation is blamed upon the turbulent political circumstances of their recent history, especially the repressive measures imposed upon the community by the Roman conquerors. The latter had especially singled out the sages of the community for punishment, according to the Chronicles,¹ because of their refusal to apostatize (4: 11). There is, indeed, some external evidence to support this; for a passage in the Palestinian Talmud² condemns the Samaritans for succumbing to the pressure upon them to participate in idolatrous sacrifice. Toward the

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1 Chron.11, fol.364 (unpubl.), see below p.4/2.

2 'Abôdah Zārâh, 5,4.

end of the 3rd century A.D., the talmudic sages prohibited the wine of the Samaritans on grounds of suspicion that the latter made libations of wine to the image of a dove.

The Samaritans were not as fortunate as the Jews, in the respect that the latter were able to resist many of the decrees against their religion on account of their numerical strength and the support they were able to muster from a flourishing diaspora in Babylon, Egypt, and even in Rome itself. While there are numerous indications that the Samaritans were spread wide across the Mediterranean basin and beyond, into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, yet 'the Samaritan diaspora was never able to develop in the same way as the Jewish diaspora'¹. Thus feelings of isolation took root, especially during periods of intensified persecution.

The Chronicles report a catalogue of disasters which befell the Samaritan community during the previous century. The most poignant of these was between the years 193-211 A.D., when war raged between the followers of Septimius Severus and Pescennius Niger. The Jews supported the former; the Samaritans, together with the Syrians, allied themselves with the latter. After the victory of Severus, the Samaritans were cruelly victimized, heavy taxes were imposed upon them, Neapolis was deprived of the jus Italicum awarded to it under the Flavian family,² and many Samaritan leaders were exiled or executed, as the responsibility for the alliance with Niger was placed at their feet.³

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1 A.D.Crown, A.J.B.A., 114.

2 De Saulcy, Chrest. Arabe, 1, 244 ff.

3 Ben Zevi, Sēfer Ha-Somrōnīm, 22.

This was the legacy of persecution and communal disorientation inherited by Baba Rabbah; and this explains why, when he sought out men of scholarship as a prelude to his efforts at reorganization, he was able to muster so few.

There did exist, however, some hierarchic structure even before Baba's reform. An upper class is referred to, either as n^edîbhê haqqāhāl or m^e'aynê hā'ēdāh (4:1,9). These were probably men of substance, of localized prestige, or heads of influential families. These had in no way attempted to usurp the spiritual or priestly function, or even to exert any spiritual or national leadership, in consequence of which they were fully prepared to give Baba free rein (4:3,8). Baba made sure that they accompanied him on his mission around the community, re-opening the Synagogues (4:9). Baba probably felt that the presence of these people would help to dispel the inevitable awe and fear that would grip the ordinary Samaritan at the act of defiance against Rome involved in re-opening Synagogues closed by decree of the conquerors.

The second manifestation of a hierarchical structure was that of the Mispahath Haśśibhîm.¹ While their rival administration and social exclusivism did not meet with Baba's approval once he had the dynamic of the Samaritan community working along an even keel, yet it is clear that the exigencies of the age -- the lack of leadership, decline in observance and low morale which obtained up until the time of Baba Rabbah -- had dictated such a policy and justified the breakaway movement.

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¹ See chap. 12.

Baba's first task, before initiating his reforms, was to receive the unanimous assurance of his community that it was prepared to abide by his decisions on all matters. The significant factor in attracting their wholehearted allegiance was clearly the force and charisma of Baba's personality. He did not possess the dignity and awe that comes with age, nor the power and influence inherited through office. It was, after all, his father, Netan'el, who occupied the office of High Priest throughout the lifetime of Baba.¹ Yet, Baba's leadership was given practical expression while he was still in early manhood; and it gained momentum solely as a result of the unique qualities of the man himself. His charismatic appeal is hinted at in the Chronicle, where we are told that Baba, 'from his youth was endowed with the holy spirit' (1:4).

It is not suprising, therefore, that Baba already had a significant following even before he decided to make his bid for leadership of the community, to reform its administration and to lead an armed resistance against the conqueror. Apart from the logical consideration that no man would be foolhardy enough to undertake widespread measures involving social, political and religious reform, if not revolution, — so conspicuous in nature that it could not but draw the unwelcome attention of the Romans—unless he inspired implicit faith and trust in the majority of the people, there is also an implicit reference, in the Chronicle, which suggests

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¹ See p.372.

the chief direction from which Baba drew his encouragement, influence, strength and resources. Baba's first-recorded act was to assemble the 'sons of his generation' — b^enê dārô — who were obedient to his voice' (1:10,14,19). The 'sons of his generation' points to people of Baba's own age, who grew up in his circle. H2 refers to them in one passage (1:14) as b^enê 'ămîthô, a term suggestive of familiars, intimates and associates.¹

The picture to emerge, therefore, is of a popular rebellion, inspired by the youth of the community, especially the clique that had gathered around Baba Rabbah, fired by his idealism and nationalism, and sharing his contempt for the apathy and lethargy of their leaders, from the High Priest, Nethan'el downwards.

Support for this theory is forthcoming from 3:1, where a distinction is drawn — among the people assembled to listen to Baba — between the m^e'aynê 'ădath b^enê yisrā'ēl and the b^enê darô. In 4:1, the former are referred to as n^edîbhê qāhalô, an indication that they were the traditional leadership, as constituted by the elderly, the heads of well-known families and men of influence in their localities. The b^enê dārô could only mean, in this context, the people of Baba's own age and clique, thereby supporting the theory of a youthful rebellion. From the Judaist social and political history we have a precedent for such a situation in the biblical story of Rehoboam² acting upon the advice of the y^elādîm as opposed to that of the z^eqēnîm on a most vital matter of domestic reform.

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1 B.D.B. Lexicon, p.765.

2 1 Kings ch.12.

The 'sons of his generation' responded readily and enthusiastically, a fact emphasized by the Chronicler in the employment of the phrase 'All that you say to us we will hear and obey (nišma' v^ena'āseh)', a quotation closely reminiscent of the affirmation of the Israelites that they readily accepted the terms of the Sinaitic blood-covenant with God.¹

There is one aspect of Baba's assumption of leadership of the community which is somewhat enigmatic. We have already observed that Baba's father, Nethan'el, was still young enough, himself, to wield authority as High Priest. What, we may ask, was his reaction to this apparent usurpation of his authority on the part of his son? The Chronicles are strangely silent on this point; there is not a single statement that would betray the reaction of Nethan'el to his son's activities. One thing is certain, and that is that Baba never consulted his father, neither did he seek his advice at any time during the

course of his ministry on any single issue affecting the life and security of the nation. A simple explanation of this would be to suggest that Nethan'el was a totally ineffectual man, whose views carried no weight with his son. Alternately, there is the possibility that Nethan'el did not willingly surrender his authority, and that he did make strenuous objections, and took positive action to restrain his son, but that this was not recorded in the Chronicles of the day, or that it was expunged from

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1 Exod.24:7 .

them.

A third explanation of Nethan'el's silence is probably nearer to the truth, and this takes account of the terrifying experiences undoubtedly suffered by him in his early youth. To appreciate this fully, we would have to read the poignant account of Roman violence at its worst, as directed against the Samaritan community of Nethan'el's day. Since this is directly relevant to the backcloth of Baba's reforms, we shall cite here the account of Nethan'el's early reign, as described in (the unpublished section of) our Chronicle (fol. 364).

During the days of the administration of the High Priest, Nethan'el, there befell the Samaritan community numerous, grievous ills that would wear out the tongue to enumerate. This was the reign of the cursed Alexander, whose persecution was even more grievous than the violence perpetrated by the king Commodus — may the Lord's curse attend their spirits forever!

During the period of that wicked Alexander there was a great famine, pestilence and destruction in the land, and innumerable and great plagues.

Alexander commanded his people thus: 'If you find anyone worshipping other than our gods, he shall die. Whoever succeeds in smiting and killing him shall receive a reward of twenty brass shekels. As a result of that edict, whoever had an enemy or someone he hated among the Samaritans would lie in wait for him at the gate of the city, or outside it, in order to set upon him, kill him and take the ransom, as prescribed

by the accursed King Alexander. In consequence of this, innumerable scholars, elders and leaders were killed.

This King Alexander also destroyed the Synagogues, the Houses of Assembly¹ and all the schools of learning. He burned the teachers, imprisoned the little children, wreaked vengeance upon the youth, and crucified many sages. He slew the young people, though without iniquity or sin, burning their bodies in every cave. He seized every virgin girl, taking away their virginity by rape. He lay with many women and polluted them, and he also defiled many of the priests.

He also commanded that inspectors be appointed in every city, town and place, to prevent them from performing the law of circumcision.

God fulfilled thereby the words of the curses which he had foretold by the chief of the prophets, Moses son of 'Amram, peace be unto him, when he said, 'And you shall tremble by day and by night. In the morning you shall say, "Would that it was evening!" and in the evening you shall say, "Would that it was morning!"...' ²

Viewed against such a background, we can hardly speak of Baba usurping his father's authority, for there was clearly no authority left to usurp. It would have been surprising if Nethan'el had been left with his sanity, let alone authority! Helpless in the face of the decimation of his community, the pollution of the priesthood and the annihilation of

1 Bättê Hammiqveh. Possibly 'ritual bath houses'.

2 Chron. II, fol 364.

his leaders, Nathan'el remained High Priest in name alone. If he did give his son any advice at all, it would probably have been to dissuade him from undertaking any potentially suicidal mission of the nature determined by Baba.

The attitude of Baba's brothers, at least at the outset, is unclear. Granted that Baba was the eldest of the three, nevertheless it would be no foregone conclusion that they would support his pretensions to leadership and inclinations to revolution, especially as this involved a de facto limitation of their father's hereditary authority.

The position of Baba's brothers, 'Aqbon and Phinehas, is slightly enigmatic. Surprisingly, they do not figure in the hierarchic lists of new officials appointed by Baba to be leaders of the community, nor do they play any significant part in the unfolding drama of Baba's reforms and the struggle of the community to assert its independence. The point at which any significant reference to them is made (other than in 1:2, where the number and names of Nathan'el's children are mentioned) suggests a rather late acceptance by them of Baba's claim to leadership. They appear, rather suddenly and unexpectedly, in the account of Baba's attempts to rally support. They are not mentioned as having been present at Baba's first public assembly (1:10 ff.) or at his fast day (2:3). It is only when Baba returns from a period of prayer and spiritual solitude on the Chosen Mount that the Chronicle records that 'he returned to his brothers and the leaders of his community'.

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1 Such an attempt to dissuade him does, in fact, appear in 22:14.

Possibly it was only while Baba was away that they had been prevailed upon by their friends among the b^enê dārô to support Baba's new movement. They accompany Baba and some of the other leaders on his official visit to all the Samaritan districts, in order to re-open and restore the Synagogues (4:9); but, apart from that initial token act of public support, they fade into the background and play no further part in events. Their initial reticence to rally to Baba's cause probably reflected a luke-warm attitude toward it, which, we may assume, they were never able to shed. This would fully explain why, notwithstanding the deep sense of kinship and family unity which has always characterized the Samaritan community, the brothers of Baba Rabbah were completely divorced from the seat of power in Baba's newly-formed administration. It was only his nephew, Levi, who was singled out for any mission; and that was one which was unprecedented in the dangers attending it.

Significantly, Baba commenced his activity by summoning all men who fitted into the three categories whose members ought to have been possessed of the traditional learning. These were (i) Hakhmê ha-Tôrâh, (ii) Kôhănîm and (iii) Z^eqênîm.¹

Although it is not explicitly stated, we may suppose that Baba subjected them individually to a searching examination of their knowledge and competence in the law. Only after such a process would Baba have been able to make his selection of leaders, and only then would he have

seen fit to take the potentially hazardous step of rejecting all but a few as leaders. One would have thought that the need of the hour would have prompted Baba to accept lesser qualified men until such time as standards improved and a higher calibre of leader was available. Baba's refusal to recognize them could only have been based upon a sure assessment of their unsuitability.

H2 substitutes the term Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh for Hakhmê ha-Tôrâh of H1. The H2 version is undoubtedly preferable, for the simple reason that their subsequent rejection by Baba proved them not to have been, in fact, Hakhâmîm. We may assume, therefore, that the criterion for the invitation to appear before Baba in the first place was the fact of being in the category of Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh, namely, one who was recognized as a strictly observant Samaritan. At the popular level these people were hitherto equated with Hakhâmîm. This was a situation that Baba was immediately to change, however, by reserving that title for men of proven scholarship,¹

H2 preserves an exclusive tradition that Baba was only able to assemble fifty Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh (Bearers of Tradition). The first time the word 'fifty' (Hamîšîm) is mentioned,² it is clearly an added, syntactically ill-fitting, gloss. It is repeated later,³ form that is in no way textually suspicious. In the second

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1 Cf. 5:2.

2 4:11.

3 5:1.

passage, the fifty Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh are referred to as Z^eqînê b^enê yisrâ'el ha-ḥamišîm. This substitution - or identification - of Z^eqênîm and Šimmûrîm substantiates the suggestion¹ that the Z^eqênîm referred to in H1 as having been summoned by Baba Rabbah, as a prelude to his re-organization, were not "Elders" in the traditional, administrative sense of the word Zāqên, but rather men of advanced years, who might be relied upon to recollect the authentic traditions of the community, as observed before its decline and disintegration in the era of persecution. This is all implied in the exhortation given to them by Baba prior to their installation: 'You shall direct your energies toward maintaining the practice of the reading of the Law, and toward improving the standard of such reading .. as you have had it transmitted to you from those who came before you' (4:13).

That these Z^eqênîm were not all gifted with the powers of leadership expected of people bearing such a title, is obvious from the fact that the situation confronting the community was so critical. The existence of fifty religious leaders, or Z^eqênîm, would hardly suggest a spiritual crisis. The only conclusion, therefore, is that their only qualification for having been selected to appear before Baba was that they were Z^eqênîm purely in the sense of age, but that their authority and

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1 See on 4:1

influence in the community was negligible. This alone would explain why Baba could only find seven amongst the ranks of both the aged (Z^eqānām) and the observant (Šimmūrīm), who truly merited the title of Hākhām.

Regarding the attribution of the title Hākhām, there is an apparent contradiction in the text. From 5:2 it would appear that Baba reserved the title for the seven chief administrators whom he appointed over the community —

וַיִּפְּלֵא אֶת־הָעָם הַכֹּהֵן וְהַזִּקְנָה וְהַזִּקְנִים
שְׁמוֹתָם חֲכָמִים.

However, in 5:13 we have a statement which would suggest that the title was not reserved for the highest echelon, but that henceforth it was to be the honorific title conferred upon anyone who could prove himself by examination to be possessed of special scholarship and wisdom.

'And the priest commanded all the people, saying: The title of Hākhām shall only be conferred upon those who are sages and scholars, whether they be of priestly stock or of the general community'.

To harmonize these two statements, we would first note that the latter passage, which extends the application of the title Hākhām, is substantiated by a further statement in 9:3:

'Any man who claimed to be a Hākhām at that time was brought on a New Moon or a festival day and set before the great (priest) king and the sages, in order that they might test him... And if he was

found to have been endowed with wisdom,
discretion and understanding, they conferred
upon him the title Hākhām.'

Whether or not this was a later innovation, introduced by Baba, we have no means of knowing. Its late mention in the Chronicle might support this view. We may then conjecture that its introduction was a practical measure in order to forestall - or meet - any criticism that Baba had introduced a rigid, authoritarian, hierarchic system. Such criticism might well have been levelled especially against the hereditary aspect of the rank of the seven chief sages.¹ This does seem to have been one inconsistent feature of Baba's reforms.

There is a distinct possibility that, in terms of historical chronology, the situation reflected in 5:13 and 9:3 - which widen the scope of those eligible to receive the title Hākhām - is one which superseded Baba's original plan of making the office of Hākhām hereditary, as stated in 5:16. The motive behind the widening of the scope of the title and office of Hākhām would have been to enable new, and more talented, leadership to rise into prominence as the effects of Baba's intensified educational programme made themselves felt. The praesidium of seven would then be elected from the "college" of titular Hākhāmîm.

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1 Cf. 5:16

Either way, it is clear that the seven chief administrators shared the same title of Hākhām with these other doctors of the law. A distinction between the ranks would undoubtedly have had to be made; and this took the form of a distinctive apparel, personally presented to "The Seven" by Baba at their installation. H1 calls it hālîfôth s^emālôth; H2 simply b^egādâm. Its distinctive nature is clear, however, from the context.

The introduction of a system of religious leadership where real authority is no longer vested in High Priests and dependent upon lineage, but rather upon ordination and competitive scholastic attainment, inevitably calls to mind the conditions attending the Judaistic Semîkhāh (Ordination) . Whether Baba was modelling his administration upon the Semîkhāh system is an open question. Certainly the title Hākhām was used in rabbinic circles of the Talmudic period as the designation of the authority second in rank to the Nâsî.¹ As special adviser to the leader, the rabbinical Hākhām would have fulfilled a function identical with the one desired by Baba to be occupied by his seven senior administrators. We may assume then that the parallel between the title and office of Hākhām in both communities was not merely coincidental.

Significantly, the presentation of apparel is also paralleled in the rabbinic system. The rabbinic Hākhām

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1 Tal.Hôrâyôth 13b.

was presented with a gold-trimmed robe at his ordination:

חכם עובדי לך וגולתא זדוהה פרטי עלך.

— 'They have made you a Hākhām, and spread over you a gold-trimmed robe.'¹

Baba also addressed himself to the problem of the title Kōhēn. A good deal of confusion had arisen in Baba's day as a result of the haphazard attribution of that title to anyone who had attained a respected and honoured position in the community.² To Baba this situation was intolerable, especially since he had even limited the right of true, lineal priests to call themselves Kōhānīm unless they possessed a requisite degree of scholastic attainment:

'Whosoever among the priests is neither wise nor scholarly shall be called neither by the name of Hākhām nor by the name of Kōhēn' (5:14).

As a true priest himself Baba would certainly have resented the false attribution of this sacred title to ordinary people, notwithstanding their influence and respected position. He was too much of a diplomat, however, to alienate those influential people at the very outset of his ministry. After all, his toleration of the Mišpahath Haššibhīm had been motivated by such realistic considerations. Baba sought, therefore, an alternative title for such people.

The tradition preserved in H1 that 'from Baba's day onwards they were called Hakhāmīm'² is highly

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1 Tal. Bābā Mesi'a 85a.

2 5:5

suspicious. This would have introduced chaos into his newly-promulgated reform, which reserved that title for elected praesidium of "The Seven", as well as for the distinguished doctors of the law. We prefer to accept, therefore, the tradition of H2, that the new title to be applied to the distinguished laymen was that of Šōfēt.

The limitation of the title Kōhēn, referred to above, suggests an attempt by Baba to raise dramatically the standard of the traditional priesthood by demanding that they attain to the standards demanded of them in the 'Era of Favour', when the priest was the authority on the law and the teacher of the community.

The practical implication of Baba's reforms in this direction would have been to introduce a clear division between (i) priests who were wise and scholarly, but who had not submitted themselves to an examination with a view to obtaining the title Hākhām; (ii) priests who were also ordained as Hākhāmīm; (iii) priests who were ignorant, but who enjoyed power and influence among the masses, and (iv) priests who were both ignorant and without any influence or power.

Baba's reform meant that the first category were eligible to use the title Kōhēn; the second category, to use the title Kōhēn or Hākhām, or both; the third category, to use the title Šōfēt, and the last category were prohibited from assuming any title at all.

It is apposite here to deal with a passage in the Chronicle which attempts to give a rationale for the reforms specifically relating to the priesthood, and particularly for the fact that Baba had removed the prerogative, hitherto enjoyed by many, of using the title Kōhēn:

'Regarding the (title) "priests" — before this time any man who inspired fear or respect was called "priest" by the ordinary people. With the advent of Baba Rabbah, however, they were called Šōf^etīm;¹ and the priestly title was removed from many.

The cause of this was that, at the time when the priest Baba Rabbah came to Bāšān, the priests who were there did not come forth to meet him, neither did they fulfil their obligation to accord him honour and glory. Because of this act, he removed them from their positions, for they did not journey out of the city to meet him. In their place he appointed ordinary individuals to discharge their supervisory function, with the exception of the responsibility of teaching the holy Scripture.'

(5:4-10)

We regard this section as an independent, secondary and garbled tradition that has been slotted into the context of Baba's reforms, because of one or two

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1 Cum H2.

superficial points of contact, especially as regards the removal of officials from their posts. In the context of our Chronicle's account of Baba's reforms the passage in question abounds in difficulties and contradictions.

The most obvious anomaly is the reference to Bāsān. It would be totally inconceivable that because of some localized difference between Baba and the priests of Bāsān Baba would have vented his ire upon the priesthood of the entire Samaritan community, depriving the entire fraternity of its traditional status. Furthermore, from the succeeding section (5: 13-14) we learn explicitly that the title Kōhēn was not 'removed', but only restricted. The priest who was wise and scholarly was still permitted to use his title.

A close examination and comparison of 5:4-6 and 5:7-10 also reveals that they reflect conditions mutually at variance and totally incompatible. In the first section we are concerned with the men of influence who, by reason of their prestige alone, were popularly called "priests". They were not of priestly descent and had no statutory right to such a title. There is no suggestion that they ministered as priests or spiritual functionaries. Their title was merely a popular expression of reverence;¹ and Baba's reform was solely directed toward replacing the sacred title Kōhēn with a more acceptable one.

In the second section, however, the 'priests of Bāsān' were, indeed, true priests who had hitherto discharged

1 For a suggestion regarding the possible motive underlying the assumption of this title, see below, p.429.

a sacerdotal function. There is no question - or mention - in this section of Baba merely substituting their title for another. He directed his efforts, at Bāšān, to demote the priests forcibly from their office and 'supervisory function'. In their place he appointed 'ordinary individuals', i.e. laymen. Since the latter did not possess the competence or requisite knowledge to serve as teachers of the Scriptures Baba reluctantly had to leave that prerogative in the hands of those renegade priests.

In short, the first, and primary, section presupposes merely a re-allocation of titles, whereas the secondary section presupposes a penal measure imposed by Baba upon the priests of Bāšān.

Viewing the chapter as a literary unit, we cannot also but notice the secondary nature of the whole section comprising 5:7-12. Apart from the fact that it is clearly a heterogeneous unit, dealing with two unrelated topics - the offence of the priests of Bāšān and the problem of circumcision - there is also the significant fact that 5:13 flows logically and contextually from 5:6, thereby further substantiating the thesis that the intervening verses are from a secondary source.

The corollary of the above source-analysis is that we must exclude 5:7-10 from our consideration when reviewing the administrative reforms of Baba Rabbah. While this unit may, indeed, preserve an authentic

account of a bitter feud between Baba and the priests of Bāsān, the latter episode is nevertheless valueless as an "explanation" of Baba's reform of the priesthood. That the unit presumes to provide such an explanation is clear from the introductory words: V^eha-glal l^edābhār ha zeh (5:7).

Among the reforms specifically relating to the religious life of the community was the one prescribing the re-introduction of circumcision. This had been outlawed by order of Alexander Severus, who had even appointed Roman inspectors 'in every city, town and place' to enforce the edict.¹

The reform is expressed thus:

'And so, during the days of the priest Baba Rabbah and afterwards, the Samaritan-Israelites could perform the ceremony of circumcision. For, before the days of the priest Baba Rabbah no Samaritan-Israelite could circūmcise the foreskin of any Israelite child. It was only the priests who could circūmcise the foreskin of any Israelite child born to the people!'.²

The final statement of this passage ('It was only the priests...') appears rather suspicious, and, especially in the Hebrew text, has every appearance of being a later gloss. The implication of the passage, as it stands, is that before Baba's reforms it was only the

1 Chron.II, fol.364.

2 5:11.

priests who had the prerogative to perform circumcision. This presents three problems: First, we have already been told that in the pre-Baba period the title Kōhēn was applied to 'anyone who possessed respect and honour in the community'.¹ This fact in itself is sufficient to render the above statement relating to circumcision meaningless. For was it the true Kōhānīm who previously possessed the prerogative to circumcise, or was it the group popularly 'called' Kōhānīm, namely the men of influence? If the latter, then Baba's reform meant only a limited extension of the prerogative.

Secondly, the statement itself that in the pre-Baba period only priests could circumcise, is in blatant contradiction to the earlier statement of the Chronicle describing the restrictions of Severus, where no distinction is made between priests and laymen. The prohibition, enforced by inspectors, was imposed upon the whole of the Samaritan community. Furthermore, as the priests and leaders were the object of special persecution and harassment, it would have been nonsensical to entrust the performance of the rite of circumcision to the hands of the most pursued and persecuted group in the community.

Thirdly, the suggestion that only priests had the prerogative of performing circumcision is refuted by all the Samaritan traditions relating to this period.

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1 5:4.

It is especially refuted by the famous story of the prefect Garmān Ar-Rūmū. According to the account of this episode as described by Theodore Juynboll on the basis of the Codex Scaliger,¹ 'Nethan'el hesitated for a long time as to whether he should circumcise his children'.² The details of story, and especially the precautions taken to avoid detection, are well-known. Had the priests - as our Chronicle suggests - indeed possessed authority, presumably from the Roman government, to circumcise Samaritan children, then Nethan'el the High Priest need not have hesitated before circumcising his own child!

The above considerations lead us to conclude that no reliability is to be placed upon the statement contained in 5:11 relating to circumcision in the pre-Baba period. We would regard as a later gloss the statement that in the pre-Baba period, 'it was only the priests who could circumcise the foreskin of any Israelite child born to the people'. This was probably added by a pietistic scribe in order to avoid an admission that the community had for a time been constrained to abandon this most sacred rite. Had the glossator been a priest, this would also explain why he attributed to his own circle the sole prerogative of performing circumcision during the period of persecution.

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1 T. Juynboll, Commentarii in Historiam Gentis Samatitanae, p. 151.

2 Hic quum natus esset, pater diu haerebat, quomodo ipsum circumcideret. Romani enim eo tempore Samaritanis hoc interdixisse dicuntur, et delatores contituisset, qui caverent, ne hicce ritus clam ab iis institueretur.

We have referred above to one aspect of the Chronicler's tradition that in the pre-Baba period, 'any man who inspired fear or respect was called "priest" by the ordinary people'.¹ Since that era was characterized by an almost total lack of spiritual leadership, the 'men who inspired fear and respect' would undoubtedly have been the men of wealth and property. Indeed, the Hebrew word kābhôd, in the phrase kol 'îš ba'al 'ēymāh v'khābhôd, might well be interpreted in the sense of "wealth", "substance".²

The perplexing aspect of this tradition is the assumption of the title "priest", a title invested by the community with such a specific and spiritual connotation. It is rather surprising that members of the community should have had the effrontery to usurp such a sacred and hereditarily exclusive title. One aspect of Roman economic policy may provide an answer to this problem.

The Romans imposed a large number of crippling taxes upon their subject peoples. These were collected with such a ruthless thoroughness that the name "Tax Collector" (Heb. Mōkhēs) is the one referred to with the greatest odium in Talmudic literature.

There is evidence, however, that the Romans exempted from personal taxation — especially from the Leitourgias —

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1 5:4.

2 Cf. Gn.31:1.

certain classes of religious officials, including ordained scholars and teachers.¹ Generally speaking, anyone who could be classed in the category of priests — sacerdotes — was accorded such exemption.² This situation is reflected in the well-known Talmudic tradition that 'the tribe of Levi was exempted from payment of Leitourgias in Egypt'.³ This statement reflects rather the immunity granted to the rabbinical sacerdotes, or ordained scholars, in Palestine than an authentic historical tradition regarding the Israelites of ancient Egypt.

One of Constantine's first acts after espousing the Christian cause was to grant immunity from civic duties and the payment of taxes to Christian Clergy. This had the effect of creating a flood of people all clamouring to be accepted into Holy Orders.⁴ The result was that in 329 A.D. the Emperor, while not revoking his former grant, nevertheless robbed it of its effect by ordering that, henceforth, no person of curial status should be ordained.⁵ Later a compromise was reached whereby Decurions, if they wished to take the Orders, had to surrender their property as proof of the purity of their motives.

A number of cases are recorded in the Talmud where the ordinary people brought pressure to bear upon the Patriarch, preventing him from granting ordination to certain scholars

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1 See H.M.Parker, A History of the Roman World, pp.125-127.

2 A.Jones, The Greek City, pp.228, 354 n.33.

3 Tanḥuma Vā'ērā', ed.Buber, p.20.

4 W.K.Boyd, The Ecclesiastical Edicts in the Theodosian Code, p.72ff.

5 Jones, op.cit.p.198.

because of the single fact of their being wealthy landowners. The privilege of tax exemption -- from both iuga and capita -- which would have accompanied the granting of Ordination was regarded as a compelling inducement and an unfair advantage of office in many instances.

There is no reason to suppose that the Samaritan class of Sacerdotes was treated any differently in this respect; and herein may lie the clue to the assumption of the title Kōhēn by the influential and wealthy classes in the pre-Baba period. This title put them into the category of Sacerdotes, giving them the most desirable privilege of tax exemption on their incomes and estates. The Chronicler is correct when he states that 'the people' called the men of substance by the title Kōhēn. It is more than likely, however, that it was the wealthy classes themselves who first assumed the title for financial reasons.

Baba's subsequent removal of that title from the wealthy classes, and his restriction of it to true priests who were also scholars, suggests a refusal by him to allow the wealthy of his community to enjoy privileges not accorded to the poorer classes who constituted the vast majority.

Baba was probably also opposed to devaluing the sacred title of Kōhēn even for the purpose of enabling some of his community to escape the financial stranglehold of the oppressors. He might also have considered that by appealing to sacerdotal privilege under Roman law his community would have been acknowledging the justice of the Roman claim to such taxes. Baba's plan was to overthrow the enemy, not to enjoy their concessions. A Samaritan victory would remove taxation from rich and poor alike; a claim to sacerdotal privilege would not.

According to our re-construction of the administrative hierarchy introduced by Baba, we note a two-tiered system, comprising a ruling praesidium of seven and a subsidiary corps of fifty 'bearers of the tradition'.

The respective tasks given to each group are in conformity with their qualifications and expertise. For convenience of comparison we quote the specific instructions given by Baba concerning each group:

Of the seven Hākhāmīn:

They are to be the leaders of the whole community of Samaritan-Israelites; each one supervising his own territory, teaching his own community, making a distinction, within it, between the impure and the pure, the holy and the profane...jurisdiction over the study of the text of the holy Law (5:8).

Display leadership of the whole community, young and old alike. Be their judges, and decide between one man and another (6:2).

Of the fifty 'bearers of tradition':

Observe, be obedient, consider carefully, and direct your energies to the teaching of the holy Torah to the whole congregation... Direct your energies toward maintaining the reading from the holy Law... Direct your energies to the service of the Synagogue, as well as to whatever requirements you find necessary (4:12-14).

The differences between these instructions are clear-cut and significant. 'The Seven' are the undisputed leaders of the community. They have a judicial function as well as an educational one. They alone have the authority to

decide on matters of ritual purity and impurity, as well as on other aspects of law. They are the overseers of the educational system.¹

The fifty "bearers of tradition", on the other hand, have no judicial status. They are merely teachers of the Torah and supervisors of the Synagogues, under the overall jurisdiction of the praesidium of "The Seven". As we noted above, the fifty were chosen specifically because of their piety and standard of observance, rather than for their knowledge. For that reason they were known as "Observers", Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh, rather than as Sages. There is very likely a play intended on their name, in Baba's opening words 'Observe, be obedient'. The Hebrew of this is v^ešimrû v^ehiššāmru — an obvious play on their name Šimmûrîm. The implication of Baba's instruction was thus that they should be true to their title and act as paragons of religious observance and piety.

From 6:5 we learn the additional fact that of the seven senior administrators four were selected to serve in the more senior position² of Pāqid. They were chosen, apparently, because they enjoyed a greater prestige as ba'ālê šēm.

From 7:4 we learn of the specific function of a Pāqid, namely to go on circuit as controller and overseer of the judiciary. From that passage we learn of the p^eqīdīm appointed to keep the priests of the Mišpahath Haššibh'im under surveillance. We may therefore suppose that it was

1 Note the phrase vayyašigēm ('al talmūd miqrath ha-Tôrâh).

2 The seniority is implied in the prepositional word of the phrase pqdy m'ālêhem (6:5).

in this area, of the inspectorate, that the p^eqⁱdⁱm of "The Seven" served. Their itinerant function as overseers recalls the system of episcopacy in the early Church. 'In Syria and parts of Asia Minor each country church was provided with a resident staff supervised by chorepiscopoi or itinerant bishops, who were answerable to the bishop of the nearest large city'.¹

While there is still a divergence of opinion among New Testament scholars regarding the origins and evolution of the early Church's three-fold hierarchy of bishops, presbyters (or elders) and deacons, it would be invidious to attempt to draw any comparisons between Baba's structure and that obtaining in Church circles. We would nevertheless draw attention to the significance of the seven men ordained by the apostles to assist them (Acts 6:1-6). 'These may possibly have been the first elders or presbyters, who formed a kind of council with the apostles in Jerusalem (15:2). These elders were on occasion called episcopoi; i.e., overseers (guardians) or bishops (20:28)'.² As we have no evidence of any councils of seven in Judaistic history of that period, we are forced to consider the possibility that Baba might have been influenced by the existing organization in the hierarchy of the Church. The structure which Baba introduced may likewise be seen - as we shall presently demonstrate - to conform to a three-fold ministry, not too dissimilar from that of the early Church.

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1 H.B.Swete (ed.), Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry (1918), p.40.

2 J.G.Davies, Art.Encyc.Brit. (1970) vol.15, p.526.

Having dealt with the judicial praesidium, and the lower echelon of fifty "bearers of tradition" (Šimmūrê ha-Tôrāh), we must now complete the picture by referring to another group of people appointed by Baba to a particular rank within the Samaritan hierarchy. In section nine we learn that Baba appointed eleven priests, each of whom was assisted by another priest, and that he allotted to these "pairs" specific areas of Samaritan territory as a permanent inheritance.¹

Significantly, no exhortations, instructions or even specific tasks are given to these priestly leaders on their appointment. We are merely told which geographical borders marked the extremity of their administrative inheritance.² We are not even given any information regarding the extent or limitation of the power and authority that these eleven pairs of priests wielded in their territories, nor are we told of their status within the overall hierarchy.

The inference from all this is that they did not, in fact, possess any juridical function, and that matters of law still had to be referred for decision to "The Seven". This conclusion commends itself notwithstanding the fact that two of the priestly appointees — Zārîz ben Mânîr and Zayyith ben Lēvî — are singled out as men of unique knowledge and wisdom. The second is even described as 'a distinguished man, whose renown

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1 Cf. frequent refs. to nahālāh and 'āhūzath nahālāh, 9:6-19.

2 The number eleven would be totally uncharacteristic as a Semitic administrative unit. Montgomery (The Samaritans, p.150) is obviously correct in adding the Shechem "Archdiocese".

was heard everywhere throughout priestly circles, because he was paramount in all branches of wisdom, understanding, knowledge and exegesis' (9:19).

It is most perplexing that these two priests, though endowed with such superior qualities and qualifications, nevertheless only served as assistants to the other priest of the "pair".¹ This substantiates the thesis that this priestly hierarchy had little judicial or administrative function in the context of Samaritan religious life, and that their raison d'être is to be sought amid extraneous considerations.

It is tempting to draw parallels here with the Judaistic administrative structure of Zûgôth ("Pairs"), the name given to the pairs of sages who flourished at the time of the religious persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (174-164 B.C.), and who were responsible for maintaining the chain of Oral Tradition or Qabālāh.² At the beginning of the Hasmonean period there existed a system of dual appointments of heads of public institutions. Yohanan the High Priest appointed Zûgôth to supervise the collection of tithes.³ These Zûgôth would undoubtedly have been priests themselves in order to be entitled to handle the sacred food.

This structure would have been known to the Samaritan priesthood; and this may well have inspired Baba in

1 Cf. 9:18, 19.

2 Cf. Mishnah 'Āvôth ch. 1.

3 Pal. Tal. Ma'asêr Šēnī, 5:9, 56d (Krot.ed.).

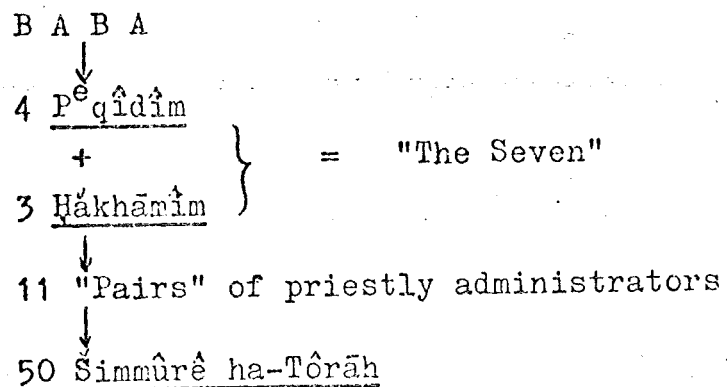
his re-organization of the priestly hierarchy. In the Judaistic tradition the first-mentioned of the Zugôth served as senior official, apparently as Nāsî, the second as 'Av Beth Dîn. We infer this distinction in rank in the case of Baba's appointees from the formula used to introduce the second of the "pair", namely, vayyāsem 'immô (9:8,9,11) and vayyāsem 'ittô (9:10,13,14). The distinction in rank is underlined by the fact that the second of the "pair" is merely added at the end - almost as an afterthought - after the geographical boundaries have been delineated in association with the name of the first priest.

What emerges from this is that Baba, having totally re-organized the community along lines which were calculated to deprive the traditional and authentic priesthood of its claim to authority, by replacing it with a meritocracy of Hakhāmîm, felt obliged to accord some token recognition to the priestly families. He did so by confirming them in geographical areas where they claimed a patrimonial right, and where their ancestors had probably exercised priestly influence in bygone periods. While possessing no juridical authority within their own estates, these "pairs" of priests would nevertheless have been recognized as civic leaders, and, with specialized and intimate knowledge of the political and social conditions obtaining in their own territories, their

advice would have been sought when matters of wider policy, affecting their specific areas, were planned by Baba or his praesidium. We may also assume that these "pairs" advised the Šimmûrê ha-Tôrāh, aiding them also in the running of the Synagogues under their regional jurisdiction, as well as in the re-organization of the educational system.

A relic of the "pairs" structure survives to the present day. The Levitical High Priest always has an associate, usually a Levitical relative, to assist him in the Synagogue service. The associate 'performs most of the service, though the High priest is required for the blessing'.¹ It is conceivable that this Synagogical practice goes back to the "pairs" of priests who probably shared similar functions in the Synagogues of their own region.

The following chart represents the hierarchical structure established as a result of Baba's reforms:



This basically tri-partite structure is summed up in 10:20, referring to the leave-taking of Baba's appointees to take up their new posts: 'And the Sages

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¹ Montgomery, op.cit., p.29.

(i.e. the "Seven") of the Children of Israel, and their leaders (rō'sēhem, i.e. the Šimmûrê ha-Tôrāh) and the priests (i.e. the eleven "pairs") went out from the presence of Baba Rabbah'.

At the foot of our table we should perhaps add the titular Hăkhāmîm, those who had obtained the prerogative of using the title as a result of examination. Our hesitation to include them is on the basis of the fact that the other three categories were administrative offices, whereas this was merely a titular status. It is likely, however, that when a vacancy occurred among "The Seven", it would have been filled by the most senior of the titular Hăkhāmîm.

As we have demonstrated, the reforms of Baba Rabbah were calculated to create territorial areas of religious and civil administration. In the case of the eleven "pairs" of priests, their activity and influence was restricted solely to their own 'inheritance'. To a lesser extent this was also the case with the ruling praesidium of "The Seven". They were also allocated specific territories by Baba,¹ over which they were to exercise a tight and comprehensive control; but they were also, collectively, to be responsible for the whole of the Samaritan community:

'You are to instruct the whole assembly of this people. Discipline them and display leadership of the whole community of Samaritan Israelites... Be their

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1 Cf. 5:20-31.

judges, and decide between one man and another....' (6:2).

How this balance of influence was to be maintained we are not told. From the context of the above passage, however, it would seem that each individual member of "The Seven" had exclusive control of every single facet of life within his own administrative area wherever and whenever the issue related to, and could be confined to, his own borders. Where a dispute arose, however, between contending Samaritans from different areas, or where an issue transcended individual geographical and administrative boundaries, then the Hākhāmīm acted collectively as a supreme court of seven, and assumed a more objective and panoramic perspective.

"The Seven" were clearly doctors of the law. Montgomery observes that 'the sect has never developed the difference between the priests and the doctors of the law to the extent which marks Judaism.¹ We are now in a position to observe that this was precisely the plan of Baba Rabbah, to make such a distinction and to invest greater power upon the doctors of the law. That the sect never 'developed the difference' is correct in historical terms. Many of Baba's innovations left an indelible influence upon Samaritan religious life. His administrative hierarchy, on the other hand, probably did not survive very long after his death. It was clearly a system which owed much of its cohesion

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¹ Montgomery, op.cit.p.32.

to the authority which Baba himself devolved to it. As an extension of his power and as a concomitant of the independence he won for the Samaritan community the new system could flourish. In the absence of these conditions it could not.

Meetings of the praesidium of "The Seven" were held in the "Hall of Meeting and Decision", which was specifically built by Baba as a place 'for hearing all petitions' (9:1). We are not told how frequently "The Seven" had to make the journey to the supreme court. We may infer, however, from the fact that any candidate for the title of Hākhām could present himself for examination 'before the great king and before the Hākhāmīm on a New Moon or a festival day' (9:3), that they were expected to be present at the Holy Mountain on these occasions in order to attend to judicial matters and other affairs of national interest.

Again we may draw a parallel to the Judaistic judiciary, wherein the supreme court was situated in the Hall of Hewn Stone in the Jerusalem Temple. Both traditions were inspired by the direction contained in Deut. 17:8-9:

'When the issue in any lawsuit is beyond your competence.. then go up without delay to the place which the Lord your God will choose. There you must go to the

levitical priests and to the judges then in office; seek their guidance, and they will pronounce the sentence'.

Baba's appointees fulfilled the very letter of this biblical prescription, which required a judiciary composed of levitical priests and laymen. Of Baba's seven Hăkhāmim four were ordinary Israelites,¹ two are described as 'levitical priests',² and one, simply a priest.³ With Baba presiding, there would be a significant balance of four priests and four ordinary Israelites. This inevitably calls to mind the rabbinic "Great Sanhedrin" which always contained a priestly representation especially competent to deal with matters relating to levitical purity and Temple cultus. According to Josephus⁴ and the New Testament⁵ the president of the Sanhedrin was always a High Priest. Whether or not this was an unwritten law is a highly-debated issue.⁶ Certainly, both the "Great Sanhedrin" and Baba's praesidium of "The Seven" maintained, at the least, a significant balance between priestly and lay representation. In Baba's system the balance was probably weighted more toward the priests—viewing the administrative system as a whole—since the fifty Šimmûrê ha-Tôrāh were more

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1 Cf. 5:22,23,25,31.

2 Cf. 5:24,26.

3 Cf. 5:20..

4 Ant.xiv.9,3-5; xx.9,1.

5 Acts 5:17-28; 23:1-15.

6 Cf. A.Buechler, Das Synedrion in Jerusalem (1902);

Schuerer, The Jewish People at the time of Christ, 1,180-4.

teachers of the community than policy makers.

Baba's reforms were particularly directed toward the reconstitution of the Synagogue and the religious ritual as the primary source of inspiration in the life of the community. To that end he re-opened the Synagogues closed by the Romans, built new ones -- siting them in a strategic circle with Shechem at the epicentre¹—and constructed a Miqveh at the foot of Mount Gerizim.²

When Baba had appointed his praesidium of seven, he built thrones for them, utilizing the stones of the Samaritan temple destroyed by Saul.³ Baba's purpose herein is not stated; but the symbolic challenge expressed by that act would not have eluded the community or the Hākhāmīm, namely that they were being charged with the task of rebuilding the community, repairing its physical, communal and spiritual breaches, and restoring it to the pristine position it occupied in the Era of Favour, before the reign of Saul and Eli, the schismatic, who anointed him. It need hardly be stated that, from the biblical, historical or archaeological evidence before us, we cannot substantiate the Samaritan claim to have been a developed religious community, with their own Temple, in the period of Saul, though this claim is, of course,

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1 Cf.sec.8.

2 Cf.8:4.

3 Cf.8:8-9.

central to Samaritan tradition.¹

Of great significance is the emphasis on ritual immersion and the construction by Baba of a number of ritual baths.² These are always referred to in a Synagogue context, implying the prerequisite of ritual purification for prayer. The necessity for ritual immersion, according to the Pentateuch, is restricted to instances of impurity, such as defilement through contact with a corpse, reptile, or through nocturnal emission. According to rabbinic sources³ it was only sectarians, such as the 'morning bathers' - probably the ἡμετεσβάντισται⁴ - who immersed themselves daily before morning prayers.

In 8:4 with reference to the migveh built by Baba at the foot of Mount Gerizim, the Chronicle states that its purpose was that 'whosoever of the Samaritans wished to pray upon this mountain shall immerse

1 For a discussion of the date of the construction of the Samaritan Temple, see H. Rowley, "Sanballat and the Samaritan Temple", BJRL 38 pp.48ff. pp. 166-196; H.G. Kippenberg, Garizim und Synagoge (1971), pp.48ff.

2 Cf. 8:4; 9:1; 10:13.

3 Toseph. Yad. 2:20; Tal. Ber. 22a.

4 Cf. Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History, iv, 22.

himself at the very time of every prayer'. The Hebrew of the last phrase - l^e'ēth 'ittôth kol s^elôth - is unnecessarily complicated, there being no reason for the word 'ittôth. Our rendering of this phrase - 'at the very time' - has, if correct, a sectarian ring about it. It is suggestive of a sectarian practice of reciting prayers while, at the same time, making ritual ablutions. Indeed, Abu'l Fath tells us of the followers of Dusis ibn Fufily, who 'performed all their prayers in water'.¹

In the context of the thorny problem of the relationship of Baba Rabbah to the Dosithean movement² such a reference is obviously of crucial importance. It was precisely in the area of ritual purification that the Dustan sect introduced extra stringencies, surpassing even Pharisaic legislation.³

Although the context of the Dusis account would place him in the age of Baba Rabbah⁴, chronological inaccuracies - such as bringing Simon Magus and Philo of Alexandria into the same period - make association of Baba and Dosithean apostles a rather tenuous assumption. The conclusion of S.J.Isser is that Dositheus was an early first century A.D. eschatological figure among the Samaritans, who became prominent through a particular sect of the Samaritans which had been formed a century

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1 Abu'l Fath (ed.Vilmar) p.157.

2 See S.J.Isser, The Dositheans, 1976.

3 Op.cit., pp.84-95.

4 Cf.Chron.Neubauer, Journal Asiatique, 6th series, 14 (1869) p.404.

earlier, and which was Pharisaistic, in contradistinction to the Sadducee-like "Orthodox" Samaritans. 'This sect, now called Dustan, or Dositheans, adopted him as their prophet, and created a Dositheus aretalogy'.¹

There is, thus, no evidence for the appearance of a personality called Dustan, Dusus or Dositheus, in the period of Baba Rabbah. However, we may acknowledge that it would have been a natural, and not unexpected, socio-religious development that pre-existent eschatological or messianic ideas - couched in a sectarian mould - should have surfaced in the fourth century A.D., just at that cataclysmic period of decline, followed by sudden ascendancy, of Samaritan fortunes.

References in Epiphanius and Eulogius, associating the Dositheans with extreme asceticism² and the eternity of the world, are assumed by Isser to 'have been reflections of secondary developments among the Dositheans or their daughter sects'.³

We may assume, therefore, that there was some Dosithean influence working among the Samaritan community of Baba's day, and that some expression of its

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1 S.J.Isser, op. cit., 163.

2 For relevant texts see Isser, 39 (Epiphanius), 64 (Eulogius).

3 Op. cit., 162.

'Pharisaistic outlook' actually permeated the thinking of Baba Rabbah. A Dosithean 'daughter sect' might well have established a prayer-site upon Mount Gerizim, wherein immersion during prayer was practised, and this may well have been perpetuated by Baba under the illusion that this was a traditional form of worship upon the Holy Mountain.

J. Bowman would go even further. He asserts that 'there can be little doubt that Baba had become Dosithean; in fact the fourth century C.E. was the high water-mark of Dositheism, when the High Priest became such'.¹ It must be pointed out that Bowman's certainty on this score rests on no solid foundation of evidence from Samaritan sources, other than the unconvincing juxtaposition of the Dosis episode and the history of Baba Rabbah. One or two observations on this are in place: first, as we have pointed out already,² Baba was never a High Priest. To this may be added the fact that he, consequently, did not personally supervise or, as far as we know from the Chronicles, even administer the Synagogue liturgical re-organization. He gave sole charge of this to the Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh. Baba was, in fact, particular to point out that it was the "ancestral" traditions of the Synagogue that were to be perpetuated. There is not the slightest hint that Baba 'had become Dosithean' or that he had espoused any tradition other

1 John Bowman, "Pilgrimage to Mount Gerizim",

El'7 (1964), 21.

2 See p. 409.

than the one upon which he was nurtured.

On the question of the juxtaposition of the Dusis episode and that of Baba Rabbah we have noted above that no conclusions may be drawn from this, especially in the light of the fact that the Chronicle also places Simon Magus and Philo in that same period of Dusis. To this we may add that the Tolidah¹ actually places the arrival of Dositheus at Shechem in the period of 'Aqbôn, the successor of Baba!

Furthermore, had Baba embraced a sectarian branch of Samaritanism, it is very unlikely that he would have built his entire, re-constituted administration upon the pillars of the old tradition. Baba sought out his Hakhāmim, his Šimmûrîm and his "pairs" of priests, from the body of the entire Samaritan community. He did not import any apostles of a new order.

We are prepared to admit the possibility, however, that Baba, in his effort to intensify spiritual awareness, absorbed something of the spirit of the Dosithean sectarians. The preservation of a Dosithean practice, such as immersion during prayer — on the Holy Mountain alone — indicates the direction of Baba's Dosithean tendencies. We do not rule out the possibility, however, as mentioned above, that Baba perpetuated the Dosithean practice, believing it to have been the "Orthodox" ritual associated with the Holy Mount.

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1 Ed. Neaubauer, p. 404-5.

At this point we may offer a suggestion which would account for the Chronicler's association of Baba Rabbah with the Dosithean apostles. The redactor of the Chronicle might well have been aware of the influence of Dositheanism in the Baba era, as suggested by the ritual of immersion during Prayer. He was also aware of the liturgical hymns attributed to one ed-Dustan. The hymns of ed-Dustan borrow liberally from the fourth century Durrân,¹ and were, therefore, probably regarded as emanating from that particular genre. If the redactor assumed that the liturgist ed-Dustan and the sectarian Dusis were one and the same person, and if he regarded the ed-Dustan hymns as being an original element in the fourth century Defter, then we can fully understand why he felt constrained to marshal his material relating to Dusis in the fourth century context of Baba Rabbah.

The reference to immersion during Prayer occurs, as we have noted, only in the context of the miqveh on the Holy Mountain. Baba did, however, construct ritual baths in other places, though it is not clear from the Chronicles whether these were for normal use, or whether they also had a Synagogical usage, suggesting that immersion before Prayer was incumbent upon all.

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1 Cf. Cowley, vol. 11, xxii.

The problem is resolved, however, by a description of Samaritan worship written by the twelfth century traveller, Benjamin of Tudela. He writes:

'They remove their garments which they have worn before they go to the place of worship; and they bathe and put on fresh clothes. This is their constant practice'.¹

This information, affirming that immersion was always a prerequisite for worship, owes its emphasis, if not its origin, to the reforms of Baba Rabbah, and the ritual baths he built.

It is apposite in this context to refer to the contemporary fourth century Christian ecclesiastical tradition on the subject of ritual immersion as a prerequisite for worship.

The great Church historian, Eusebius (264-349 A.D.), contemporary of Baba Rabbah, gives the earliest extant description of a Christian Church, the Church of Constantine at Tyre. In it he refers to a number of 'symbols of sacred purification':

The construction of fountains exactly in front of the Cathedral, these with their ample flow of fresh water, enables those who are proceeding towards the centre of the sacred

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1 M.Adler, "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela",
J.Q.R., xvii (1904), 135.

precincts to purify themselves. For all who enter, this is the first stopping-place, lending beauty and splendour to the whole, and at the same time providing those still in need of elementary instruction with the station they require....

He constructed halls and chambers along both sides, on a great scale. These too were provided with water for those still in need of cleansing and sprinkling'.¹

The similarity between the Samaritan Synagogue purification rites and those of the early Church are striking. This association adds an extra dimension to the close relationship between Prayer and immersion that exists in rabbinic literature. A well-known Midrashic observation has it that 'Prayer is (symbolically) like the Miqveh' — Nimš^elāh ha-t^ephilāh k^emiqveh.² This is amplified by another passage: 'Just as the miqveh has times when it is open and times when it is closed, so it is with the gates of Prayer'.³ We are reminded, in this context, that any Israelite wishing to enter the Temple court had first to undergo immersion.⁴

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1 Eusebius, The History of the Church (Penguin ed.), 392.

2 Mid.Ekhhah Rabb.iii,34.

3 Yalkut on Psalms, sec.789.

4 Mishna Yoma,iii,3.

Apart from the similarity between the Samaritan Synagogue purification rites and those of the Church, we also have the significant reference by Eusebius, quoted above, to 'the first stopping-place' by the fountain, which spot also served as a place of 'elementary instruction'. This lends special significance to a passage in the Chronicle¹ which refers to Baba's construction of Synagogues where instruction - especially in the traditional reading of the sacred scrolls - was given. The following verse (in H1) speaks of Baba establishing bättê ha-miqveh; in H2, however, these are referred to as bättê ha-midrâšôth. This re-inforces the link between Constantine's Church and Baba's Synagogue, in both of which instruction was given near to a ritual fountain or bath. We may now understand far more clearly the sense of the statement in 9:1 associating the miqveh with study, interpretation and petition:

יִבֹן עוֹר הַכֶּהֶן בּוֹא רֹבָה מִקְוֵה רַחֵם וְיִשְׁמַח
מִקְוֵה הַמִּקְוֵה וְהַפְתִּירוֹן וְלִשְׁמַח אֶת כָּל שִׂיֵּאֵל.

The relationship between the miqveh and study or instruction is here clearly manifest. We are reminded here of the well-known Midrashic motif, explaining water as a simile for Torah study — Ha-Tôrâh nimś^elâh lammayim,² and 'ēyn mayyâm 'elâ' Tôrâh.³

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1 10:12

2 Cant.Rabb., ch.1.

3 T.B.Babà gammâ' 17a.

One talmudic reference¹ clearly has the miqveh storage system in mind as underlying the symbolic association of the ritual bath and Torah study — Mah mayyim m^enîhîn māqôm gābhôah v^ehōlkhîn l^emāqôm nāmôkh 'aph dibhrê Tôrāh ... The symbolic idea is that just as the water is collected in ground level storage tanks, from which it is conducted down to the subterranean bath, so the words of the Torah have the power to penetrate the deepest recesses of the human heart.

Perhaps the clearest explanation of the association of miqveh and Torah study is contained in the following passage:²

מה מים הללו מקוה טהרה הן לישראל ולכל
אשר נברא בעולם כך דברי תורה מקוה טהרה..

From our discussion on this matter we are enabled to view Baba's extension of the usage of his bāttê ha-miqveh in the wider context of both Judaistic and early Christian tradition, which viewed instruction in Holy Writ as an act of purification, and which, consequently, conducted such instruction close to the ritual fountain or bath-chamber.

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1 T.B. Ta'ânîth, 7a.

2 Tanna' D^ebê 'Ēliyāhū Rabb. ch.18.

One problem associated with the reforms of Baba Rabbah is that of their duration. Suprisingly, none of the Samaritan Chroniclers have anything to say on this aspect of Baba's activity and contribution. Perhaps for this reason not one modern scholar or historian of Samaritanism has even raised the question. Inevitably, the evidence we can offer to substantiate our view that his reforms were of very brief duration will only be circumstantial.

The duration of Baba's reforms, and their practical implementation as the basis for the organization of Samaritan religious and juridical administration, can only be gauged by paying close attention to the history following on immediately from the Baba Rabbah period. In order to ascertain the prestige and authority wielded by Baba's new hierarchy we must, likewise, look to the immediate post-Baba period, in order to see how they rose to the problem and challenge posed by the demise of the great leader. We would also look for any evidence of the existence of rival contenders for communal and spiritual authority, as had existed in th days of Baba in the form of the Miṣpahath Haššibh'îm. We know from the later literary evidence of the community that Baba's complex hierarchical structure — with its "Seven", its priestly "Pairs" and its "Šimmûrê ha-Tôrâh" — did not survive as the model classification even into the medieval period. We do not know, however, exactly when

their power was actually eclipsed.

The solution to this problem is to be found, as we have suggested, in the circumstances of the post-Baba era, as described in the Chronicle. One of the most surprising features of the period is the assumption of leadership by Baba's brother, 'Aqbôn. 'Aqbôn had played no part in Baba's re-organization of the community, he had occupied no official position within the administration and had, consequently, no experience which might qualify him for the position of leader. Yet, he assumes leadership, with the title of High Priest, and there is no reference which even betrays the continued existence of any vestige of Baba's appointees. Their titles do not recur and their presence or authority cannot be detected. It is as if, with the demise of Baba, there was a revolution which restored the old order of direct rule by the High Priest. So immediate and complete a reversion to the old order can really only be explained in the context of just such a revolution.

In our discussion of the date of Baba Rabbah,¹ we have referred to the difficulty of accepting the historicity of the tradition that he spent his last years incarcerated in the city of Constantinople. If that was, indeed, a legendary tradition, created in order to hide the fact of an anti-climactic defeat on the field of battle, it would explain why, in a mood of abject despair, and with all their unprecedented hopes of spiritual renaissance

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¹ See p. 368ff.

and national independence dashed to the ground, Baba's administration — and administrators — would have been brusquely set aside and discredited. This would have been followed by a return to the only other form of government known to the community, that of High Priestly rule. If Baba did, in fact, fall in battle, then it would have been logical for the Roman authorities to have insisted on the removal of his devolved administration, with its complex power-structure, and the return to the old system, favoured by the Romans, of one leader who was solely responsible to the conquerors.

Our theory, of a post-Baba period of communal despair, is borne out by most of the Chronicles, which speak of intensified persecution during that period. Our Chronicle¹ and Chronicle VII² both aver that the Samaritans were under tighter and firmer Roman control in the post-Baba period. Both these Chronicles place the Garman episode in that period, referring the circumcision to that of the son of 'Aqbon, who succeeded Baba.³ These Chronicles also place the appearance of Dosis, and the expansion of his heresy, in this post-Baba period.⁴ Psychologically, this would fit a period of spiritual disillusionment as might be expected in the wake of the failure of Baba's movement to live up to its spiritual and national expectations.

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1 See fol.456.

2 See Adler, "Une Nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine", R.E.J. 45, 223.

3 See, however, Montgomery, p.101.

4 Chr.II, fol.467; Adler, p.225.

A further pointer to a situation which might suggest the sudden removal of Baba's appointees is furnished by the account of a tragic error of judgement perpetrated by Baba's successor, the High Priest 'Aqbôn, at the cost of the life of his own daughter.

The episode is introduced by a harsh condemnation of 'Aqbôn's total lack of ability and suitability for judicial office:

'Now that 'Aqbôn was hasty in his judgement of all the people, so that many were wont to say of him: "The High Priest 'Aqbôn perpetrates injustice, and deals with cases expeditiously, before the truth has come to light. This is clearly because he is an incompetent judge. Had he been qualified to judge he would not have acted in this way, to rush the judicial process.'¹

The Chronicle then proceeds to relate how certain people, 'who hated the actions of the High Priest 'Aqbôn ' proceeded to frame his daughter, bringing against her a false charge of immorality, with a view to demonstrating publicly the inability of the High Priest to evaluate true and false evidence. Acting in his usual precipitous manner, 'Aqbôn had his daughter condemned and executed peremptorily.

The situation reflected in this story is one which fits exactly a transition period between the removal of Baba's judiciary and the emergence of one which had earned the
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confidence and respect of the disillusioned community. The assessment of 'Aqbon given in the Chronicle is precisely what we would have expected of a man suddenly thrown into the position of leader and judge in a period of great communal upheaval and with no previous experience. It does not stretch the imagination too far to suggest that the people 'who hated the High Priest', and attempted to demonstrate his incompetence, would have been the supporters — if not representatives — of the old order, introduced by Baba.

Baba had laboured to provide the community with leaders chosen from its most educated and talented quarters. Baba's appointees were never challenged, nor was their competence and distinction called into question. The story of 'Aqbon's daughter reflects a situation wherein such judges as had ministered in Baba's administration could no longer have held office. It suggests a transition period when no one was available to step into the breach left by the removal from office of all who had functioned under Baba, and when a High Priest was struggling, against bitter opposition, to re-assert the traditional function of his ancestral line.

Thus, although the resurgence of national pride, engendered by Baba, certainly survived many generations, and while his Synagogue buildings became the focal-point for Samaritan spiritual activity for centuries, and his

intensification of the religious spirit paved the way for the great liturgists of the schools of Marqah and 'Amram Darah, yet, it must be admitted that his detailed blueprint for a highly structured political and judicial system apparently did not long survive his own lifetime.

12. THE MISPAHATH HASSIBHIM

THE MIŠPAHATH HAŠŠIBH'ĪM — A RIVAL ADMINISTRATIVE AUTHORITY

There is a remarkable admission in the Chronicle that, notwithstanding Baba's unqualified claim to leadership and his total re-organization of the Samaritan hierarchy, there was, however, a dissident group which maintained, in defiance of Baba Rabbah, a separatist administrative structure. They are portrayed in the Chronicles as a dynastic (or family) entity, referred to as the Mišpahath Haššibh'īm, "Family of Seventy."

Their total rejection of Baba Rabbah's authority is clearly stated: וְאֵלֶּיךָ הַמִּשְׁפָּחָה הַזֹּאת לֹא אָרַוּ לְשִׁמּוֹעַ אֶל הַכֹּהֵן וְאֵל הַזֶּה (7: 2). The same verse also provides the motive of their secession, namely their antipathy to the y^etūb (ordinance) regarding the division of Samaritan territory into seven administrative areas, each under a dual-leadership appointed by Baba Rabbah.

Reference is made to rival appointments of Priests, made by the Mišpāhāh, which was not — according to the evidence before us — itself of priestly descent. Yet, they assumed to themselves a hereditary right to preside over, and regulate, the appointment of their own priests and leaders. According to H2, they had a predilection for the appointment of "Priests of the sons of Kehāth" (7: 3), though H1 was unaware of, or did not acknowledge, this particular fact.

The territorial extent of the influence of the Mišpāhāh was, apparently, quite considerable. The Chronicle makes reference to appointments made by them בְּמִקְוֵהֵם וּבְכָל עִירֵיהֶם אֲחֵר

וּבְכָל עִירֵיהֶם אֲחֵר — 'in their own centre(s), and in all the cities under their inheritance'.

Baba would clearly not have welcomed this rival body, and friction between their appointees and those of Baba probably occurred fairly often. This is suggested, in fact, in the reference to those occasions when 'an error was discovered as having been made by one of their priests, in the statutes of the Torah, in judgment or law' (7: 5). The official priests would thereupon 'hasten and report the matter to Baba Rabbah' (7: 6). The impression given is that the appointees of the Mišpahath Haššibh'im were kept under close surveillance by the official leadership of Baba. They were clearly regarded as unqualified priests, for had they possessed the requisite knowledge and qualifications they would undoubtedly have been recognized by Baba when he combed Samaritan territory looking for Hākhāmim (4:11). Even at a later time they could have presented themselves for examination in order to gain an official ordination and the title of Hākhām (cf. 9:3). The fact that they were regarded by Baba as unqualified people, according to his criterion of leadership, would explain why they were kept under such surveillance, and why their judgments were constantly monitored by Baba's representatives.

The problem posed by their existence is obvious. They were a divisive element in the Samaritan community, and their rival administration may well have undermined Baba's prestige, as well as having sown no small amount of confusion among the ordinary folk. It should be especially noted that, on the evidence of the text, the area of authority assumed by the Mišpāhāh was in no way circumscribed. Their priestly appointees functioned in matters of hūqqōth

ha-Tôrāh (ritual law), mišpāt (civil litigation) and din (day-to-day religious affairs); in other words, the whole gamut of communal and religious administration.

The Chronicler does not make it clear whether their priestly appointees confined themselves to exercising jurisdiction within the cities of the Mišpāhah or whether they functioned throughout Samaritan territory, alongside Baba's official representatives. If the former situation was the case - and this appears to be more creditable from the account before us - this would necessitate the conclusion that Baba's officials had an entrée into the strongholds of the Mišpāhah, for without such, they would not have been aware of any miscarriage of justice or error in law on the part of the rival appointees (cf.7:5). We conclude, therefore, that they were able to attend as observers during sessions of the courts of the Mišpāhah. These "observers" are indeed alluded to in the reference to four P^eqîdîm , appointed from among the seven sages (6:5). These P^eqîdîm are described as 'men of renown' (ibid.), and frequently they were sent out as representatives of the courts to make a tour of judicial inspection 'in every city' (7: 4).

The modus vivendi arrived at between Baba and the Mišpāhah did not mean that Baba recognized their rights to exercise total and independent authority within their own areas of domicile and influence. This is emphasized by the fact that, notwithstanding their localized independence, Baba still allocated priests to function in the areas under their rule.

The fact that the latter rejected the authority of Baba's representatives - וְלֹא שָׁמְעוּ לָמֶן לֵהֱוֹת לָהֶם (7:2) - did not prevent Baba from proceeding with his own appointments and signifying thereby that he did not intend to surrender any of his own authority or jurisdiction over the territory of the dissidents.

Unfortunately, the text is rather vague in its description of the procedure which followed upon Baba's inspectorate having discovered an error in judgment on the part of the rival priests. The text states that 'they would hasten and present their objections to their High Priest'

(יִמְהָרוּ וַיִּגִּישּׁוּ אֶת דְּוָרֵיהֶם אֶל הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם). The High Priest concerned could hardly have been N^etan'el or Baba, as these would surely have been named by the Chronicler. The only alternative is that the reference is to the High Priest of the Mišpāhāh. In other words, Baba's inspectorate would refer any erroneous judgments detected by them to the High Priest of the Mišpāhāh, who, under the terms of some agreement concluded with them (or Baba), would guarantee to rectify the error and reverse the judgment.

If this interpretation of the passage is correct, we learn from it two points not specified in the Chronicle: that the Mišpāhāh maintained their own High Priesthood, and, secondly, that the latter deferred to the superior authority of Baba's sages in matters of religious law, and made every effort to ensure that, in this area at least, no departure from orthodox tradition was encountered.

Baba was quite clearly unable to curb their activities, and was constrained to tolerate them; and from this situation, a measure of their influence, power and prestige may be gained. From one observation of the Chronicler we learn why Baba was prepared to allow this dilution of his authority:

'And these "Seventy" used to help the Priest Baba Rabbah in every war, providing him with grain and giving him unnumerable gifts; indeed fulfilling his every need' (7:6).

We have here nothing short of a separatist oligarchy. Baba found himself obliged to enter into an arrangement with these separatists on a quid pro quo basis. Baba allowed them to retain their (apparently-)traditional hierarchical structure, and in return they placed at his disposal their quite considerable economic resources. The reference to 'their centres and cities' suggests that they were totally self-sufficient, and had hitherto exercised hegemony within their own territorial areas. Their recognition of Baba's powers of leadership, and their faith in his ability to rid the country of the hated oppressor, prompted them to throw in their lot with Baba and give him every support. They were not prepared, however, to merge their own identity; and they insisted, therefore, on functioning as a state within a state.

Without casting doubt upon the historicity of this tradition regarding the Mišpahath Haššibh'im and their rival claim to authority, it is inevitable that an association will be made between the latter and the Qumran tradition of the rival to the Teacher of Righteousness. The latter wielded priestly authority, but, not belonging to the family of Zadok, he was

without the traditional right to do so — a right inherited by reason of ancestral lineage through that particular family.

The difference between the 'Wicked Priest', or "Man of Untruth", in the Scrolls and the "Mišpaḥath Haššibh'îm" as described in the Chronicle, is obvious. The latter, while constituting a rival authority to that of Baba — portrayed in the Chronicle as a "Teacher of Righteousness" type of leader — did not, however, seek to persecute him or destroy him. On the contrary, co-operation was the hallmark of their relationship. Nevertheless, it is clear from the account of the tension still existing between the two groups that their basic conflict owed its origin to a much older and basic division within the ranks of the Samaritan community on the issue of vested authority. The apparent co-existence and co-operation between the rival factions in the period covered by our Chronicle in no way rules out a past history of strife and competition for administrative power. The unity at this period was clearly imposed upon them by the threat of a common enemy.

There is also the possibility that we have, underlying the struggle between the Mišpāḥāh and the official priesthood, a faint echo of the classical Judaeen 'Priest-Prophet' and 'Pharisee-Sadducee' class struggle, wherein the predominant priestly administration is challenged by a rival faction which does not deny the priestly office its exalted function (hence the Mišpaḥath Haššibh'îm appoint their own priests), but which resents the extension and expansion of that sacred authority into the secular

administrative arena.

On the question of the origin of the claim of the Mišpāhath Haššibh'īm to independence and authority, the Chronicles are not specific. Had this arisen as a result of a rebellion by one particular "family" against the hegemony of the hereditary High Priestly administration, it is unlikely that Baba would have been so accommodating towards them. It is noteworthy that Chron. H2 nowhere uses the term Mišpāhah when referring to them. Conceivably, then, the word Mišpāhah, as used in H1, is to be understood in a wider sense than that suggested by the translation 'family'. It may require here to have the sense of "descendants" or "posterity" (cf. Gn.10: 30,31,32). The word "Mišpāhah" also occurs in the sense of 'a guild (of scribes)' (cf. 1 Ch.2:55). The Mišpāhath Haššibh'īm may be regarded, therefore, as a guild or clan who claimed descent from the 'Seventy Elders' (Z^eqēnīm) who wielded authority in the 'Era of favour' (cf. 6:6). At that time the (ideal) administration was shared between a lay judiciary of seventy Elders and a priestly coterie. These two bodies had complimentary, though specifically-delineated, areas of authority.

Our knowledge of Samaritan social history in the pre-Christian era is too scanty to determine whether or not the community preserved the executive body of 'Seventy Z^ekēnīm'. That just such a body enjoyed judicial authority during the period of, and following, Joshua, is stated explicitly in that biblical book (cf. Josh.24:31), and this would, consequently, have remained a divinely commissioned legislature in Samaritan eyes. It is apposite, in this connection to refer to the Judaistic tradition

that 'Moses received the Torah on Sinai, and handed it down to Joshua, who handed it down to the "Elders", who handed it down to the Prophets' (Avoth 1:1). As the Samaritans did not accept the religious legality or authority of "Prophets", their sacred writ breaks off after the book of Joshua; and consequently the climactic picture of their "Era of Favour" is of a community ruled by Z^eqénîm. We have, in our Chronicle, a reflection of that situation; and the clan which now, in the period of Baba Rabbah, reserved unto itself an exclusive right of leadership and organization, appealed, for legitimation of that prerogative, to their claim to being the hereditary heirs of the office of the Šibh'îm, the 'Seventy Elders'.

The theory that the Mišpahath Haššibh'îm derived its raison d' être from an assumed hereditary lineage back to the 'Seventy Elders' of the classical period is suggested by an introductory note, or gloss, to the episode, which contrasts the administrative organisation in the "Days of Favour" with that as instituted by Baba Rabbah:

'Now the above (sc. Baba's) arrangement did not operate during the Era of Favour. During the Era of Favour seventy chosen Elders constituted the sages of the community' (6: 6).

As an introduction to the episode of the Mišpahath Haššibh'îm, the above passage is clearly intended to provide the background to the latter's claim to authority, in the form of a custodial right to the historic judicial office of Z^eqénîm.

Baba's drastic re-organization of the Samaritan administration would have given the Mišpāḥāh their chance to press a claim to hereditary authority. His refusal to take account of the classical structure of seventy 'Elders' must have greatly frustrated the Mišpahath Haššibh'īm, dashing their hopes of renewed prestige. Hence the rivalry between the two groups, and the zealous maintenance by the Mišpāḥāh of their own independent administration.

There is one problem, however, that still requires to be resolved. Does not the claim of a 4th cent. clan to have been the hereditary heirs of the 'Seventy Elders' of the classical "Era of Favour" sound rather fantastic? To have based a right to independent government upon that tenuous basis alone seems even more outrageous!

Before presuming to deal with this problem, one aspect of it has to be stated, and that is that if the evidence of the Chronicle, regarding their wealth and autonomy, is trustworthy, then it is highly inconceivable that all this influence, power and substance would have accrued to them purely as a practical concomitant of their claim to be the descendants of the Seventy Elders. The only alternative is to assume that they were not just a band of frustrated dreamers, harking back to a bygone era, some millennium before, when their ancestors had enjoyed leadership as Z^eqēnīm, but rather that these were the descendants of a group that had wielded actual authority and leadership during the centuries immediately preceding Baba Rabbah, when the power of the High Priesthood was at very low ebb.

During the second and third centuries A.D., the Samaritan community lost much of its cohesion, in the face of intensified Roman persecution. This was especially grievous during the reigns of Commodus (180-192) and Alexander Severus (222-235). This resulted in a migration of Samaritans into the 'diaspora'. New locations were sought, and new avenues for trade and prosperity were discovered. By the 4th century, Samaritans were located in the coastal cities of Palestine, in Caesarea, Dora,¹ Joppa, Ashkelon, Akko² and Yavneh Yam.³ With the loosening cohesion of the community, the authority of the High Priesthood would inevitably become weakened. Under the repressive conditions — under which the High Priests themselves often bore the brunt — their ability to exercise control over such an extended, and ever widening, community, is very doubtful.

From the sociological point of view, no pioneering, religious community can function without some embodiment of its traditional authority. It is the presence of a traditional authority which gives it its sense of identity and continuity. The religious administration of the "diaspora" communities must have been entrusted to some authority which commanded the respect of the pioneers. This respect is more likely to have been earned by reason of wealth and influence, rather than by spiritual qualities alone. It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the High Priest did, in fact, find it necessary to devolve his

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1 Tolidah, p.439.

2 Montgomery, p.143f.

3 M.Dothan, "Archaeological Survey of the Rubin River",

IEJ II, 2, (1952), 115.

authority to the emerging leadership of the new communities. This social and political situation would reflect very closely the similar devolution of authority that was going on at the same time in Judaistic circles. There, the Patriarch Hillel ll had to surrender the most zealously guarded prerogative of his central office to the diaspora communities, namely, the independent right to regulate the calendar of the religious year. The same social and political pressures were at work upon both communities, and we may safely assume that the Samaritan High Priest was forced to make similar concessions to existing circumstances, in the form of devolved authority.

We should perhaps note here the fact that we are obviously trying to reconstruct a situation for which very little external or internal evidence exists. The paucity of internal information regarding the social history of the Samaritan community in the early Roman period is attributed by them to the persecution of Commodus, who destroyed the records of the community:

'He took many books, sacred scrolls, and many books of the Chronicles, as well as other books of hymns, and 'Books of the Sages" which were in their possession, and burned them in fire. Very little of that literature remained'.

(fol. 351, Unpubl.)

The expanding diaspora community suggests, as we have observed, the inevitability of a secondary authority to administer these areas. We suggest that this took the form of an assembly of "Elders". This assembly would have comprised the wealthy and powerful families who had moved into the coastal cities in order to involve themselves with trade

and banking.¹ The "Elders" would have initially assumed their responsibility and authority under the aegis of the High Priest of Shechem. Ultimately, however, as their wealth and autonomy increased, they would have come to view themselves as a separate community with hereditary title to self-government. This would explain the reference in the Chronicle to 'their own localities and cities' (7: 3). Again we would have here a counterpart to the familiar Judaistic situation of tension and rivalry between the "Spiritual Centre" and the growing and flourishing diaspora.

The term "Haššibh'îm" was probably a later, apologetic appellation, justifying the rival authority, and investing it with undisputed status by giving it a hereditary link with the Seventy Elders of the Era of Favour.

As the diaspora developed, the power and leadership would presumably have become concentrated in the hands of influential "families"; hence the use of the term "Mišpāhāh". (We have an echo here of the Tobiad familial situation in early Judaea) We detect, in fact, a polemical note against this situation underlying 6: 9, which harps back to the structure of the organisation of the Seventy Elders in the Era of Favour:

'Now this rank was not to be an inheritance from father to son; but if one Elder died, they would choose another in his place'.

We detect here a polemic against the power-structure of the Mišpahath Haššibh'îm which perpetuated itself precisely through wealthy families — 'from father to son'.

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1 A.Crown, "The Samaritan Diaspora to the end of the Byzantine Era," AJBA II, 1, 113.

The Chronicler is making the point that if the Miṣpāhāh did, in fact, derive its authority from a claim to uninterrupted lineage back to the Seventy Elders, then such a claim is refuted by the fact that the traditional "Elder" of the Era of Favour was not a hereditary office, and consequently no individual or clan could ever lay claim to it by inheritance.

There is an abstruse reference (7:6) to the Miṣpāhāh sending matnôth ha-paḥărôth to Baba. We have suggested (see Commentary ad loc.) that the meaning of the phrase might be "earthenware gifts," for use on the Sabbath.

These were to replace metal utensils which might, inadvertently, be purified — in violation of the Sabbath — if they became unclean. If our interpretation is correct, we might conjecture that a donor who sees fit to send just such gifts would have a special sensitivity for the Sabbath day and the rigid laws controlling it. The Dositheans were, as we know, especially strict in regard to Sabbath observance. Might it not be conceivable, therefore, that Baba's opponents — religious schismatics, with their own High Priest and sacerdotal hierarchy — were none other than an entrenched Dosithean group?

The attempt of Baba Rabbah to limit the authority and independence of the Miṣpāhāh Haššibh^{im} was an important part of his programme of centralizing Samaritan authority, and unifying the community. His efforts in that direction were, as we have seen, not wholly successful.

13. BABA RABBAH AND THE CULTURAL ETHOS OF
THE MEMAR MARQAH.

BABA RABBAH AND THE CULTURAL ETHOS OF THE MEMAR MARQAH

The heading of this chapter was inspired by a recent study, conducted by A. Broadie, entitled An investigation into the cultural ethos of the Samaritan Memar Marqah with special reference to the works of Philo of Alexandria (Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Glasgow Univ. 1975). Broadie deals extensively with a number of philological and theological motifs which recur in the Memar and which reflect a Philonic outlook or a polemical rejection of Greek philosophical ideas.

An analysis of the religious philosophy of Baba Rabba, as reflected in the Chronicles, and its relationship to ideas and teachings in the Memar Marqah, is crucial to any discussion of the extent to which Baba's ideas and reforms foreshadowed and influenced the thinking of succeeding generations, and especially the 4th cent. religious and literary renaissance which found expression in the foundation of the Defter and the development of such theological systems as that of the Memar Marqah.

Broadie quotes a number of passages illustrative of the Memar's idea of divine love, mercy and compassion, and also of the tension between these concepts and that of divine justice (pp. 215-226). Broadie noted a kind of leitmotiv in the Memar, that the God of the Samaritans lacks arbitrariness or capriciousness in his dealing with men, being the author of a set of immutable laws of justice from which, for metaphysical reasons, no man can successfully seek exemption (p. 215). This doctrine apparently stands squarely opposed to the concept of divine mercy and compassion, which suggests a "capricious" decision by God, in chosen circumstances, to set aside the severe decree and grant a reprieve to erring man.

The solution to this problem lies, according to Broadie, in the specific circumstances under which the divine compassion is displayed. Divine love or compassion - according to Margah - is only shown as a concomitant of an earnest expression by man of his true love of God. 'Divine love is a recompense for godly deeds' (p.225). 'God's love, mercy, compassion and pity are not merely gratuitously bestowed on men. They have to be earned, and are earned by living a godly life' (p.224).

Throughout the speeches of exhortation uttered by Baba Rabba to his compatriots we detect this awareness that divine mercy and compassion have to be earned and justified by the actions of the community. There is never an isolated appeal to divine justice for its own sake, unaccompanied by a well-reasoned and fully-argued "case", justifying the showing of mercy and proving it to be more than well-deserved and well-earned. To take but one example:

... וְאָמַר עַל מֶלֶךְ מִן אֱלֹהֵי מַחֲסֵרְךָ וְרַחֲמֶיךָ
וְאָמַר כִּפּוּר לִמֶּנּוּ קִרְאוּ בְּנֵיכֶם יִצְרוּ
וְאָמַר עֲנֵה לִמִּי עַל אֱלֹהֵי הַמַּחֲסֵר וְהַחֲנוּנִת
וְאָמַר הוֹלִיךְ אֱלֹהֵי אִמְךָ סֶדֶד מִדֶּרֶךְ הַיָּשָׁר וְהַחֲנוּנִת
וְאָמַר פֶּתַח לִמִּי הִנֵּה אֵת דַּלּוֹתִי ..

(3: 10)

God's mercy is always conditional; it is only displayed as a response to man's effort to secure it. Mercy, for its own, or for God's, sake is irrational; it cannot be synthesized with the conception of a divine brand of justice that has already taken account of the merciful consideration and woven it into the warp of his immutable justice.

Baba constantly calls for special and unique devotion to God; devotion of the kind that could wrest the desired compassion

from Him. It is nothing short of qin'ah ('zeal') that is expected of them. This qin'ah is spelled out to the community in the clearest of terms. It is of the same quality and intensity as that which motivated Simeon and Levi, 'two brothers who displayed zeal for the Lord ' (2: 1), in destroying all the men of Shechem. It is the zeal of the tribe of Levi at the time of the Golden Calf (2: 3), and of Phinehas 'who was zealous for the Lord his God' (2: 6). It is the zeal of all the forefathers (2: 9) who have ever distinguished themselves through being the agents through whom divine mercy was channelled to the community in its hours of peril.

The quality of qin'ah being especially efficacious in the lives and activity of these former leaders, the Chronicler emphasizes the fact that Baba was qualified to aspire to leadership, and to undertake his heroic and unparalleled exploits, only by reason of the fact that he was, himself, uniquely endowed with a superabundance of that same ingredient of zeal: 'Zeal for the Lord was continuously in his heart, and he was endowed with holy spirit' (1: 5). This same quality of qin'ah is attributed to Levi, Baba's nephew, enabling him to perform deeds of great valour, and especially to effect the destruction of the Roman kings and their armies on Mount Gerizim: 'And Levi arose with great qin'ah ' (19: 57) . The very concurrence of God in Baba's plan for the deliverance of his people was secured only ' on account of the great zeal he revealed in communing with the Lord, his God ' (1: 9) .

There was, however, a subtle distinction between the zeal displayed by Levi (and others) and that possessed by Baba Rabbah.

In the case of the former, it was an inherited qin'ah, a national characteristic, implanted through the traditional teachings and a keen sense of loyalty and love for the ancestral faith. In the case of Baba it is suggested that he was, in fact, the recipient of an actual revelation of the very essence, or hypostatization, of qin'ah. This is disclosed by Baba in his very first speech to the people -

וְהָיָה לִי לְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים - 'The spirit of zeal communed with my heart' (1: 11). Baba's qin'ah was an external agent, force or spirit, which possessed his heart and controlled all his activities from that moment onwards. It is conceivable that this appeal to a revelatory qin'ah-spirit was essential in order to re-inforce Baba's claim to authority. It must not be overlooked that, according to the accepted norms of Samaritan succession, Baba's prospects of assuming leadership of the community as his High Priestly prerogative were fairly remote. His father Netan'el, the High Priest, was a young man. He actually lived until the last days of Baba himself - traditionally a period of forty years. Baba's action in assuming leadership and sole authority would, quite naturally, have been regarded as a usurpation and a gross act of filial rebellion, calculated to alienate rather than win over the masses. The disclosure, however, that he had been "called" by revelatory qin'ah-spirit, silenced all opposition. None could quibble with such a claim.

The Chronicler makes it clear that this zeal was not merely nationalistic in colour. Baba's intention was not just to restore the fortunes of the Samaritan community but, first

and foremost, 'to restore the Israelite faith' (H1, 1: 12), or 'to establish the law of the Prophet Moses' (H2, 1: 11, 16: 24). Baba, in deed and word, established thereby the principle that compassion and mercy, as well as reward, cannot be expected of God until the community, as a whole, is able to wrest it from God by the strength of their spiritual resolve and faith.

Thus, the leitmotiv which Broadie highlighted in the Memar, that God's love or mercy is awarded neither arbitrarily nor without good reason, is clearly and forcefully foreshadowed in the exhortations of Baba Rabbah. Baba represents, in fact, an even more extreme viewpoint on this issue of the exact quality of relationship with God which requires to be displayed and pursued by man in order for him to become the recipient of divine mercy. For Marqah, 'God's love for man is in return for man's love of God' (Broadie, op.cit., p.224); for Baba, God's love for man is in return for man's zeal for God. The zeal, or qin'āh, is a more positive, intensive, even aggressive determination not only to love Him, and to enter into a close personal relationship with Him, but to go onto the offensive, and to be zealous in eradicating any antagonism to Him and to His law on the part of others. Hence the exemplification by Baba of heroes of the ilk of Simeon and Levi - who eradicated harlotry - and Phinehas and the tribe of Levi, who smote even their own brethren after the idolatry of the Golden Calf. It is not merely in one or two areas of religious and moral expression that qin'āh is called for. Baba calls upon the community to become, in effect, a community of zealots, namely, to develop qin'āh as a national characteristic. This is the import of the expression 'שורו לנו נהיה מן הקנאים לתורו' (2: 14).

This qin'ah-characteristic might well be an expression of imitatio Dei . In one passage in the Chronicle, God is actually invoked as Qin'ah (3: 35), the (embodiment of) zeal, a term inspired by the the reference to God in the Decalogue as 'Ēl Qannā' (Ex.20: 5; Dt.5: 9).

That Baba's theology should have become diluted, and divested of some of its martial quality when taken into the Marqan system, is not suprising. Its influence in Baba's own day would have been in consonance with the militaristic zeal required by the need of the hour. Once the armed insurrection, and Samaritan efforts at securing their own independence, had been thwarted, the concept of "a community of zealots" lost its appeal and charisma. Baba's thinking nevertheless left its traces in the Memar; and the qin'ah of Baba's system gave way to a doctrine of positive and vigorous spiritual achievement as a prerequisite to divine mercy. In Marqah this assumes the proportions of a leitmotiv, which denies God's mercy to those who have not earned it.

But this doctrine is not to be regarded merely as a uniquely Marqan innovation, introduced in order to fill the gap left by the abandonment of the qin'ah doctrine. In fact, the denial of God's mercy to those who have not earned it finds an even clearer and blunter expression in our Chronicle than in the Memar itself:

'Lord God, if our iniquity is too great for
you to bear, do not chastise us for this together
with the wicked. Rather let us be taken into
your presence by the agency of death, than that

'these wicked ones should brutally achieve our destruction. If it is our guilt that has prevented Your being close to us, and Your salvation from reaching us, let not the enemies of Your law have dominion over us' (3: 18-19).

There is no humble or desperate plea here for divine mercy to be shown where it is clearly unearned. Baba could not entertain such a notion. If the transgressions of the community ever merited its destruction, that would be immutable justice. Baba's only plea, under such circumstances, would be that the instruments of their death should not be such as are even more unworthy than themselves (3: 19, 22).

This theology is not merely conceptual thinking, but translates itself into a practical approach to certain conditions of life. Since immutable divine justice demands that the quality of compassion cannot arbitrarily be dispensed, except when it is fully-deserved and truly-earned (when it ceases, in fact, to become compassion, but rather justice), so that it "is impossible for pity and compassion to serve as a motive for divine action" (Broadie, p.220), and since divine action is the only true model for humans to emulate, it follows then that where violence has been perpetrated, with no subsequent expression of unsolicited remorse, then justice will have to run its full course, with no place allowed to compassion or mercy. (This is expressed graphically by the Kemar: 'If the Prophet Moses himself were to pray for us when we were in evil, his prayer would not be accepted' (1, 67; 11,107).

This alone explains what, at first glance, appears to be a rather heartless and ruthless attitude of Baba Rabbah in dealing with his enemies. In section 16 of the Chronicle we have an account of the abortive attempt by the inhabitants of Nemara to attack Baba on the Sabbath day. When the attempt fails, the hapless conspirators make a full and spontaneous confession of guilt, and an admission of the righteousness of Baba Rabbah. Their undoubtedly sincere remorse finds no quiver of compassion, however, in the breast of Baba. 'There is no obligation upon me ('ittî 'ēyn hayyābh) to spare your lives', he tells them (16: 29). The import of the Hebrew phrase is that it would necessitate a religious directive, specifically prescribing and insisting upon mercy, before he would be permitted to exercise it.

The phrase hayyābh 'al occurs elsewhere in the Chronicle (14: 22) in the identical sense of a 'binding obligation to make a gesture of response to an action of another party', this time an obligation to reciprocate benefits conferred by God by a reciprocal gesture of praise, prayer and thanks. It is used to convey the idea of an imperative about which there can be no discussion or concession. Baba is saying, in effect, that it is not in his hands to dispense anything other than stern judgement, namely a suitable punishment to fit the gravity of the crime. Hence his decision to slay every single adult, male and female, even though the latter took no part in the attack.

Broadie (op.cit.p.206) , referring to the Marqan doctrine of repentance, quotes a passage from the Memar which speaks in denunciation of those who turn aside from the light of the law of Moses. The passage concludes, 'they call upon Him but He does not answer' (1,97). Broadie explains this suprising assertion of Marqa, that God makes himself deaf even in the face of an expression of sincere remorse ("They call Him'), by suggesting that a distinction is made, in the eyes of Marqah, between the true penitents and those who go through the motions of prayer by uttering, but without sincerity, the appropriate formulae (p.207).

The merciless attitude of Baba Kabbah toward the people of Nemara is in line with the above teaching of the Memar. The protestation of remorse, uttered by the townspeople, was not regarded by Baba as true repentance, because it was induced by fear of the consequences of their action, and was, consequently, devoid of the nesfiruth (cf.3:10, 4:7 et al.) — pure sincerity — which Baba insists upon in all relationships. It was tantamount to going through the motions of prayer by uttering religious formulae. As God "does not answer" such a call, so Baba felt unable to respond to the remorse of the people of Nemara.

It is apposite to note that Baba did not expect his enemies to deal with him other than along the lines dictated by by immutable justice. When the realization dawned upon him that his stay in Constantinople was, in fact, an imprisonment, he did not carp or plead for mercy:

וַיֵּדַע הַמֶּלֶךְ הַצָּדִיק בְּרַחֲמֵי הָאֱלֹהִים וְלֹא יָצַח עִם הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּגִּלְגָּל הַזֶּה .

Baba accepted the king's right to dispense immutable justice, and he accepted it with dignified resignation.

Again, we may refer to the account of Moses' death in the Memar (book v.), and especially the reaction of Moses to the divine announcement of Moses' impending death. Moses responds with praise and worship: 'Thou dost not show partiality, not to prophet nor righteous man.' God's justice is immutable, for it is indistinguishable from His mercy, and inseparable from it. Baba propagated such ideas, and acted according to their practical implication (Cf Macdonald, Theology, pp.114-5).

Notwithstanding the above exposition, which explains Baba's violent treatment of the men of Nemara in the context of his specific ideology, the Chronicler was, nevertheless, rather sensitive on the issue of their wholesale slaughter. Hence his attempt to justify Baba's action in the light of Pentateuchal law: 'And he slew them and burned them in fire, acting in accordance with the word of the Lord in His holy law, "And you shall do to him as he sought to do to his brother"'. (Dt.19:19).

It need hardly be pointed out that this law deals specifically with the crime of perjury, testifying falsely in a court of law. The extension of this law, in order to insist on talio in all cases where a physical attack on another is planned or perpetrated, and to justify thereby the rejection of mercy in all circumstances, is to violate the sense of the biblical text and the spirit of the Mosaic law.

Whether Baba was motivated by personal feelings of outrage and hatred against the people of Nemara, or whether he was indeed strictly applying his fundamentalistic viewpoint on the theological issue of divine justice versus mercy, remains an open question.

In terms of cosmology (or concepts of creation) we find close points of contact between the terminology of the Chronicle and ideas on this subject current in the Margah.

One of the clearest statements on the subject of creation, found in the Chronicle, is contained in 3: 10:

אֵל מֶלֶךְ הַמַּעַל הַמְּבַרְכֵּן בְּרָא וְיָצַק וְיָסַד וְיָבֵן
וְיִסְכֵּן וְיִסְכֵּן וְיִסְכֵּן וְיִסְכֵּן וְיִסְכֵּן.

Basically, it is the design of creation - that which is within human comprehension and experience - which concerns Baba. His philosophical thoughts, as preserved in the Chronicle, are not presented as part of a theological or philosophical exposition, but rather in the context of prayers and meditations. They consequently employ the terms with which his non-sophisticated contemporaries would have been familiar. We may assume, therefore, that the ideas underlying the terms in the above passage were part and parcel of the generally accepted conception of God in Baba's time, possibly even enjoying the status of a catechism.

Margah frequently refers to God as 'the Creator and the Fashioner', language which Broadie (p.263ff.) regards as suggestive of the philosophical distinction between "form" and "matter" of the res creata. "Creator" would then refer exclusively to the creation of matter; "Fashioner" to the act of giving a form.

In the above-quoted passage from the Chronicle (3: 10) we have an even clearer formulation of this distinction between "matter" and "form". The phrase הַמַּעַל הַמְּבַרְכֵּן is pregnantly indeterminate. Its sense is 'He brought into

existence that which was endowed with existence' - a clear reference to "matter". But "matter" requires a "form" in which to express its existence. Consequently - Baba continues -

וַיִּצְבֹּר חָכְמָה , 'and fashioned it (the 'matter') with wisdom'. The transition from the plural (חָכְמָה) to the singular (חָכְמָה) further supports the conclusion that Baba had "matter" in mind.

For Baba, the creation of "matter" was effected by God's חָכְמָה . The providing of the "form", however, was through the agency of His אֱמֻנָה . These attributes are not used arbitrarily. חָכְמָה occurs only once in the Pentateuch and not once in the book of Joshua. We can therefore be quite sure of the context that suggested its usage to the Chronicler, namely Dt.33: 29. This passage speaks of God 'riding the skies' through the instrument of His אֱמֻנָה . The word does not suggest "pride" or even "majesty" - the usual renderings of the translations - but, rather, "mastery" (of the cosmos), "supremacy" (over matter), or "creative power". This nuance clearly underlies the root-meaning of אָמַן , "to rise up", suggestive of "pre-eminence". That the concept of God 'riding the skies' was popular as a synonym for the pre-eminence of God is clear from a number of passages in Marqah. In hymn xi,20 we read: 'O Rider of Heaven, the world is under Thy power'. It is clearly in that sense of "power" that אֱמֻנָה is to be understood.

Thus it was the possession of "divine mastery" or "power" that enabled Him to effect the creation of matter. But to give "form" required a different attribute. This was an artistic activity, and consequently needed the employment of Hokhmāh.

This is not merely "wisdom". It is essentially the same technical term as used in Ex.28: 3 (ruah hokmah) to denote the prerequisite skill for designing the appurtenances of the sanctuary. The artists who are to be deputed to the task of designing and fashioning the vessels of the sanctuary all have one thing in common: they are all hakhmeh lshbn (Ex.28: 3; 31: 6; 36:1,2). Bezalel, the chief designer, was 'filled with the spirit of God, with (hokmah) wisdom..' (Ex.35: 31). Thus, we may conclude that when Baba refers to God as having "fashioned" matter with hokmah, he has in mind specifically the concept of giving (artistic) "form" to the res creata.

We may now make an observation pertinent to the thorny question of 4th cent. Samaritan opinion regarding the doctrine of creation ex nihilo. The passage from our Chronicle (3: 10), quoted above, side-steps the issue by referring to the "acts" of creation and fashioning, rather than to the origin and nature of the material out of which creation was effected. Broadie (op. cit.266-7) asserts that 'since Marqah employs so many expressions in the course of referring to the divine creative activity, and since so little is known of the precise conceptual distinctions Marqah indicates in using this rich vocabulary, it seems at the present stage of Samaritan research rash to attempt to conclude ... that Marqah espoused the doctrine of creation ex nihilo'. All this notwithstanding, Broadie himself inclines to accept the view that Marqah did espouse that doctrine, admitting that 'the weight of evidence in the Memar and also the

Deifter hymns appears to provide support for it.

A passage from our Chronicle provides, we believe, an important piece of evidence to support the thesis that the concept of creation ex nihilo was indeed developed in Baba's time. Baba refers to God as הוה דאיהוה דאיהוה .דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה (2: 19). The phrase occurs again in a composition by Eleazar b. Pinhas (1363-1387) — דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה (Cowley, p. 37). Cowley explains the term דאיהוה as "the non-existence before creation", i.e. the "state" of things before the act of creating was effected. The preposition דאיהוה is, however, problematic in this sense. According to Cowley's interpretation we should rather expect a preposition of time, such as דאיהוה or דאיהוה , providing a rendering 'And existence emerged after non-existence'. The preposition דאיהוה is, in this context, suggestive rather of material "from which" the world was created. The above passage from the Chronicle would substantiate this, since its sense is clearly 'God...who created the existing things out of that which lacked (existence), namely, ex nihilo.'

The early Samaritan Chronicler understandably found the idea of ex nihilo creation difficult to express in the Samaritan Hebrew or Aramaic. From another (unpublished) passage in Chronicle II, we have supporting evidence, however, that this was the notion he was struggling to enunciate:

דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה
דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה דאיהוה

(Fol. 349)

The use of the verb *brn*, together with our crux phrase *brn hn*, leaves us in no doubt that it is not "pre-existence" that is being highlighted - as Cowley would have it - but rather the concept of creation ex nihilo. Had Broadie been aware of the occurrences and significance of this phrase, his uncertainty on the issue of whether or not 'God created the world by informing a pre-existent matter which came from nothing' (op.cit. p.265) would have been resolved. The phrase *brn hn* is clearly intended to convey not only the distinction between "matter" and "form", but also the idea that the creation of the former preceded the latter.

14. THE LOCATION OF BABA'S SYNAGOGUES ACCORDING
TO THE ACCOUNT OF THE CHRONICLER

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The location of Baba's Synagogues is given in 8:11-18. Seven Synagogues are referred to, each bearing the name of the village or town wherein they were built. An eighth Synagogue is referred to as having been built by Baba Rabbah, but the Chronicler admits that Samaritan tradition has not preserved details of its location.¹ H1 quotes an oral tradition, however, which identifies the eighth Synagogue with the 'Stone Kinśa' which once stood 'between Ēlôn Môre' and Mount Gerizim', and whose site was still known in the Chronicler's own day.² H2 is apparently unaware of such an identification.

There is agreement in the Chronicles regarding the names of the Synagogues, although various orthographic, possibly dialectal, variations do occur.

Archaeology is of limited help in identifying the exact location of all these Synagogues. Even the survival of similar sounding Arabic village names is no guarantee of an exact location, though it frequently serves as a useful guide, at least to the area where an identification might be hazarded. Some of the information regarding the location of the sites, as contained in our Chronicle, is patently conflicting. The best we can do is to assemble

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1 See 8:18.

2 Ibid.

the source material and other references regarding the individual locations referred to in the Chronicle, and attempt to reconstruct, on the basis of this disparate material, the map of Baba's Synagogue sites and the significance of the particular arrangement of the Synagogues which emerges from the geographical scheme.

Baba's first Synagogue was built in the town of ʿĀmartāh.¹ H2 calls the town ʿĀbhûrtāh, and other orthographic variants are ʿĀbhartā, ʿĀwartāh, Hābhûrtāh and MaʿĀbhartāh. The latter form suggests that the original name was derived from the word maʿĀbhār² or maʿbārāh, a ford, pass.³ The Talmud makes reference to MaʿĀbhartāh Šel Kûthîm (ʿMaʿĀbhartāh of the Samaritans'),⁴ where Apostomos is supposed to have burned scrolls of the Torah.

The town was known in antiquity as an important historical site, both in Judaeen as well as Samaritan tradition. It is identified, in both traditions, with the 'Hill of Phineḥās',⁵ and, as stated in our Chronicle,⁶ is the traditional burial-place of the sons of Aaron, the Seventy Elders and many other High Priests. Chronicle

1 See 8:11.

2 Gn.32:23.

3 Jos.2:7.

4 T.B. Taʿanîth 4,5.

5 Jos.24:30.

6 8:11.

Adler adds to this list the name of 'Ābhišū' ben Phinehās, great grandson of Aaron, who is supposed to have written the ancient Torah scroll in the possession of the community to the present day.

Āmartāh's location, according to our Chronicle, is given simply as east of Shechem. It lies more exactly about 6 kl. south-east of the city, and it was the administrative centre of the Samaritan High Priests for centuries. Baba made his headquarters there,¹ and most of his religious and diplomatic activity was conducted from there. This explains why Āmartāh is placed first in the list of Baba's Synagogues, indicative of its significance as the seat of government, second only to the Holy Mount. Its proximity to Shechem enabled the Priests and inhabitants of the city and surrounding areas to pay weekly courtesy calls on their leader.²

The spiritual significance of Āmartāh is emphasised by a number of Samaritan writers. In a 14th cent. piyyut, Ābhūrtāh becomes idealised as one of the four pillars upon which the Garden of Eden is supported.³ There is an echo here of the Aggadic significance woven around Jerusalem in Jewish tradition.

Baba's Synagogue was still standing at the beginning of the 13th cent., as evidenced from the colophon of a

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1 See Chr. 11, 15:4.

2 15:8.

3 Cowley, p.512.

Torah scroll, written in the year 1215 by one Aaron ben Levi ben Isaac 'of the priests of 'Abhurtah'. I. Ben Zevi¹ believes that the Samaritan settlement in the town came to an end at the time of the rupture of the chain of priests from the seed of Aaron. The last priest was Solomon ben Phinehas, who died in 1624, and when the Levites were summoned to take over the priestly duties they probably left 'Āmārtāh and moved to Shechem.

The second Synagogue is referred to as Bēth Nimrah by H1 and Bēth N^oma'rah by H2. Chronicle Adler, however, places the Synagogue of Qryth Hagah second in the list, after 'Āmārtāh, and makes Bēth Nimrah the third in the order.

The identification of the town is uncertain. It is referred to again by the Chronicler in his account of the period of Mērcān ben 'Alhakim (684-5). It is related that the high Priest 'Aqbon went to Transjordan where he drowned in the waters of the Jordan. He was taken to the town of Bēth Nimrāh and buried.² This suggests that the town was situated close to the Jordan.

A town by the name of Bēth-Nimrāh is listed in Josh.13:27. It is identified in rabbinic literature with a place then known as Nimrān.³ The latter is identified with the Arab village of Tel el Bleibil, 40 km. east of Bethel, which

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1 S.H. p.65.

2 See Chron. Adler, p.243.

3 Sheb'ith 9,7; Ketûbôth 2,7; Tal. Rosh Hashānāh 57b.

would, indeed, place it on the south-east boundary of Samaria. From the account of the attempt by the inhabitants of Nimrah to assassinate Baba Rabbah¹ we learn that it was a town inhabited by both Samaritans and Jews, which would further suggest a town on the border of Samaritan territory. Baba's son, Levi, settled in Beth Nimrah and was buried there.

The third Synagogue in our Chronicle's list is that of Qryth Hāgāh. Its identification is problematic, as is the etymology of the name. A.P.Löw refers to the Aramaic word Hāgāh* (Mandaic Hagia, Arabic حجاج) as the name of 'a prickly desert plant, camel-thorn, hedysarum al hagi'.²

H1 tells us that Hāgāh was still standing 'until this very day'. Unfortunately the Hebrew is ambiguous, and the phrase might refer to the city and not to the Synagogue. The difficulty is intensified when we come to the directions referred to in both H1 and H2 in order to identify the location of Hāgāh. H1 states that Hāgāh is in a southern direction opposite the town of Skôr.³ H2 states that 'it is south of Shechem in a northerly direction, leading to (text difficult) Mahnayim'.⁴ The difficulties inherent in both of these definitions are obvious. H1's 'southern direction' has no point of reference. We must assume that

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1 See 15:19.

2 A.P.Löw, Aramaische Pflanzennamen, p.145ff.

3 וְהָיָה מִצְדָּתָא נִגְבָּה אֲרֵץ לַעֲמַת קְרִית עֲסֻכּוֹר. On Skôr, see Mont. p.20

4 H2 version: מִנְגַּב שָׁמָּה לַעֲמַת צְפוֹנָה הַמִּיתִיגְרָה לַמִּתְחִינִים.

'southern' is in relation to Shechem, as in H2. The H2 version seems to contradict itself. Sense can be made of the statement, however, if the phrase המיתררה למחנות,¹ (rendered above 'leading to Mahnayim') is interpreted in the sense of 'in relation to Mahnayim'.² H2 would then be identifying Hagā as 'south of Shechem and due north of Mahnayim'.

Even on the above interpretation some area of doubt remains regarding the identification of the site, since there are two places, each bearing the name Mahnayim, on the same latitude just south of Shechem. The Samaritan Mahnayim is a mere 4 km. south of Shechem, and the biblical city of Mahnayim is 35 km. due east. While the Samaritan location would seem to be the one referred to, we cannot rule out the possibility that Baba erected Synagogues near the River Jordan to serve the outlying communities. This is also suggested by the location of one other Synagogue along the eastern boundary, that of Beth Nimra.³

Baba's fourth Synagogue is called Tīrāh. in H1 and 'Al-Tīrāh' in H2. An Arab village bearing the latter name is situated 30 km. west of Nablus. 'Al-Tīrah' was thought to be the relay station Mutatio Betthar, mentioned by the 4th cent. Bordeaux Traveller. Under the Mamluks (14th cent.) it was a wayfarers' inn (khān).⁴

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1 8:13 (H2).

2 See notes ad loc.

3 See above, p. 494.

4 Enc. Judaica, 15, p. 1150.

Baba's fifth Synagogue was built in the town of Sabarîn, or Šabhrîn according to Adler. The identification of this location is facilitated by the additional information provided by H1, that 'it is one of the towns of the Shephelah. From the Samaria Ostraca¹ we have been able to identify a place called by the modern Arabic name of Saffârîn (Sēpher), about 7 km. west of Samaria, which suits exactly the Shephela identification of H1.²

The sixth Synagogue was built in the city of Šālem. Its location is fairly certain, being identified with the Arab village of Salīm, 8 km. north-east of Shechem. Chronicle Adler adds, 'but its name was Ai originally'. If the biblical Ai is meant here, it is an impossible identification. Kefar Šālēm is referred to in the Talmud³ as a Samaritan village.

Baba's seventh Synagogue was erected in the town of Bēth Dāgān. The name occurs in Jos.19:27, as well as in Assyrian inscriptions⁴ as one of the cities conquered by Sennacherib. It is mentioned together with Joppa as belonging to the king of Ashkelon, and may consequently be identified with the Arabic name Beit Dajan, 10 km. south-east of Joppa. The geographical location given in the Chronicle — 'north-east of the holy mountain' — is therefore inaccurate. It is, in fact, north-west!

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1 John Gibson, Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, 1 (1971), p.12.

2 See Y.Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, p.326.

3 P.Tal. 'Abhōdah Zarah, 5,4.

4 Pritchard, A.N.E.T., 287.

At the beginning of this chapter we referred to the eighth Synagogue which Baba is supposed to have built, but whose site was unknown to the Chroniclers. Whereas Chronicle 11 states that 'some say that it was the Stone Synagogue (kinšath 'Abhnāthāh) which once stood between 'Ēlôn Môre' and Mount Gerizim', Chronicle Adler states categorically that the name of the eighth Synagogue was K^enîšath 'Abhnāthāh.

What exactly this name signifies appears problematic at first. It could hardly be a distinguishing characteristic, highlighting the material out of which the Synagogue was built, since we are informed that all Baba's Synagogues were made of stone — 'Not one of them was of timber'.¹ It seems clear then that it is a special 'Stone' that gave its name to the eighth Synagogue.

The proximity of 'Ēlôn More' to Shechem — if not the identity of the two places — is first stated in Gen.12:6. Dt.11:30 mentions 'Ēlôn More' as being next to Gilgal. According to Ju.9:6 Abimelech was crowned king 'beside the old propped-up² terebinth ('Ēlôn) which is in Shechem'. The actual terebinth was an ancient shrine, and Gn.35:4 records that Jacob buried all the idolatrous objects of his household 'under the terebinth ('Ēlāh) which is near ('im) Shechem'.

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1 Chr.11, 8:19.

2 Cum N.E.B. Heb. mūšābh.

It is from Jos.24:27 that, we suggest, the name 'Abhnathah ('The Stone') derives. In that verse we are told that Joshua, having made a covenant of spiritual rededication with the people at Shechem, 'wrote its terms in a book of the Law of God. He then took a great stone and set it up there under the terebinth ('Allāh) which was in the sanctuary of the Lord'. It is more than likely that the Synagogue which was later built on the site of the sanctuary took its name from the stone which Joshua had buried on the site. Alternatively - unless the traditions emanate from a common source - we may explain the association of the stone with the one which Jacob placed beneath his head¹ and which he later set up as a massēbhāh² which he designated as the cornerstone of the house of God.

The 'Stone Synagogue' seems to have had a long history, Samaritan priests having ministered there for centuries. According to Yusuf b. Salama (11th cent.), on the thrice-yearly Pilgrim Festivals the High Priest, after blessing the people, would repair to the 'Stone Kinša'³. According to J.Bowman 'this probably refers to Baba's Synagogue, which stood from the 4th cent. until the Crusades'.⁴ However, the 'Stone Kinša' seems to have still been standing towards the end of the 15th cent.

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1 Gn.28:11.

2 Gn.28:18.

3 See A Comparative Study of the Unedited Work of Abu'l Hasan al-Suri and Yusuf ibn Salama, (Univ.of Leeds Thesis by D.M.Abdel Al) p.92.

4 J. Bowman, "Pilgrimage to Mount Gerizim", E.I.7 (1964), p.19.

This is apparent from the ascription d^e min kōhānē hā'ebhen given to one Jacob b. Joseph, who made a copy of a Torah scroll in the year 1496. Baba's Synagogue survived, therefore, for a period of some eleven hundred years.

H1 (alone), in its description of the eighth Synagogue of 'Abhnāthāh, states that 'it contained three hundred and sixty rooms, corresponding to the days of the year'.¹ The legendary character of this tradition goes without saying. The number 'three hundred' is suspicious, as, if a true correspondence were desired with the length of the year, then the exact number of rooms should have been constructed, namely three hundred and fifty four, to accord with the lunar year observed by the Samaritans.²

Furthermore, had any Samaritan Synagogue been built to such dimensions, it would have become a national monument, known and referred to in their historical and liturgical writings. It would not have been a once-mentioned and obscure tradition, and it would, undoubtedly, have been described by travellers and writers.

Again, had Baba decided to construct one such edifice, he would have been most likely to have chosen ʿĀmarthāh, his own religious and administrative headquarters! Such a magnificent showpiece would also hardly have been placed last in his list of Synagogues!

Finally, it goes without saying that no such Samaritan

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1 Chr.11, 8:18.

2 See Montgomery, p.34.

or even Judaeen Synagogue of such proportions has ever been discovered in Palestine. Quite the contrary, as S. Baron has noted, 'Archaeological investigations have proved beyond question that the Synagogues of Israel were small'.¹

One may only speculate as to how such a fantastic tradition may have arisen. The eighth Synagogue is clearly the one Baba built on the sacred mountain. This is notwithstanding the description of its location as 'between 'Elon More' and Mount Gerizim Bethel'. The name 'Abhnathah', as we have observed, refers to Jacob's stone or Joshua's stone -- both of which were associated with the sanctuary. In this context we may quote the comment of J. Bowman, referring to the Samaritan pilgrim procession up Mount Gerizim:

Then the pilgrim parties start out reading Deuteronomy, until they reach the stone... The identity of the stone is not clear, but it may be the stone of testimony that Joshua set up at the Beth ha-Miqdash² at Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 26). It is obviously an important place, for at no other place where they stop on the pilgrimage on the way up do they read any of Deuteronomy. In al-Kafi, in the section on prayer, reference is made to Jacob's pillar, as if it were on the

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1 S. Baron, The Jewish Community, 1, p.92.

2 Bowman's italics.

lower ridges, and it is true the lower ridge is called Jacob's Pillar, Stone of Israel ... However, at the foot of Gerizim there is a place called the "Pillar"..The modern Samaritans regard it as the true site of Joshua's Stone by the oak (Josh. xxiv, 26).¹

We see from this extract that medieval Samaritan tradition associated the 'Stone' or 'Pillar' of Jacob with that of Joshua, and at the same time associated the site of both the biblical events not with Shechem or its environs, but with the slopes or lower ridges of the Holy Mountain itself.²

If the name 'Synagogue of the Stone' does refer to the Synagogue on Mount Gerizim associated with the famous 'Pillar' of Jacob or Joshua or both, we may wonder then at the rather general or vague reference to it as simply 'The Stone' ('Abhnathah). Of course, it might be explained as a superlative, The Stone, par excellence. On the other hand, the absence of any reference to Jacob or Joshua might be explained as originating from the Dosithean denigration of Gerizim, and their substitution of prayer services in any Synagogue for pilgrimage and sacrifice at Mount Gerizim.³

A Dosithean glossator would not have wished to invest the Synagogue of Baba on Mount Gerizim with any unique

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1 J.Bowman, op. cit., p.23.

2 This association would in fact do justice to the biblical references to 'the House of God' (Gn.28:17,18) and 'the Sanctuary of the Lord' (Josh.24:26,27) in connection with 'The Stone'.

3 J.Bowman, ibid.

significance, and he was probably responsible for placing it last in the list of Synagogues, instead of first, and also for the vague title Kinšath 'Abhnāthāh, omitting any specific reference to its biblical significance.

The legend of the three hundred rooms very likely was developed in anti-Dosithean circles. The latter would have viewed the Synagogue on Gerizim as a place of special significance and pilgrimage. Indeed, pilgrimages were still obligatory when Baba established his Synagogues.¹ The association of Baba's Synagogue with the thrice-yearly pilgrimages, and the fact that the pilgrimage liturgy formed the kernel of the Synagogual Defter, may well explain the strange tradition in our Chronicle linking Baba's 'Stone Synagogue' with 'the days of the year'. A further flight of imagination depicted the Synagogue as an edifice with 'a room for each day of the year'.

If we plot the location of all Baba's Synagogues on a map, we will immediately detect that their sites were not randomly chosen. They seem to have been determined by the Holy Mountain. They all lie around the circumference of a circle with Shechem and 'Amartah at the epi-centre. The purpose of such an arrangement was probably two-fold: to reinforce Baba's political aspiration of centralising authority (Shechem being

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1 J.Bowman, ibid.

the traditional seat of the High Priests and 'Amartah being Baba's own administrative centre), and also that 'Amartah should be more or less equidistant from each Synagogue to facilitate travel to each in turn, both by Baba on his tours of inspection and by the inhabitants of those towns who wished to visit their leader on Sabbaths, New Moons and Festivals.

15. WORD LIST

WORD LIST (I)

(Included in this Word List are (i) new or rare vocabulary, (ii) unusual grammatical forms, (iii) biblical words used in the Chronicle with different nuances, (iv) verbs occurring in conjugations other than those appearing in the Bible, (v) non-Biblical and Aramaic words, or forms, used in a special sense, (vi) verbs taking unusual prepositions.)

The references are to the section and sentence of our Hebrew text, with asterisks denoting the H2 version. For the significance of the various forms, the commentary should be consulted. Only one reference is listed, although the particular word or form may occur more than once in the Chronicle).

<u>אִיב</u>	<u>אִיב</u>
7:4* כִּוְנָנִים	22:16 אִיבָה
<u>בִּטח</u>	<u>אִמָּן</u>
3:11 בִּטח	1:12 אִמָּן
<u>בִּכר</u>	<u>אִסָּר</u>
18:1* בִּכִּיר	21:16* אִסָּר
<u>בִּצֵר</u>	<u>אִסָּר</u>
16:15* אִתְּבִצֵּר	20:5 אִסָּר
<u>בִּקַּע</u>	<u>אִצֵּל</u>
19:61 בִּקַּע	19:29 אִצֵּל
<u>בִּקַּשׁ</u>	<u>בִּרָא</u>
24:9* בִּקַּשׁ ל	17:1* תִּבְרָאִים

<u>גאל</u>	<u>הרב</u>
גאל ל 3:36	תהונו 4:14
<u>גרע</u>	<u>הרג</u>
יגדיע ל 1:12*	הרג ל 19:63*
<u>גור</u>	<u>זרע</u>
יגר 19:31	תזרע 17:5
<u>גיד</u>	<u>חדש</u>
גיד 16:13	יחדש 15:4*
<u>גלל</u>	<u>חני/חנה</u>
גלל 9:5	החזי החזות 22:2*
<u>גרע</u>	<u>חרב</u>
מגרעות 8:1	חייב על 5:7
<u>דבק</u>	<u>חיל</u>
להדבקה 2:12	אתחיל 11:14*
<u>דבר</u>	<u>חלף</u>
תדבירות 22:2*	ויחלף 5:5
<u>דוק</u>	<u>חלש</u>
דוק את 1:13	חלש 1:12* מחלש 3:35* בחלשם 2:21
<u>הדר</u>	<u>חמד</u>
הדירה 24:7	אחמד 16:6* תחמדות 22:8*

<u>יגד</u>	<u>חמם</u>
8:13 המיתגרה	22:5 חמות
<u>יטב</u>	<u>חנה</u>
15:1 היטיב	5:6 חנות
<u>יכח</u>	<u>חסד</u>
3:1* הוכיח עם 3:1* מוכחות	22:1* אתחסיד 15:5* חסיד
<u>יטר</u>	<u>חסר</u>
1:10* מתיסרים	2:19 חסר 22:15* בחסר
<u>ירא</u>	<u>חפץ</u>
19:9 אירא	8:2 חפצה
<u>ישר</u>	<u>חצר</u>
19:31 בושן	15:4 חצרים 21:8* חצרות
<u>יתב</u>	<u>חרץ</u>
7:2 יתבו 6:1 יתוב	16:11* חרוצים
<u>יתר</u>	<u>חשב</u>
24:9* בותרותו	1:9 מחשב
<u>כבס</u>	<u>חשך</u>
19:55* כבסו	6:2 חשך ל
<u>כוב</u>	<u>טפף</u>
1:11* כובבת	19:11* טטף 19:11 טטפות 11:3 טף

מאדבן (?)

4:12 מאדכם

21:17* מתבכר

מאדכחש

1:17* ימאד

11:13* כחשם

מדדכלל8:7 מדד
8:7 מדי

8:2 כלילה

מולבמר5:11 ימיל
1:15 הנמל
5:11 במלה

16:11* בכמדת

מורכנע

5:31* תמור

22:9* בכנע

מושכנש

16:12 תמושני

10:12 כנשנה

מחץכסה25:5* אתמחץ
25:5 מחץ15:19 כס
16:4 כסותמיהכפר

3:14 למיה

1:12* כפור

מכהכרן

21:15* אתמכה

9 : 7 כרני

למו

תלמודים 8 : 3

נדב

1:14* נדב

נחם

23:5 הנחם

נטש

15:13* נטשנו

נכל16:3 נכלות
15:19 נכליהנסח

10:6* נסחה

נפל

21:10* נפילה

נצה

11:20 נצו

נקב

9:4 בקיב

נקע/נעק/ענק ?

20:12* נקעה

מנע

1:17 מנע ל

מצא3:10 במצאות
3:10* במצאיםמשל

1:6* משלה

משש

16:18 וימששו

נבא

22:2 נביא

נבט

19:14 הביטו

נגד

9:19 מגיד

נגע

25:5 נגע כי

נגר

4:21 מגיפים

<u>טגל</u>	<u>עבט</u>
הסגיל	עבוטה
10:19	2:19

<u>סגר</u>	<u>עבר</u>
הסגיר על מסגרים	יעבירו מן
24:16 4:9	11:3

<u>סדר</u>	<u>עדר</u>
סדר	בעדרו
23:7	24:3

<u>סור</u>	<u>ערו</u>
סור ל להסיר ל	עודה עורות
5:6 3:15	11:3* 9:1*

<u>סכנ</u>	<u>עון</u>
הסכנה	עונים
18:21	2:17

<u>סמן</u>	<u>ערת</u>
סימן	בעותים
3:37	20:22*

<u>טעל</u>	<u>עזב</u>
מסעדים	עזב ל
7:6	4:4

<u>ספר</u>	<u>עלם</u>
ספרו בספירה	יעלים על
10:11 24:7	22:1

<u>עבד</u>	<u>עמל</u>
מעבד מתעבדים עובד	לעמל
8:7* 8:6* 19:28*	2:11

<u>צוק</u>		<u>עמר</u>	
14:22	צוק על	11:26	אתעמרת
24:5	אצחוק		
<u>צוה</u>		<u>ענה</u>	
19:4	צו	19:14	ענינה
4:3	מצו		
4:6	צוה ל		
<u>צום</u>		<u>פגע</u>	
2:11	ציאם	2:9	פגע ל
<u>צור</u>		<u>פחר</u>	
22:15	מוצר	7:6*	פחרות
<u>צלח</u>		<u>פלל</u>	
3:6	להצליח	1:13	פלליר
<u>צפר</u>		<u>פרט</u>	
1:6*	צפר	16:1*	נפרט
<u>צרב</u>		<u>פרר</u>	
11:2*	צרבותם	11:14*	אתפררו
<u>צור</u>		<u>פתר</u>	
15:2	אתצריך	5:21	פתורים
		5:20	מפתרו
		5:22	פתרון
<u>צור</u>		<u>צבא</u>	
1:15*	מצורים ל	21:4	צבאים

<u>רגל</u>	<u>קרב</u>
רגלאים 11 : 9	הקב 2 : 4*
<u>רוח</u>	<u>קדש</u>
רוחים 2 : 19	אתקדש 4 : 13
<u>רום</u>	<u>קרי/קרה</u>
מורם 1 : 6*	נתקרי 2 : 12*
<u>רחק</u>	<u>קום</u>
רחיקה 15 : 4	קם על 20 : 1* קוממית 2 : 10
<u>רקף</u>	<u>קמץ</u>
מתרקף 19 : 11	קמץ על 11 : 5 קמצה 24 : 1
<u>שבוע</u>	<u>קרא</u>
שבועות 2 : 12*	מקראה 5 : 23
<u>שבץ</u>	<u>קרב</u>
מתשבצים 3 : 12	קרוב 22 : 23
<u>שבר</u>	<u>קשט</u>
אתשברת 16 : 21 משביר 7 : 6	אתקשטו 21 : 17
<u>שגב</u>	<u>ראה</u>
שגבו 3 : 19	מראים 6 : 5*
<u>שגע</u>	<u>רוב</u>
שגיעון 19 : 31	לרב את 15 : 18

שפע

11: 8 יתשפע

שרב

2: 11 שובה

שפר

12: 10* שופרים

שור/שיש

15: 9 שטונים

שרה/שרר

5: 22* מסרית

שיד

2: 15* נשיד

תור

1: 8* אתור

שכנ3: 10* שכונות
3: 10 שכינותתלל

16: 4 התלתם

שלם5: 8 שלם על
4: 3 שלמהתפש

11: 5 תפש על

שמד

1: 17 ישמידו ל

שמה

5: 4 ישתמה

שמח

25: 2 שמח

שמע

7: 2* שמיע

שפל

1: 19* שפלר

WORD LIST (II)

(Adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions)

18:19	ממלא	3 : 10	אה
10:20*	מן בין ידי	2 : 6	אז
24: 1	מן החזי	4 : 18	אמן
6 : 6	מתוך את	23:15*	ערש
2 : 12	עד	10: 4	את
16: 3	על	1 : 21	בין ידי
1 : 13	על כן	2 : 6	בל
5 : 5*	על קרב	11: 7	ברע דבר
24: 4	עם זה וזה	1 : 20	הזינר
3 : 18	פן	22:15	חסר
6 : 2	פנים ל	23:11	כמעט
14:24	פניהם	3 : 22*	לן
16: 4	מפני	22: 2	מאום
19:57	קרוב מ	2 : 10	מלבין
2 : 21*	שם		

LOAN WORDS

18:23 אסקור 2 : 15 ארכון

18:18 ריסור

WORD LIST (III)

(Abstract nouns formed with uth-termination)

3 : 12	טמאות	5 : 8*	אמנות
3 : 34	יחידות	23 : 8*	בכות
2 : 12	יכלות	3 : 22*	בעלות
3 : 10	יצרות	3 : 10	דלות
4 : 21*	לחצות	18 : 17*	הלכות
3 : 22*	מאבות	2 : 3*	הרגות
1 : 8*	מדעות	3 : 14	התפשטות
19 : 1*	מהלכות	2 : 14	חדשות
24 : 1*	ממשלות	23 : 7*	חזות
5 : 10*	משאות	22 : 5*	חמרות
19 : 14*	משיגות	5 : 17*	חנות
19 : 51*	בגיפות	3 : 10	חנכות
24 : 9	נותרות*	3 : 10	חשבונות
22 : 15	נלאות	3 : 34	טהרות

3 :22*	רבות	3 :19*	נשאות
5 :20*	רחמות	3 :19*	עזרות
3 :19*	רעות	21 : 2*	עילאות
2 :12*	שבועדות	22:25	עלות
18 : 3*	שברות	4 :21*	עקות
5 :15*	שמירות	23 : 2*	פקדנות
22 : 2*	תדבירות	24 : 1*	פקידות
2 :11*	תהללות	3 :22*	פשעות
22 : 8*	תחמדות	2 :11	צעקות
3 :34	תמימות	2 :10*	קעמות
		4 :13*	קשיטות

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