

The Dating of their Manuscripts by the Samaritans

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THE immediate occasion of this paper was the offer to sell in New York a fine manuscript of the Samaritan Hebrew text of the Pentateuch. The codex, two pages of which are here photographed, is indeed a superb piece of calligraphy, and its parchment generally excellent, though of varying quality and thickness. It contains 265 leaves. Added interest in this manuscript has been aroused by the report that it is the oldest dated Hebrew codex in existence, its date being quite circumstantially given as 116 A.H. (= 734 A.C.). It has been further asserted that the caliph Marwân is mentioned in the cryptogram. By means of photographic reproductions of certain pages, the manuscript has been offered for sale in various places, with a price attached to it quite in keeping with its supposed date. I understand that at one time this had reached the dizzy height of \$100,000, but lately it has fallen to \$35,000. A speculative trust is said to have been formed in Beirût to hold and eventually to sell the manuscript, which will probably remain a holding trust for some time to come.

Though the age assigned to the manuscript has been declared authentic by a number of scholars—among them Dr. B. Moritz, Keeper of the Khedivial Library in Cairo—the statements made concerning it could hardly contain more errors than they do. Even if the reading of the date were correct, the inference drawn would yet be erroneous: the St. Petersburg codex No. 4 is dated 99 A.H. (= 717 A.C.), and codex Watson II is dated 85 A.H. (= 655 A.C.). But,

in the first place, there is no mention of a caliph Marwân in the cryptogrammic colophon. I can only suppose that the word ארומן (plural of ארדורה "law")¹ has been mistaken for a proper name and connected with that of the caliph. Moreover, the date 734 A.C. would conflict either with the burial day of Marwân I, which was some time in the year 685, or with the birthday of Marwân II, which was some time in the year 744. Furthermore, the date itself has been wrongly construed. I find that one of the photographs came into the hands of Mr. A. Cowley, the learned sub-librarian of the Bodleian; and that he very justly questioned the construction placed upon the *ta'rikh*.² For this *ta'rikh* is cryptogrammic in its arrangement only, and not at all in its real sense. Upon its face the codex does indeed look old; and from what I have seen of similar synagogue codices in Cairo, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Rome, I should have assigned to it quite a respectable age. This the Samaritans themselves seem to have done; and either in Nâblus, or in Gaza, or in Damascus, or in Egypt (wherever it may have tarried), it must have been the object of much veneration. At two places this veneration has spoilt the beauty of the text. Lev. 9²² וישא אכרם את ידו אל העם ויברכם and Num. 6²⁴ (the כרכת כהנים) are much blurred and blotched, as if from an excess of kissing. The manuscript must have been open at these pages, in order that the worshipper might come into physical contact with the promised blessings.³

¹ ארדורה, ארהותה, ארהותא, ארהותה or even ארקה (Harkavy, *Catalog der hebräischen und samaritanischen Handschriften* . . . in *St. Petersburg*, II. p. 49) is the Syriac [ארה] the Talmudic אורייתא or אורייתא. The plural occurs in the following forms: ארומן, ארומון, ארומון, ארומון, ארומון, ארומון (Harkavy, *ibid.* p. 40; *JQR*, xiv. 31). In place of this Aramaic form, we sometimes find the Hebrew תורה הקדושה simply.

² See *JQR*, xvi. p. 483; *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 390.

³ This is a practice common to Karaite and Rabbanite Jews in the Orient. Nearly every synagogue has, in addition to its scrolls, one or more copies of the Bible or some of its parts in book form (called כתרי תורה or כתב) which were, and still are, regarded with superstitious veneration. They are kissed and stroked; but only taken out on the festival of *Simkat Torah*.

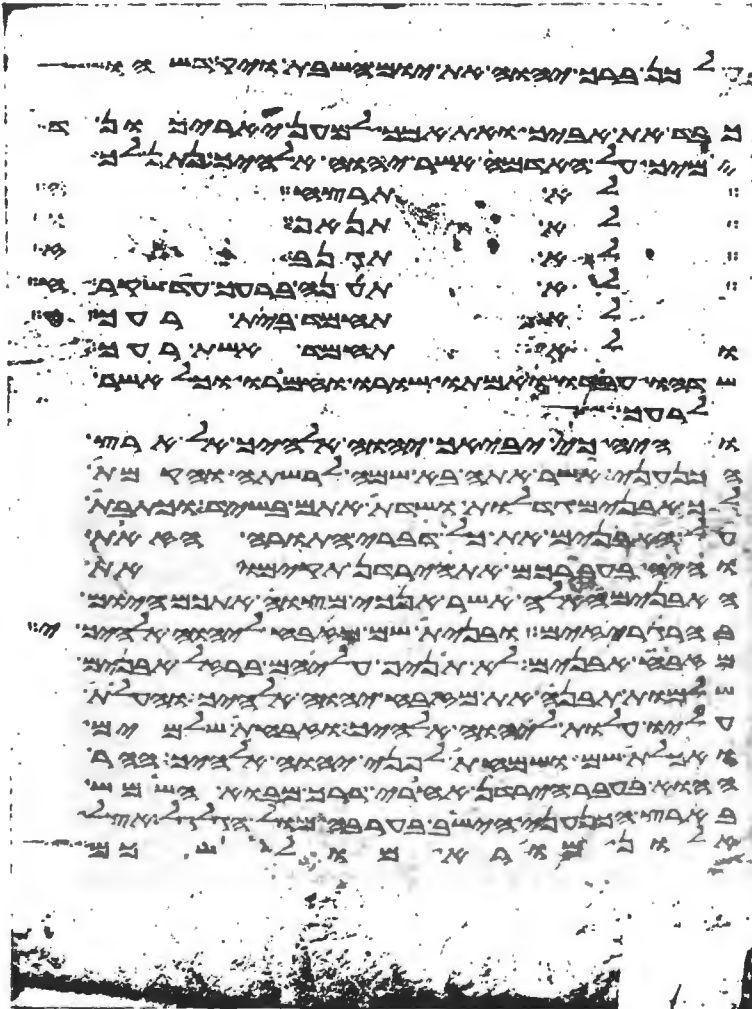


FIG. 1. — A PAGE CONTAINING A PORTION OF EXODUS XX

Whether the efficacy of this act depended upon the age of the parchment and of its writing, I do not know. The manuscript is now no longer in the hands of such as can be benefited by it, and we need have no hesitancy in revealing the fact that it is some 785 years younger than has been supposed.

It must not be forgotten that the Samaritans, having so few connections outside of their own small communities, were even more engulfed in the Arab invasion than were the Jews. The impress of the new culture was seen at a very early time both in their language and in their literature. Samaritan must very soon have become merely a religious and literary tongue—sooner even than Syriac did among the Aramaic-speaking Christians of Palestine and Syria. If it is true that a hundred years of Arab dominion robbed these of their ancient speech, what wonder that the process succeeded even more quickly with the Samaritans. It is, therefore, no argument against the authenticity of Cod. Watson II that the writer dates his work according to the Mohammedan fashion;⁴ though Damascus, in which place he lived, had fallen into Arab hands only twenty-three years previously. So far as I am aware, there are no Samaritan manuscripts in which the date is not according to the Mohammedan era.⁵ This era is variously expressed ל'שמעאל, לממלכת ישמעאל, לממלכות ישמעאל; or simply ל'שמעאל; לממלכת בני חנר,⁶ לממלכת בני קדר,⁷ ישמעאיליה,⁸ and, in a few cases, לעמי נרם, לממלכת עם נרם,⁹ and once, with an addi-

⁴ See *JAOS*, xx. p. 173.

⁵ In other enumerations, e.g. the Masorah (see below), the larger numbers are placed first. In Hebrew and Arabic either method may be followed (Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, 3d ed., i. p. 259, D). In the lithographed copy of Exodus mentioned at the end of this article, the date according to the Exodus is given in the Hebrew manner ו. א. ל'פ' . שנה . ה. כ'א . שנה . י. ב' . שנה . ו. ג' . שנה . ו. א.

⁶ See *JAOS*, xx. p. 177.

⁷ De Sacy, *Mémoire sur la version Arabe des livres de Moïse à l'usage des Samaritains*, p. 4.

⁸ *JQR*, xiv. p. 28; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 144, and the Hebrew inscription at Nablus, *ZDMG*, xiv. p. 624, lines 3 and 4.

⁹ בשנת . א . נ . זק . לעמי . נרם . (Juynboll, *Chronicon Samaritanum*, p. 19); בשנת . ד . ר . וץ . יח . כאות . מן . עמי . נרם . (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75); בשנת . ח . ושכנה . כאות . לכמלכת . עם . נרם . (De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 17); בשנת . י . שנים . ושכנים . מאות . לממלכת . עמי . נאדם .

tional word לממלכת עשו נרם.¹⁰ What the word actually means we do not know. The root does not occur in Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew, in Aramaic or in Syriac. If it does not contain some mystic gematria, it may be connected with the Arabic نذس to bore, to throw on the ground, to calumniate, to insult; though it seems almost impossible that the Samaritans would use so openly an "insulting" term in reference to their over-lords. But the Mohammedan era is found even where additional and confirmatory dates are attached, e.g. למושב ישראל בכנון.¹¹ The months given are also invariably the Mohammedan ones. Only in most isolated cases is the Jewish Hebrew method used, as in a Passover hymn שנת המסב אחרי בכיו עדה¹² where the whole date is incomprehensible, or in the jumbled Hebrew of the modern Samaritans in their letter to Professor Kautzsch a few years ago: אחד מאות (1) ואחד וחמשים נפש.¹³

Usually the formula is as follows :

(1) שנת אחד וששים ושבע מאות שנה

This might also be written :

(2) שנת א . וע . ושבע מאות שנה

or again :

(3) שנת א . וע . ח . מאות שנה

or, lastly, making use of the Hebrew ק for the hundreds :

(4) שנת א . וע . ח . ק . שנה

¹⁰ I do not understand this. In Jewish writings Esau = Rome = Christianity. It is quite evident that such cannot be its meaning here.

¹¹ Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 18.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 68; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 210. In a few mss. from Egypt, the Coptic, Persian, and Alexandrian dates are added (*ZDMG*, II. p. 504).

¹³ Heidenheim, *Vierteljahrschrift*, III. p. 362.

¹⁴ *ZDPV*, VIII. p. 150. The same remark applies to their method of dating according to Hebrew style in their letters to Job Ludolf. שנת . ששת . אלפים . וכאה . חמשה . ועשרים . שנה . לבריאת . עלמה (*Epistolae Samaritanum Sichemitarum*, Cizae, 1688, pp. 9, 16), or, according to Arabic fashion, in writing to Huntington: سنة ألف ومائة وأربع عشر سنة (Schnurrer, *Samaritanischer Briefwechsel*, p. 34, etc.). I suspect that Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* II. 53, 18, contains a date which I do not understand.

According to scheme No. 4 I have found the following mss. :

Bodleian cod. Pococke No. 5,

· ק · ח · א · ו · כ · שנת, i.e. 721 = 1321

Juynboll, *Chron. Samar.*, p. 19,

· ק · ז · נ · א · בשנת, i.e. 751 = 1350

Harkavy, *Cat.*, p. 88,

· ק · ח · י · שנת, i.e. 810 = 1407

Ibid. p. 71,

· ק · ח · ב · ו · שנת, i.e. 852 = 1448

Barberini Triglott (*Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95),

· ק · ח · ז · א · בשנת, i.e. 881 = 1476

Cod. Berlin Or. fol. 534,

· ק · ח · צ · שנת, i.e. 890 = 1485

Paris, cod. Samar, No. 5,

· ק · ו · ו · שנת, i.e. 967 = 1559

Harkavy, *Cat.*, p. 71,

· ק · צ · ז · שנת, i.e. 997 = 1589

Many of the Masoretic notes at the end of mss. are also written in this system (see below).

We are now ready to take up the colophon in our manuscript. As is well known, such colophons are rarely to be found at the end of the manuscript; in nearly every case they are woven out of some part of the text of the Biblical books—preferably of the first chapter of Deuteronomy. Our manuscript has them also at this place, and the final letter of each word so selected is characterized by a horizontal stroke underneath it. The colophon thus deciphered reads:

אני · יעקב · בן · יוסף · בן · משלמה · בן · יוסף · דמן · כהני ·
 האבן · כתבת · הדה · ארהותה · קדישתה · לסבה · ויקירה · וקראה ·
 וצלאה · חשובה · וכתובה · וסמוכה · רבה · וארכונה · יוסף · בר ·
 סהבה · ויקירה · וסמוך · קהלה · וארכונה · ועשה · טובה · מתחיה ·
 בר · סהבה · ויקירה · וסמוך · קהלה · וארכונה · יוסף · בר · סהבה ·
 ויקירה · וסמוכה · רבה · וארכונה · נגמה · דמבני · מתחיה ·
 ומתחיה · הזוכיר · כתבה · ממדלה · על · שם · ברו · הזוכיר ·
 ולית · לה · בה · שותף · וכן · בחדש · נמדי · האחרון · שנת ·
 אֹמֶק · לממלכות · ישמעאל · והיא · מלוי · ו · ארואן · מודאה ·
 לאלה · דכן · סעד · בחסדו · ואשול · לה · ימליני · מלף · לנבה ·
 בנים · ובני · בנים · אמן · אמן · אמן · בעמל · משה · הנאמן ·

and may be translated :

"I, Jacob, son of Joseph, son of Mashlamah,¹⁵ son of Joseph of the Priests of the Stone, have written this holy Torah for the aged and honored Reader and Prayer-leader,¹⁶ the worthy scribe, the great Appointed One,¹⁷ the Archon¹⁸ Joseph, the son of the aged and honored, The Appointed One of the Congregation, the Archon and doer of good, Methohiah, son of the aged and honored Appointed One of the Congregation, the Archon Joseph, son of the aged and honored The Great Appointed One, and Archon Najmah of the Sons of Methohiah. And the aforementioned Metho-

¹⁵ The name occurs several times; see the letter of Mashlamah ben Ab ūḥa in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrschrift*, i. p. 88; Azmah bar Mashlamah in a Samaritan chronicle of the eleventh century (*ibid.* p. 380); Abi Hānā Mashlamah of the Benē Sagiana (? Juynboll, *l.c.* p. 19, who transcribes it *Meshulamah*. For סגיאנה, cf. סגיאנה *JAOS*, xx. p. 176); Joseph ben Mashlamah in Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* i. p. 95.

¹⁶ קְרָאָה, צִלְאָה, evidently referring to his office as official leader in prayer. Cp. Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 74, 109: קְרָה, צִלָּה. Juynboll, *l.c.* p. 20; De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 198. An Arabic superscription renders this by القارى البصلى (*JQR*, xiv. 31; Bloch, *Die samaritanisch-arabische Pentateuchübersetzung*, p. 31).

¹⁷ סְמוּךְ, often סמוך or קהלה. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 74). Juynboll (*l.c.* p. 19) translates 'Rabbi.' So does De Sacy (*l.c.* p. 16); but also 'consecrated' (p. 197). If it is a title, it may stand in some connection with כהנה. רכה, a designation not used by the younger (Levitic) branch (cf. הקהל *JAOS*, xx. p. 176). It may, however, be nothing more than an honorific appellation, as Watson holds (*JAOS*, xx. p. 176). 'Stay' or 'Pillar' will then be the equivalent of the Arabic *عماد* in such names as *عماد الدولة عماد الدين*. An Arabic superscription gives סמוך. קהלה. as *سند الجماعة* (Bloch, *l.c.* p. 31). G. Margoliouth makes out of this a proper name, "Sadaka bar Samuka" (! (*ZDMG*, li. p. 604).

¹⁸ אַרְכֹּן. עֲרֵתָה. (Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 109) or אַרְכֹּן. קהלה. (*ibid.* p. 71). Cp. the Syriac and Palestinian ארכון. In the Targūm ארכון = נגיד (1 Chron. 11²; 2 Chron. 11¹¹; 28⁷; Job 31²⁷; 29¹⁰); נריב (Prov. 21²⁸; Job 84¹⁶); שר (2 Chron. 34⁸); ישׁשׁ (2 Chron. 36¹⁷). I do not know that this denotes any particular grade in the Samaritan hierarchy. In the Arabic superscription mentioned above, it is translated by *رکن الجماعة*, which is chosen not simply because of the similarity in sound, but also because *رکن* means 'a noble or high person'; cf. *هو رکن من ارکان قومه*. (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 1149).

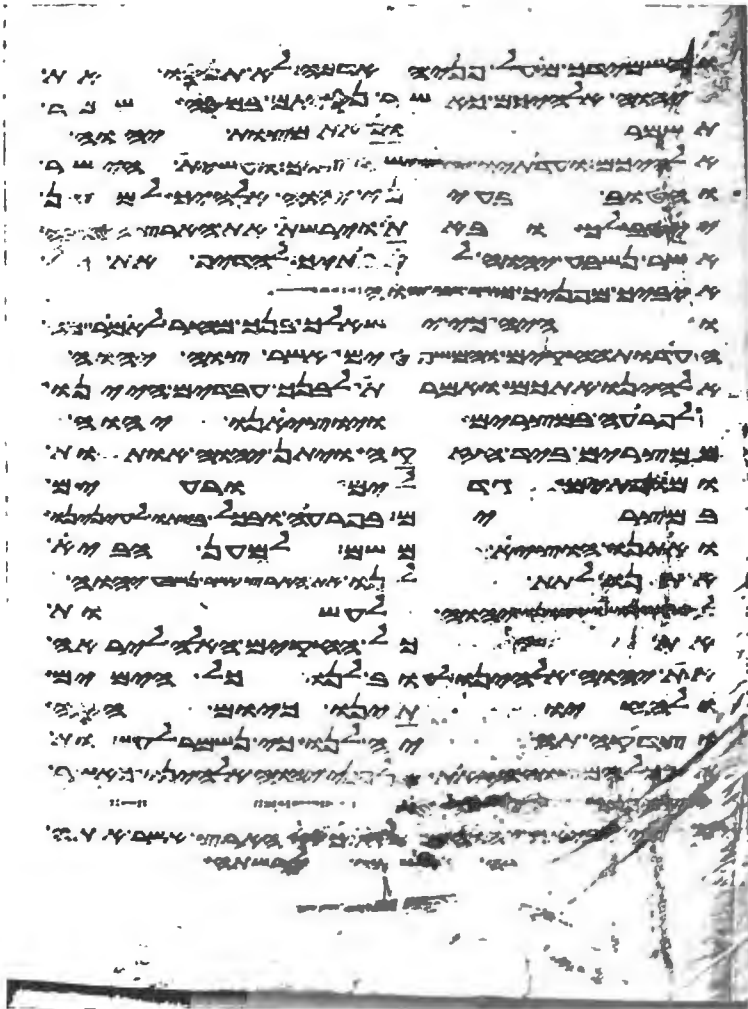


FIG. 2. — A PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY SHOWING THE DATE IN THE CHRONOGRAMMIC COLOPHON

sometimes written; for the name is evidently formed according to the Arabic proper name Maslamah; just as Najmah probably stands for the Arabic al-Najm, which I believe to be the equivalent of some such Hebrew name as Mazal Tob. The scribe, Jacob, refers to himself as one of the כדגי ראבן. I have come across the same expression in two Samaritan mss. of the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, dated respectively 1068 A.H. (= 1657) and 1084 A.H. (= 1673).²³ To what can this refer? The expression is not used in any account of the Samaritans, old or young, to which I have had access. I have thought that it might possibly have some connection with Gen. 49²⁴, where God is spoken of as כהני יזוה and would then be equivalent to כהני יזוה — an oddity of expression of a kind to which the Samaritans are not altogether strangers. But perhaps it would be simpler to take אבן as the equivalent of מזבח and to think of the מזבח אבנים mentioned in Ex. 20²⁵. The Samaritan poet Abisha speaks of the מזבח אברדם as one of the glories of Mount Gerizim.²⁴ The place of this altar is still shown, as are also the stones brought up from the Jordan (Deut. 27⁴), where “are still celebrated the most sacred rites of the community.”²⁵

The Maecenas belonged to a family which is otherwise known. In the chronicle “Tolidot,” one note mentions Shebet, son of Zabo, as the progenitor of the Bene Methohiah;²⁶ another note gives his name as Methohiah, son of Rewah, son of Zadok, son of Abi Ezer;²⁷ and I shall not attempt to decide which notice is correct.²⁸ A Zadaka ben Yeshua ben Methohiah ben Tobiah ben Abraham ben Bera-kah ha-Levi of the “City of the Priests,” who lived in

²³ Harkavy in Nutt, *A Sketch of Samaritan History*, p. 167.

²⁴ Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.*, iii. p. 87.

²⁵ Cowley in *Encycl. Biblica*, iv. 4202; Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 27 (the Russian text of which I am unfortunately not able to read); Geiger in *ZDMG*, ix. p. 156.

²⁶ Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrschrift*, iv. p. 370.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 381 and Neubauer's ed., pp. 22, 32.

²⁸ The Samaritan uses the expression ויזוה ידע (JAOS, ix. p. 175) = والله اعلم.

Egypt, is mentioned several times: in a St. Petersburg ms. of the year 894 A.H.,²⁹ in cod. Bib. Nat. Sam. IV of the year 872 A.H., and in cod. Watson I of the year 868 A.H.³⁰ He is called שרתי המכתבים הקדשים, or שמש המכתבים הקדושים במצרים, an expression which shows that the words שמש המכתב קדש cannot mean simply 'the servant of our master the Law,'³¹ but must refer to some office in connection with the famous Abisha scroll or of copies made from it and at one time preserved in Egypt. An Abraham bar Abd YHWH bar Abraham ben Shamash of the Bene Methohiah in the tenth century is also mentioned,³² and a Methohiah of Shechem in the year 810 A.H.³³ The small evidence we thus have takes us into the fifteenth century, in which the writer of our ms. also seems to have lived.

I have translated the words 'והיא מלוי . ו . ארואן' and it is the completion of six Torahs.' This seems to be the only explanation possible for the expression; yet it seems hard to credit the scribe of cod. Watson I with the seventy-four copies which he prides himself upon having written, though the wording there and elsewhere is quite explicit by the addition of the word כתבתי, i.e. 'ארכבה ושבעים'.³⁴ תורה כתבתי.

There are in our ms., as in all Samaritan books, various

²⁹ Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 75.

³⁰ *Hebraica*, ix. p. 217.

³¹ As Cowley translates, *JQB*, xiv. p. 352. Cf. the inscription upon an old Torah scroll: כהנה . שמש . מכתב . מבישע . בן . פינחס . בכנסת . ארץ . מצרים .

³² De Sacy, *l.c.* p. 198.

³³ *ZA*, xvi. p. 91. The bill of sale in the lithographed copy of Exodus (see below) mentions a certain מתפציה son of Methohia, 544 A.H. (= 1149).

³⁴ . . . והיא מלוי . ו . וכ . ארואן . כתבתי .

. . . והיא מלוי . ד . וי . ארואן . כתבת . *ibid.* p. 122.

. . . והיא מלוי . ט . י . תורה . *ibid.* p. 73.

. . . והיא מלוי . י . ה . ארואן . כתבתי . *ibid.* p. 144.

. . . והיא מלוי . ז . ארואן . כתבת . *ibid.* p. 148.

. . . והיא מלוי . ג . [ארואן] . כתבו . *ibid.* p. 207.

. . . והיא מלוי . ג . אחרון . *JQB*, xiv. p. 31.

. . . והיא מלוי . ג . ול . ארואן . כתבתי . Bloch, *l.c.* p. 31.

The sentence before the last is rendered in Arabic by وهي كماله ثلاث وهي له ثلاث وثلاثين نسخة كتبت and the last by شروع

conceits in the arrangement of the text, which must have made the task of copyist a very difficult one. In Ex. 2¹ the text is arranged in a circle, so that the letters read upon the circumference make up the sentence משה אביר בעלמה 'Moses the great one in the world.' A similar procedure in the arrangement of Numbers 4⁸⁴ brings out the words: הר גריזים 'Mount Gerizim'; while a third one in Ex. 31¹⁴ gives us השקד רמש ירשא לרשא, the barbarous Hebrew of which might perhaps mean, 'He who waits for yesterday does evil to his own head,'—which is none too lucid. A perpendicular cryptogram in Ex. 12¹ reads, ראש המצות 'The commencement of the Commandments'; in Ex. 14¹⁰ יהוה נצויעי קרביה which I venture to translate 'Jehovah is the help of those that are near to Him,'⁸⁵ נצויעי being the Samaritan equivalent of the Arabic منصور and خاص.⁸⁶ Similarly in Deut. 32⁴⁸, we read יהוה מלתו מלה "The prophet's word shall be the word"; in Lev. 27¹¹ ספר אהן "This is the book of the Torahs," and, finally, in Numbers 6¹⁰ the following:

במזבח · אברהם · וקמת · יעקב · ובשער · השמים · ובמזבח
יצחק · כתב · זאת

'By (or through) the altar of Abraham, and the statute of Jacob, and the gate of heaven and the altar of Isaac he has written this.' The ten commandments in Exodus are numbered on the margin—a practice said not to be found in older manuscripts,⁸⁷ and having a polemical point against the notation of their Jewish brethren.

I should also like to call attention to some further notes of a little different character, and appended partly in the hand of the original scribe and partly in the hand of a later one. In an article published by Dr. M. Gaster in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for 1900,⁸⁸ he

⁸⁵ Or 'Jehovah help speedily!'

⁸⁶ Cowley in *JQR*, xiv. p. 352.

⁸⁷ *JQR*, xiv. p. 31. Some Greek codices also have the ten words numbered upon the margins (Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 360).

⁸⁸ p. 256.

makes the statement, "No trace of such a Masorah has as yet been found in Samaritan mss. "; and in all the works upon the Masora of the ordinary Bible no mention is made of a Samaritan Masora. And yet, it has been known that such a Masora exists—at least in its infancy; and it might be of interest to those who indulge in such mathematical subtleties to study its relation to the Syriac and the Jewish Masora. The Samaritan Masora does not seem to have gone beyond the mere counting of sections, words, and letters. Like its Mohammedan counterpart to the Koran, which counts the *كلمة* (קצין) קצים,³⁹ and the *حرف*, it adds up the *מילים* (מליון), or *כתבין*, and the *אותות*; the last, however, very often appearing only in a later hand. Our ms. adds also another enumeration which entirely passes my comprehension: it is always introduced by the word *מספרון* 'their number.' One would imagine that this refers to the numerical value attached to the letters just mentioned, especially as the numbers run up into the millions; but I am too little of a mathematician to work out the different sums. In the Samaritan manuscripts the numbers given in these final Masoras differ sensibly from each other; which difference may be due either to the faults of scribes or to divergencies in the manner of writing individual words by the various writers. This Masora is evidently old. In the copy under consideration, there is a Masoretic cryptogram at Lev. 7¹ *הצ'י ה'תורה* 'the half of the Torah'; though in cod. Watson I it is at Lev. 7¹²; and in a ms. dated 655 A.H. it is at Lev. 7¹⁵ (*פלנה ארהותה*), which reminds one that the old Samaritan theologian Marḳah, who is generally supposed to have lived in the fourth century, refers to such a division as common in his days.⁴⁰ The Jewish Hebrew text has, as is well known, a similar Masoretic remark at Lev. 11⁴²; ⁴¹

³⁹ Rosen in *ZDMG*, xviii. p. 588. The word is evidently connected with the Arabic *قَص* and means 'division.' In a little different sense it is used in the Samaritan liturgy, *קצ'י הכריה* 'Extracts from the Creation account' (Heidenheim, *Bibl. Sam.* ii. p. xxxv).

⁴⁰ *כר כתב ארהותה ופלנ קציה* Baneth, *Des Samaritaners Marḳah . . . Abhandlung*, p. 54.

⁴¹ Blau in *JQR*, viii. p. 347.

the difference not being as great as one would have imagined.

The Masoretic notes in our ms. run as follows:

1. At the end of the Book of Genesis, in the original hand:

ספר . הראשון . קצים . ר . ון . ומלים . ז . וכ . אלפ . ור . ח . ונ . מלה

In a later hand, this has been verified and corrected (אתקשט):

אתקשט . מספר . המלים . כ . אלף . ומ . ק . וה . מלה . ואותות . ט . וע .
אלף . פ . ח . ק . טם . ומספרון . ו . אלף . אלף . וקפב . אלף . ודק . וס .

2. At the end of the Book of Exodus, in the original hand:

ספר . השני . ר . קצים . ומלין . ז . אלף . ור . ול .

In a later hand:

אתקשט . מספר . המלין . ז . אלף . ח . ק . ווס . ואותות . סח . אלף .
ודק . ווס . ומספרון . ד . אלף . אלף . ותק . אלף . וכט . אלף . ודק . פד .

3. At the end of the Book of Leviticus, in the original hand:

ספר השלישי . קצים . ק . וה . ול . ומלין . י . אלפין . וש . ול .

In a later hand:

אתקשט . מספר . המלים . יב . אלף . ומ . מלה . ואותות . מה . אלף .
ודק . וא . ומספרון . ג . אלף . אלף . וקבא . אלף . וזק . עזח .

4. At the end of the Book of Numbers, in the original hand:

ספר הרביעי . ר . ויח . קצים . ומלין . ז . אלפין . וק . וך .

In a later hand:

אתקשט . צא . אלף . וק . כו . מלה . ואותות . סז . אלף . ומד .
ומספרון . ד . אלף . אלף . וה . ק . אלף . ומב . אלף . והק . יד .

5. At the end of the Book of Deuteronomy, in the original hand:

ספר החמישי . תורה . תמ[ימה . בר]וך . נות [נה] . מלין . יד . אלף .
ות . וכ .

היה . כל . מלי . התורה . הקדושה . בתמה . ר . ופ . אלף . וש . ב . וס .
מל .

[סחונ]ך . סחון . ערן . הגה . והים . מלי . מן . מים .
[מש]קי . חיים . מגן . ערן . כן . כתבה . מלי . רחמם .
[בא]ור . הגדול . יכסי . מן . הוה . בכתבה . דביק .

[] כתבה · לא · יתכסי · ידי · אנש · טב · והדיק ·
 []⁴³ דרש · אלה · עליו · חמל · לא · יסור · ימין · ושמאל ·

In a later hand:

אתקשט · המלים · ד · אלף · והק · ויה · ואותות · נו · אלף · חק · ונד ·
 ומספרן · ג · אלף · אלף · חק · אלף · ולב · אלף · חק ·

At the end of Deuteronomy is also the following:

- (1) עֲתָקֵן מִן אֲבֹתָן עַל מָה עֲתָקוּ עַל הַשְּׁבַעִים חֹזֵק (?)
- (2) הַגְּסֵדֵר מִקְרָתָה עֲשֵׂרָה וְהוּא פֶסֶק נֶגֶד אֲנָחוּ
- (3) אֲרַכְנוּ בְּעוֹ שְׂאִילָה וְעִיקָה וְעַף אֲתַמְחוּ
- (4) תּוֹרָה מֵרַע מִכְשַׁב אַפְּסֵם מִיֵּתֵב לְכָל חֵדָה מִגְּדוּן
- (5) יִתְבָּרַךְ מִן אֲמֵר אֲלֹכֵדָה אֵת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל שִׁימָה
- (6) בְּפִידֵם בַּחֲשׁוֹן אֲלֵפִין כִּשְׁתָּה

In the following table, which gives a *résumé* of these notes, I have designated the original hand by "A," the second hand by "B":

	קצים	מלים	אותות	מספר
Genesis . . .	A 250 ⁴⁸	A 27,258 ⁴⁴ B 20,905	B 79,929 ⁴⁸	B 6,182,460
Exodus . . .	A 200 ⁴⁶	A 17,230 ⁴⁷ B 17,846	B 68,866 ⁴⁸	B 4,529,484
Leviticus . . .	A 185 ⁴⁹	A 10,830 B 12,040	B 45,501 ⁵⁰	B 5,161,678
Numbers . . .	A 218 ⁵¹	A 17,120 B 91,126 ⁵²	B 67,044 ⁴⁸	B 4,542,514
Deuteronomy . . .	A 160 ⁵⁴	A 14,420 ⁵⁵ B 14,518	B 56,454	B 3,832,496
Whole Torah . . .	B 960 ⁵⁶	A 86,362 B 82,487 ⁵⁷	B 314,511 ⁴⁸	B 81,608,486?

⁴³ I have completed the first two lines from cod. Watson I (*Hebraica*, ix. p. 223), where only the first half is given. The whole may be translated in this fashion: 'Behold thy portion (Kohn, *Zur Sprache . . . der Samaritaner*, p. 176) is in Eden (or 'is pleasant'), drawing life from the Garden of Eden. He (God) will cover him with a great light; from (כִּן) the book he will not be blotted out ('hidden'); if he study in it, God will have compassion upon him. As the sea is full of water, so is the book full of mercy.

I have no doubt that the enumerations are altogether incorrect, especially as the addition of the original numbers does not agree with those put down for the whole Pentateuch. I have given in the notes a comparison with other enumerations that were at my disposal. A closer and a more complete study of the question is only possible with the aid of the mss. themselves. In the Jewish Masora also these numbers vary greatly; by some the letters in the Pentateuch are put at 800,000, by others at 600,000.⁶⁰ Blau, however, has shown that the first is probably the more correct; and this would agree in a measure with the Samaritan enumeration. The words in the Hebrew Pentateuch are counted by the Jewish Masora at about 80,000 (79,856 or 79,976), which is also not too far removed from the reckoning of the Samaritan Masora. The Syriac Masora of the Peshitta deserves also some attention; unfortunately nothing has been written on the subject by those who have the

He who clings to the book, will be a good and righteous man, turning neither to the right nor to the left.'

⁶⁰ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 93, 156, 171, 181; Watson in *Hebraica*, ix. p. 222; *JAOS*, xx. 175; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

⁶¹ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 93; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁶² But 79,810 in *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁶³ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* pp. 139, 156; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29; but 198 (?) *JAOS*, xx. p. 175.

⁶⁴ So, also, *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁶⁵ 69,098, *Hebraica*, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ So, also, Harkavy, pp. 134, 156; *Hebraica*, *ibid.*; *JAOS*, *ibid.*; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

⁶⁷ But 46,550; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁶⁸ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 114; but 220 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; *JAOS*, xx. p. 175; Bloch, *l.c.* p. 29.

⁶⁹ Evidently a mistake, as the number is too high.

⁷⁰ But 67,110 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 222.

⁷¹ So, also, Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 241; *JAOS*, xx. p. 175; *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; but 107 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 107.

⁷² But 14,424 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223; 29,362 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97.

⁷³ But 962 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 92; 966 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁷⁴ But 96,190 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97; 86,362 *Hebraica*, ix. p. 223.

⁷⁵ But 312,500 Harkavy, *l.c.* p. 97.

⁷⁶ Ben Asher, 400,945; "Manuel de Lecteur," 400,900; Curtis ms. 305,807; Norzi, 304,805; Ginsburg's Massorah, 290,136. See *JQR*, viii. p. 349.

manuscripts at their disposal. The division into ספרי by the Samaritans is paralleled by the division into ספרי by the Syrians.⁶⁰ Lee's edition gives the enumeration only for Genesis and Exodus; but in the mss. it is given for the other books as well. The following table gives the number of ספרי according to the final Masora in Lee's edition, cod. Brit. Mus. II (13th century), cod. Bodl. I (1627 A.C.), cod. Bodl. III (1195 A.C.),⁶¹ and the *Auṣar 'Rāṣē* of Bar 'Ebrāyā:⁶²

	ED. LEE.	BRIT. MUS.	BODL. I.	BODL. III.	B. E.
Genesis	34 ⁶³	35	34	34	34
Exodus	26	26	26	26	26
Leviticus		20 ⁶⁴		20	20
Numbers		26		26	27
Deuteronomy				20 ⁶⁵	25
Total	126		186	126	

It will thus be seen that the number of ספרי in the Peshitta varies; but it is interesting to note that the official number of Sedarim in the Pentateuch, according to the Palestinian tradition, is handed down as 154; and it would thus seem that the division as made by the Syrian Church is much nearer that of the Jewish Synagogue than is the

⁶⁰ ספרי = ספרים (κεφάλαια). See Perles, *Melemata Peschitthontana*, p. 29; König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, p. 418. There is a difference in the numbering of the ספרי between the Eastern and the Western Syrians (see Dietrich, *Die Massorah der östl. und westl. Syrer . . . zum Propheten Jesaja*, p. xlii); but I believe that the mss. cited in the text are Jacobite.

⁶¹ See Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts*, i.; Payne Smith, *Catalogus codicum Syrorum*, passim.

⁶² See the detailed information from a Florence ms. in S. E. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Med. Laurentianae Catalogus*, p. 66.

⁶³ See B. H. Larsow, *Greg. Barhebraei Horreum Mysteriorum*, p. 3. There Bar 'Ebrāyā mentions a further division of Genesis into six ספרי.

⁶⁴ So, also, Bar 'Ebrāyā; see Kerber, *Greg. Abulfaragii . . . scholia in Leviticum*, p. 11.

⁶⁵ So, also, Bar 'Ebrāyā; see Kerber, *A Commentary to Deuteronomy in AJSL*, xlii. p. 91. This does not agree with the number given in the Florence ms.!

Samaritan.⁶⁶ The Syriac Masora also counted the letters in the different books—or, rather, the ܠܟܘܢ, which, as will be seen, cannot possibly refer to the letters. The following table gives the number of ܠܟܘܢ in the Masora appended to Lee's edition, compared with that appended to codd. Bodl. I and III:

	ED. LEE.	BODL. I.	BODL. III.
Genesis	4509	4509	4631
Exodus	3628	3620	3560
Leviticus	2454	2454	
Numbers	3521	3521	
Deuteronomy	2796	2796	2783
Total	16,906	16,906	16,925

Of course, these numbers fall ridiculously short of the number of words one would expect to find in the Peshitta text. The translation, especially of the Pentateuch, follows the original so closely that the number can hardly be less than that of the Hebrew text; it ought to be more, in view of the additional enclitic words used so frequently in Syriac.

One might imagine that the word ܠܟܘܢ refers to the verses; but here we have the opposite phenomenon. There are too many. According to the Jewish Masora the number of verses in the Pentateuch is as follows: Genesis, 1533; Exodus, 1209 (or 1207); Leviticus, 859; Numbers, 644;

⁶⁶ Another division very much like that of the Hebrew *Pārāshiyot*, and named according to the subject matter, is found in some codices. Perles, *l.c.* p. 22, has pointed out the coincidence. Such titles occur in Greek Bible codices: see the lists in Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 354. The Syriac Masora seems, also, to have commenced to count the number of times certain words occur in portions of the Peshitta; in just the manner of the Jewish Masorites. See Bar 'Ebrāyā in Lagarde, *Prætermissorum libri duo*, p. 100; in the Psalms 5 ܠܟܘܢ, 732 ܠܟܘܢ, 400 ܠܟܘܢ. In a modern Nestorian ms. (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 139) similar notes are found: 732 ܠܟܘܢ, 400 ܠܟܘܢ, 285 ܠܟܘܢ, 6 ܠܟܘܢ, 6 ܠܟܘܢ, 24 ܠܟܘܢ, 1 ܠܟܘܢ, 2 ܠܟܘܢ, 44 ܠܟܘܢ, 5 ܠܟܘܢ, 5 ܠܟܘܢ. From Bar 'Ebrāyā such notes have found their way into Peshitta mss. (Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 47, ms. No. 9; Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. xii.)

Deuteronomy, 955 (or 958)—making a sum total for the whole Pentateuch of 5845, or 5842, or again 5835.⁶⁷ This shows that there are on an average about three Syriac ܟܕܘܢܐ for one Hebrew verse. The same holds good if we take the Book of Psalms.⁶⁸ According to the Jewish Masora this book has 2527 verses; but according to the Syriac it has either 4830 or 4832 ܟܕܘܢܐ . For some of the other books I have drawn up the following table:

	ED. LEE.	BODL. I.	JEWISH.
Joshua	2167	2167	656
Judges	233 (?)	2066	618
Samuel	3436	3436	1506
Kings	none	5326	1536
Chronicles	5603	5603	1765
Proverbs	1863	1863	915
Ecclesiastes	none	627	222
Canticles	none	296	117
Job	2553	2553	1075
Ezra and Nehemiah	2361	2361	688

⁶⁷ Blau in *JQR*, ix. p. 470.

⁶⁸ Besides being divided into five books, as is the Hebrew text, the Syriac Psalter is divided into 29 ܟܕܘܢܐ (codd. Brit. Mus. clxxxvii, ccili; cod. Bodl. xvi; Lagarde, *Praetermissorum*, p. 241, 3), into 20 ܟܕܘܢܐ or ܟܕܘܢܐ , and into ܟܕܘܢܐ . These last are given either as 57 or 60, according as the so-called ܟܕܘܢܐ (two songs of Moses and the Song of Isaiah) are added or omitted. These are the designations used by the Eastern and the Western Syrian Church, though the latter have only 15 ܟܕܘܢܐ (see Bodl. codd. ix and xv), each of which they divide again into 4 ܟܕܘܢܐ , making 60 in all. The Easterns divide the Psalms again into ܟܕܘܢܐ , of which there are twenty; the Westerns do not seem to use such a division. Sometimes the division is made according to the Greek Church into ܟܕܘܢܐ (*καθίσματα*) and ܟܕܘܢܐ (Wright, *Catalogue*, pp. 128, 131, 134, 136). Finally, the ܟܕܘܢܐ are arranged in pairs, ܟܕܘܢܐ (Payne Smith, *Catalogus*, p. 60). The subject has been partly treated by Dietrich, *De Psalterii usu publico et distictione in ecclesia Syriaca*, Marburg, 1862; by Baethgen, *Untersuchungen über die Psalmen nach der Peschitta*, p. 9, and especially by Joseph David in his *Psalterium Syriacum*, Mosul, 1878, p. xlvi. The number of words (ܟܕܘܢܐ) in the Psalms is given as 19,834 (Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, No. xii) or 19,934 (*Catalogue of the Syriac Mss. in the Cambridge University Library*, p. 1061). The Syro-Palestinian naturally uses the Greek ܟܕܘܢܐ (see Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv. p. 105, and Swete, *l.c.* p. 359).

It is quite plain therefore that in the Syriac Masora the term ܡܘܨܪܐ cannot denote either 'words' or 'verses.'⁶⁹ For the one the number given is too high, for the other it is too low. It can therefore have reference only to the $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$, in which the text was written.⁷⁰ This can be proved from the Psalms. In the ordinary Syriac text, and at the head of each Psalm, the number of ܡܘܨܪܐ is given. These numbers represent with fair accuracy the number of divisions in the Psalm according to the interpunctuation by dots and colons. I have no doubt that a comparison of good manuscripts would reveal exact coincidence.⁷¹ Blau seems to have counted these for the whole Book of Psalms — though

⁶⁹ As translated by Abbé Martin, *La Massore chez les Syriens*, in *JA*, 1869, p. 283, and Baethgen, *l.c.* p. 9, who however adds "von denen in der Regel zwei oder drei einem hebräischen gleich kommen."

⁷⁰ Perhaps the better word to use would be $\kappa\acute{\omega}\lambda\alpha$ or $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$, the designations for sense-divisions; the $\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\chi\omicron\iota$ being used to regulate the pay of the scribe and to facilitate reference; see Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 344. Lagarde (*Mittheilungen*, iv. p. 200) thinks this is the translation of פסוק ; but that word does not seem to have been ordinarily used for such purposes. It is interesting to compare the lists given above with the stichometric lists both of the LXX and of the Vulgate, as given by Sanday in *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, iii. p. 266, and Swete, *l.c.* pp. 347 ff. The coincidences are in some cases remarkable.

⁷¹ The division differs in the msa., as will be seen from the following table for the first ten Psalms:

	Brit. Mus. cod. clxviii.	Brit. Mus. cod. clxix.	Brit. Mus. cod. clxx.	Bar 'Ebrāyā, ed. Lagarde.	Ed. Lee.	Ambr. od. Ceriani.	Syr. Hex.
i	14	14	—	17	14	14	15
ii	28	28	19	28	28	28	27
iii	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
iv	20	19	19	21	20	20	16
v	28	28	28	30	27	28	30
vi	20	19	20	21	27	20	21
vii	35	35	35	38	38	35	38
viii	18	18	18	20	18	18	20
ix	42	40	42	102 ܡܘܨܪܐ for ܡܘܨܪܐ	42	42	84
x	18	38	38	42	38	38	18

I have added the ܡܘܨܪܐ from the Syro-Hexapla, according to the photolithographic reproduction of Ceriani and the edition of Bugatus, *Liber Psalmorum secundum ed. sept. interpretum*, Mediolani, 1798.

he wrongly calls them "verses"⁷² — and finds the number to be 4793;⁷³ a number near enough to that mentioned in the Masoretic notes above. This then must be also the meaning of the 5896 פסוקים mentioned in Talmud Kidd. 30 a, as Blau has correctly seen; and I should imagine that the 15,842 פסוקים mentioned for the Pentateuch in Yalkūt, I, 855, refers also to the stichoi, as do the Syriac 16,906. The Vulgate lists give the sum of stichoi for Leviticus as 2300, 2400, or 2600—a number not far removed from the Syriac 2454. For the Book of Proverbs the Vulgate gives 1840 stichoi, the Peshitta 1863.

I have no means of knowing how old these divisions in the Peshitta are; it is possible that they have been introduced from the Septuagint. The Brit. Mus. cod. Syr. No. xlix, containing the translation of Exodus made from the Greek by Bishop Paul of Tella, has ܡܫܬܘܚܬܐ ܕܟܬܘܒܐ,⁷⁴ which is surprisingly near to the ordinary Peshitta number for that book, 3626.

I have not examined the text of the Samaritan manuscript under discussion, as the variants it might offer can be of use only to the extreme specialist. I have no doubt that it presents the usual ones, and it makes upon me the impression of being a good and faithful copy of the original scroll at Nāblus. But I cannot avoid the feeling that the glory is departing from this ancient community, whose members have become too

⁷² JQR, ix. p. 479.

⁷³ The numbers are by no means certain in the mss. themselves. In most cases this is 4832 (codd. Bodl. i. ix; Brit. Mus. cod. clxxvi); but 4830 occurs (cod. Bodl. vii), 4802 (cod. Brit. Mus. clxxxix), 4803 (cod. Bodl. xvi—but without the ܘܥܡܕܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ), and 4833 (cod. Brit. Mus. cciii, late Nestorian; see, also, Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogue*, No. 12). One of the last two enumerations must be looked for in the defective colophon of cod. Brit. Mus. clxxxvii. 4??3. In a Jacobite ms. at Cambridge (England) the number is given as 4832, but the note is added: ܐܢܐ ܕܢܩܝܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ (Catalogue of the Syriac Mss. in the Cambridge University Library, p. 1028). A similar note is added in a British Museum ms.; see the Catalogue of Rosen and Forshall, No. x). I do not know what to make of the number 1150 ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ for the Psalms in the so-called "Buchanan Bible" (Jacobite ms. in Cambridge, i. c. p. 1037).

⁷⁴ Wright, *Catalogue*, i. p. 29.

strongly imbued with the modern commercial spirit. With this modernization the halo which has surrounded their heads must indeed vanish. Only a few of their ancient manuscripts can now remain. The son of their High Priest came running to me from Jerusalem to Jaffa in March, 1905, in a vain attempt to induce me to buy a manuscript Pentateuch. The reproduction of whatever mss. they may still possess has become a flourishing trade. A collection of such reproductions, largely ritualistic, can now be seen in the library of Columbia University. They show, in their outward aspect, how much deterioration there has been since the time when it was the pride of the scribe to do his work well. The modern copies are hastily made, done on poor paper and with poor ink—the very reverse of their forbears. In the year 1864 some one in Jerusalem had taught the Samaritans the process of lithography, and they published a copy of the Book of Exodus in this vicious style.⁷⁵ Happily, the undertaking seems not to have prospered. The specimen which we possess certainly does not justify the further use of so miserable a process.

⁷⁵ Its colophon reads: **זאת התורה הקדושה אשר התפצית מן אש ביכל . ירושלים, 1864.** This enables us to identify its original with part of a codex mentioned by Rosen (*ZDMG*, xviii. p. 587) as having been acquired by Hofrath Levisohn. The note refers to the legend that the original was the volume thrown by Zerubabel into the fire during a disputation with Sanballat before a Babylonian king. The following bill of sale is also copied:

אדה ארהותה קרשתה אוזנה מתפציה בר מתודיה מן אחיו
 כחמש ועשרים שקלים במכונה תהי בריכה עליו ויהי מלך בה
 כנים וכני כנים שנת ו אלפים שנה ה מאות שנה ו כ שנה לצאת
 בני ישראל ממצרים והי שתנת ד ו כ מאון למלכות ישמעאל .

544 A.H. = 1149 A.C. Observe מאות for the usual שנת is evidently a mistake for שנת and מלכות for מלכות.